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Prāgdhārā

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उ. प्र. राज्य पुरातत्त्व संगठन की
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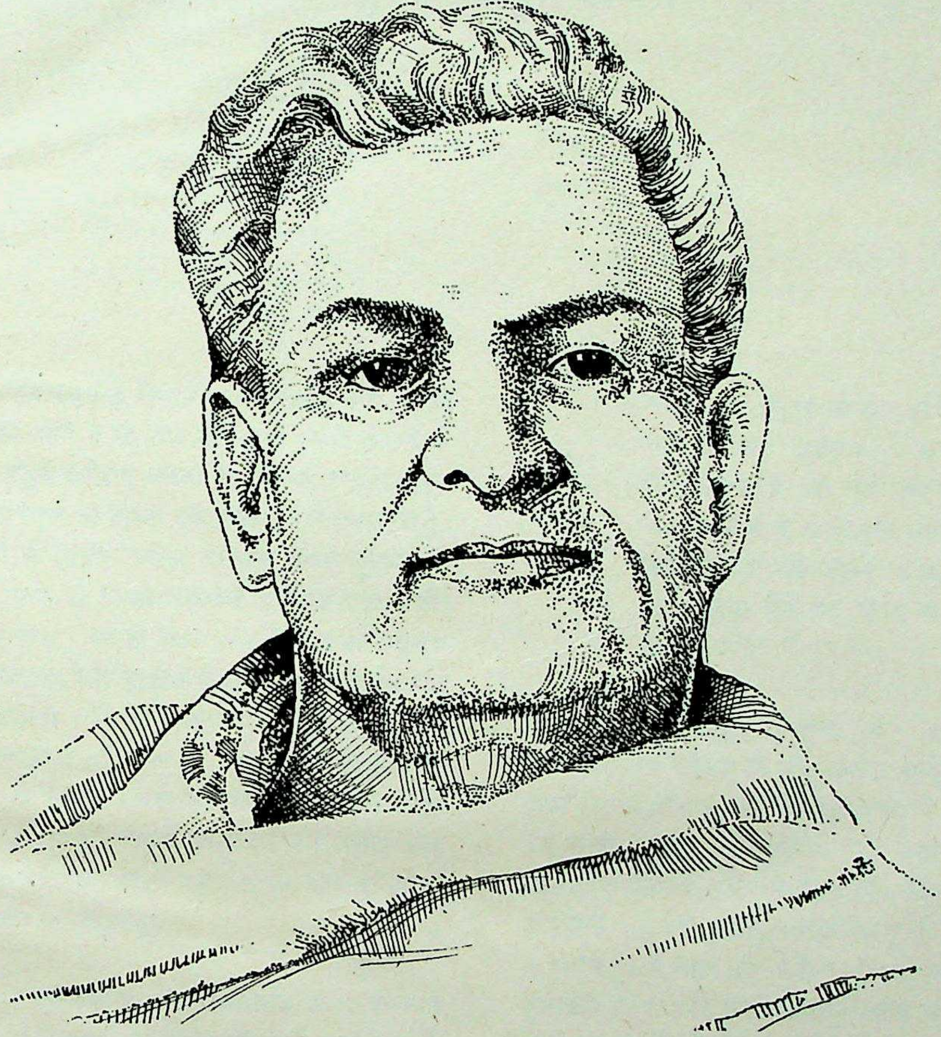
प्राग्धारा

संरक्षक : PATRONS

पद्मश्री डा० सतीश चन्द्र काला भूतपूर्व निदेशक, इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय, इलाहाबाद	**Padmashri Dr. Satish Chandra Kala** Ex. Director, Allahabad Museum, Allahabad.
श्री मुनीश चन्द्र जोशी महानिदेशक, भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण, भारत सरकार, नयी दिल्ली	**Shri Munish Chandra Joshi** Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, Government of India, New Delhi.
डा० रमेश चन्द्र शर्मा महानिदेशक, राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय, नयी दिल्ली	**Dr. Ramesh Chandra Sharma** Director General, National Museum, New Delhi.
प्रो० पुरुषोत्तम सिंह प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्व विभाग, बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी	**Prof. Purushottam Singh** Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
प्रो० किरन कुमार थपल्याल भारतीय उच्च अध्ययन संस्थान शिमला	**Prof. Kiran Kumar Thaplyal** Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla.

समर्पण



राहुल सांकृत्यायन

९ अप्रैल १८९३   १४ अप्रैल १९६३

राहुल सांकृत्यायन

1993 का वर्ष एक ऐसे फक्कड़ सैलानी का शताब्दी वर्ष है जिनकी तुलना उस कारवां से की गयी है जो रोज़ नये रास्ते, नयी मंज़िलों से गुज़रता तरह–तरह के तजुर्बे बटोरता चलता है । शायद इसीलिए खुद उन्होंने अपनी जिन्दगी के सफर की दास्तां एक सफरनामे में बयान की है। इस जन्म–जात सैलानी ने जितना ज्यादा गाफ़िल होकर दुनिया को परखने की कोशिश की उतना ही उसकी गहराइयों में पैठता गया । कोई ठहराव उसे कहीं बांध न पाया , वह तो 'जिन खोजा तिन पा कर' खुलता चला गया । विलक्षण जिज्ञासा और फ़कीरी मिजाज़ ने उन्हें एक के बाद दूसरी 'दुनिया' की सैर करायी । सैर ही उनका दीन-ओ-ईमान बन गया, यहां तक कि उन्होंने 'घुमक्कड़ धर्म' नाम का एक मज़हब चलाया और उसे शास्त्रीय आधार देने के लिए बाकायदा एक 'शास्त्र' की रचना भी कर डाली। यह उनकी शख्सियत का एक रुख़ है, इसमें कई और अनोखे पहलू मिला दिये जायें तो वह बेमिसाल हस्ती बनती है जो देश–दुनियां में 'राहुल सांकृत्यायन' के नाम से मशहूर हुई ।

उनसे मिलने वालों की स्मृतियों में उनकी सम्मोहक छवि रची–बसी है । चौड़े माथे, फैली छाती और मजबूत कन्धों वाले इस छह फुटे यायावर को आदिम आर्य, कद्दावर पठान, बलवान मल्ल व शाल के दरख्त जैसा और सहज विमोहिनी काया वाला बताया गया है । मुस्कराता हुआ तेजोमय गौर मुखमण्डल बुद्ध और विवेकानन्द की तरह आभामण्डल से दीप्तिमान रहता । आंखों में करुणा द्रवीभूत रहती । बच्चों की तरह साफ और खुला हुआ स्वभाव मक्खन जैसा नरम, और व्यवहार–सादा, भद्र, अनुशासित और नपा तुला* ।

> ''एक ऐसा मनुष्य जो बुद्ध से मिलता जुलता है, जो जीव मात्र के प्रति दुर्भावना से मुक्त है, जिसका दृष्टिकोण विश्वव्यापी है, जो पूर्ण रूप से सुस्थिर और शान्त है, जिसके पास बच्चे आपसे आप दौड़ पड़ते हैं, जो अगर कहे कि 'मेरे पीछे आओ' तो मनुष्य उनके पीछे उसी प्रकार चल पड़ेगा जैसे वह गौतम या ईसा मसीह के पीछे–पीछे चलता था ।'' [8]

लोग उन्हें राहुल, राहुल जी, राहुल बाबा, महापण्डित, घुमक्कड़ राज, पण्डित जी और रामोदर साधू के नाम से भी जानते हैं । इनमें से एक भी नाम उनके माता–पिता नें नहीं रखा, बल्कि ये नाम पड़ाव–दर पड़ाव जैसी जरूरत पड़ी बदलते गये । उत्तर प्रदेश के आजमगढ़ जिले के उनींदे से पंदहा गांव की आज दूर–दूर तक जो चर्चा हो रही है, वह इसी अनोखे आदमी की वजह से । उनका पैतृक ग्राम होने के कारण, इसी जिले का; कनैला गांव भी याद किया जा रहा है । माता कुलवंती देवी और पिता गोवर्धन पाण्डे का नाम उनकी कृतियों और कीर्ति की रोशनी में रोशन हो रहा है ।

उनके विशाल, विलक्षण और प्रायः परस्पर विरोधी बहुआयामी व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व के बारे में जैसा और जितना लिखा जाना अपेक्षित है, उसके लिए प्राग्धारा के ऐसे कई अंक और हमारी सामर्थ्य दोनों ही छोटे पड़ जायेंगे । फिर भी, अपने इस पुरोधा को – जिन्हें पाकर कोई भी देश और समाज धन्य हो जाये – प्राग्धारा का यह अंक सादर

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* सन्दर्भ 3,4 (ii), 8, 10, 18, 22–25, 27 विशेष रूप से दृष्टव्य ।

समर्पित करते हुए, ससंकोच, उनके बारे में कुछ खास–खास बातें यहां रेखांकित करने का यत्न किया जा रहा है ।

II

ननिहाल 'पन्दहा' में जन्म के समय उनका नाम 'केदार नाथ पाण्डे' रखा गया । औसत दर्जे के ब्राह्मण परिवार के सनातनी संस्कार और नाना राम शरण पाठक के फौजी जीवन और शिकार के किस्से उन्हें घुट्टी में मिले। पांच वर्ष की वय में रानी सराय के मदरसे में पढ़ने भेजे गये । नाना उन्हें अंग्रेजी पढ़ाना चाहते थे, लेकिन होनी आगे–आगे पांसे फेंकती चली । नौ बरस की कच्ची उमर में, उर्दू की तीसरी किताब की मार्फत 'नवाज़िन्दा बाज़िन्दा' ने अनायास ही इस भावी धुमक्कड़ का कान फूंक कर कमर कसने के लिए बेक़रार कर दिया –

सैर कर दुनियां की ग़ाफिल ज़िन्दगमनी फिर कहां ?
ज़िन्दगी गर रह गयी तो नौजवानी फिर कहां ?

पन्दहा के परिन्दे ने पहली बार पर तौले तो गांव के घोंसले से उड़ कर बनारस तक का रास्ता देख आया । ग्यारह साल के केदार अभी आंखें खोल कर कुछ जानते–समझते कि आजमगढ़ के अहिरौला गांव की आयु में पांच वर्ष बड़ी राम दुलारी से ब्याह हो गया । तेरह की उमर में मां परलोक सिधारीं । चौदह के हुए तो कलकत्ता उड़ दिये । एक घर में झाड़ू बुहारी की । चार मास के प्रवास के बाद लौट आये ।

अगले साल अकेली बहन और नानी भी चल बसीं । पन्द्रह में उर्दू मिडिल और सोलह में हिन्दी मिडिल पास किया । अब तक माँ, नानी, बहन और एक साथी की मौत से उपजी निरपेक्षता ने बहुत बूढ़े हो चले नाना की ढीली पकड़ से निकल कर एक बार फिर कलकत्ता तक उड़ाया। इस बार बनारस के सुंघनी साव की कलकत्ता की दुकान पर चिट्ठियां लिखने का काम मिला । यहां किसी ने नशीली मिठाई खिला दी । मेडिकल कालेज में भर्ती होना पड़ा । कलकत्ता से लौटकर कनैला में रहने लगे ।

सत्रह की गद्दर उमर का लहरा हिमालय तक लहका ले गया । हरिद्वार, बदरी और केदार देखा, वहां से लौटकर तीन लोक से न्यारी काशी नगरी में, चक्रपाणि ब्रह्मचारी के आश्रम में डेरा डाला । संस्कृत 'लघु कौमुदी,' काव्य और व्याकरण पढ़ कर पण्डिताई बढ़ाने लगे । इसी बीच बनारस से चुनार–मिर्जापुर–इलाहाबाद तक पैदल धावा मारा। 1911 में एक नेपाली साधु की सलाह से देवी साधने चले, नवरात्रि पारायण किया । संकल्प लिया कि देवी का साक्षात्कार करेंगे अन्यथा प्राण त्याग देंगे । दर्शन न हुए तो धतूरा खा लिया । लोगों को मालूम हुआ, उपचार कराके बचाया । सरस्वती पत्रिका में छपे यात्रा–विवरणों और स्वामी सत्यदेव परिव्राजक के भाषणों ने चित्त संभाला । दयानन्द स्कूल की सातवीं श्रेणी में भर्ती होकर अंग्रेज़ी और गणित पढ़ने लगे, लेकिन फिर मन उचाट हो चला ।

1912 में सारन के परसा मठ के वैष्णव महन्त बाबा लक्ष्मण दास का शिष्यत्व ग्रहण कर उनके उत्तराधिकारी बन गये । सोचने लगे –

> "परसा कनैला से दूर बहुत दूर एक दूसरी दुनिया होगी जहां न पिता मेरा पीछा कर सकेंगे, न नाना और फूफा और एक बार रजिस्टर्ड बैरागी बन जाने पर भला कौन मुझ पर फन्दा डाल सकेगा ।"[13]

केदार नाथ पाण्डे अब राम उदार दास हो गये । मठ की नियमित पूजा के साथ वे 'सरस्वती' और 'डॉन' भी पढ़ते । लेकिन ऐसे माहौल में कब तक रुकते, ऊब कर कनैला लौटे । फिर, 1913 में हाजीपुर–आसनसोल, आद्रा – खड़कपुर – मद्रास – तिरुमलई आदि, दक्षिण भारत–गुजरात और उज्जैन होकर लौटे तो अयोध्या चले गये । वहां एक मन्दिर में बकरे की बलि का विरोध किया । आर्य समाजियों के सम्पर्क में आये और 'सत्यार्थ प्रकाश' पढ़ी ।

1914 में लौट तो आये पर जनवरी 1915 में फिर उड़ान भरी और आगरा के आर्य मुसाफिर विद्यालय में जा उतरे । दो साल संस्कृत, अरबी, फारसी, धर्मों और इतिहास का अध्ययन किया । मौलवियों और पादरियों से शास्त्रार्थ किया । घुमक्कड़ी चलती रही । इसी अवधि में, 1915 में ही केदारनाथ विद्यार्थी के नाम से आगरा के 'मुसाफिर' में उर्दू और मेरठ के 'भाष्कर' में हिन्दी में लिखने लगे ।

1916 में संस्कृत में पैठ बढ़ाने लाहौर पहुंचे । आर्य समाज का प्रचार करते लखनऊ–कानपुर–इटावा आदि की यात्राएं कीं । अब आर्य समाज से भी मोह भंग होने लगा । 1918 में रूसी क्रान्ति के समाचार पढ़े । 1919 में जलियांवाला बाग के हादसे ने उनके भीतर की बगावती आग में लपट उठा दी और अन्ततः 1921 में गांधी ज़ी के प्रभाव से सधुआई छोड़कर आजादी की अलख जगाने लगे ।

पहला राजनैतिक भाषण खण्डवा में दिया । फिर, परसा को धुरी बना कर जूझने लगे । बाढ़–पीड़ितों, दीन–दुखियों की सेवा की, चरखे बांटे, बोल–बोल कर विदेशी राज के खिलाफ जहर बोया । 31 जनवरी, 1922 को पकड़े गये । जुर्म कुबूला और छह माह की सजा पायी। बक्सर जेल साधक की कुटिया बन गयी । कैदियों को उपनिषद–वेदांत पढ़ायी, ब्रजभाषा में समस्या पूर्तियां कीं, कुरआन का संस्कृत में अनुवाद शुरू किया ।

29 अक्टूबर 1922 को जिला कांग्रेस के महामंत्री चुने गये । गया कांग्रेस में भाग लिया । 1923 के मार्च–अप्रैल में नेपाल में पशुपति नाथ के दर्शन कर के लौटे तो फिर गिरफ्तार हो कर बांकीपुर और वहां से

प्राग्धारा : PRĀGDHĀRĀ

उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन की शोध पत्रिका
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Editor
Rakesh Tewari

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सांस्कृतिक कार्य विभाग, उ०प्र०

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लेखकों द्वारा व्यक्त विचारों के लिये **सम्पादक** का उत्तरदायित्व नहीं होगा ।

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आमुख

मानव की व्युत्पत्ति, विकास और उसके विविध स्वरूपों, तत्कालीन वातावरण आदि की समग्र जानकारी प्राप्त करने के जिज्ञासु पुराविदों को ज्ञात से अज्ञात की ओर बढ़ना होता है । उपलब्ध स्रोत सामग्री और पूर्व प्रयत्नों की उपलब्धियों में पैठ कर शोध की पृष्ठभूमि तैयार कर दिशा निर्धारित की जाती है । फिर, क्षेत्र विशेष के, नदी–सोपानों, टीलों – पहाड़ों का श्रमसाध्य सर्वेक्षण कर यह टटोला जाता है कि वहाँ के सांस्कृतिक अवशेष कैसे ? कितने पुराने और किन विशिष्टियों वाले हैं ? इस प्रक्रिया में ही वांछित पर्याप्त पुरावशेष – वास्तु, सिक्के, पात्रावशेष और लेख आदि सूत्र मिल गये तो क्या कहने ? अन्यथा सभी पक्षों की सम्यक् समीक्षा के बाद वे पुरास्थल चुने जाते हैं, जिनमें दबे पुरावशेषों से लक्ष्यों को पाने की संभावना सबसे ज्यादा हो ।

चयनित स्थलों में से सर्वोत्तम स्थल के उतखनन के लिए अनुभवी विशेषज्ञों की टोली जुटती है । इनमें पुराविद्, कलाविद्, पुरावनस्पतियों के विशेषज्ञ और अन्य विधाओं के अधिकारी शोधकर्ता शामिल होते हैं । हफ्तों महीनों और कभी–कभी वर्षों तक चलने वाली खुदाइयों में परत दर परत धरती के अनजाने पन्ने खुलते चलते हैं । इंच–इंच हटाई जा रही मिट्टी में आँख गड़ा कर हर 'खपड़ा–नरिया' जैसे पुरावशेषों की नाप – जोख आम आदमी को आम तौर पर नीरस, उबाऊ और बेकार लग सकती है, लेकिन संस्कृतियों का सही स्वरूप गढ़ने के लिए यह सब अनिवार्य प्रक्रिया के हिस्से हैं । पुराविद् इन्हें मोतियों की तरह चुनते हैं, परखते हैं । कोई विशेषज्ञ झोपड़ी–मकान और गली–कूचों के साक्ष्य तलाशता है, कोई बर्तन–मूर्ति और मिट्टी के उपकरणों पर ध्यान लगाता है, मुद्रा–छापों, सिक्कों और अभिलेखों का पाठ पढ़ा जाता है, देवी–देवताओं और लोक के जीवन–दर्शन का मनन किया जाता है, हड्डी, लकड़ी, लोहे, ताँबे के उपकरण संभाल कर रखे, समझे जाते हैं । खेती - बागवानी में प्रयुक्त अन्न, फल, वनस्पतियों के बीज, पराग–कण और भूसी जैसे साक्ष्य कुरेदे जाते हैं । पालतू और जंगली जानवरों की अस्थियां जुटाई जाती हैं । मानव संस्कृति से जुड़ी प्रत्येक 'सुई और तलवार', सब साक्ष्य संजोए जाते हैं । इन सबके निरीक्षण–परीक्षण और विश्लेषण से मिले सूत्रों से संस्कृतियों का पुनर्गठन किया जाता है । इतनी लम्बी समय, श्रम और व्यय–साध्य प्रक्रिया से निकले निष्कर्षों पर चर्चा–परिचर्चा चलने पर संस्कृतियों का स्वरूप आलोकित होता है और उसके प्रभामण्डल में मानवता का रास्ता दिखता है ।

इसलिए इन सर्वेक्षणों, उत्खननों और परीक्षणों का फायदा तभी है जबकि उनके परिणामों/निष्कर्षों को अधिकाधिक लोगों तक जल्दी से जल्दी पहुंचाया जा सके । उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन द्वारा सत्र 1990–91 से 'प्राग्धारा' का प्रकाशन इसी उद्देश्य से प्रारम्भ किया गया है । प्रदेश एवं प्रदेश के बाहर के विश्वविद्यालयों, भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण एवं अन्य संस्थाओं के पुराविदों के शोध–पत्र जिस अनुपात में इस पत्रिका में प्रकाशनार्थ प्राप्त हो रहे हैं उससे इसकी उपादेयता बढ़ती जा रही है । विशेषतः उत्तर प्रदेश में चल रही पुरातात्विक गतिविधियों के सन्दर्भ में तो **'प्राग्धारा'** अद्यावधिक शोध - सन्दर्भ बन गयी है ।

प्रस्तुत अंक में भी मुख्यतः अद्यतन और नवीनतम शोध–सामग्री सम्मिलित है । प्रस्तर युगीन पुरास्थलों के उत्खनन, इमली डीह की प्राचीन वनस्पतियों की पहचान, रामकथा–फलकों के अभिज्ञान और मन्दिरों के स्थानान्तरण जैसे विषयों पर इसमें प्रकाशित लेख, मुझे विश्वास है कि, विद्वानों की अपेक्षा की कसौटी पर खरे उतरेंगें ।

पुरातत्व संगठन के कर्मियों से आशा है कि 'प्राग्धारा' का प्रवाह इसी प्रकार बनाये रखने के लिए वे इसी तत्परता और परिश्रम से योगदान करते रहेगें ।

(रमेश यादव)
सचिव
सांस्कृतिक कार्य, उ०प्र० शासन

8 मार्च, 1993
लखनऊ

सम्पादकीय

प्राग्धारा का यह अंक एक ऐसे शलाका पुरुष को समर्पित है जिनका उपाधियों सहित नाम - **त्रिपिटकाचार्य महापण्डित घुमक्कड़-राज साहित्य-चक्रवर्ती पद्मभूषण डा० राहुल सांकृत्यायन** - उनके विशद और बहुमुखी व्यक्तित्व का सहज परिचय देने के लिए अपने आप में पर्याप्त है । इस अंक के प्रारम्भ में पुरातत्व सहित विविध विषयों में उनकी असाधारण देन को रेखांकित करने का यत्न किया गया है ।

केन्द्र और राज्य सरकार तथा विश्वविद्यालयों के पुरातत्व विभागों के पुराविदों द्वारा उत्तर प्रदेश में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों की पुरासामग्री के सर्वेक्षण, उत्खनन और अवगाहन के परिणाम बहुधा **प्राग्धारा** में प्रकाशित किये जा रहे हैं। अन्य प्रदेशों से सम्बन्धित कुछ महत्वपूर्ण सामग्री भी इसमें सम्मिलित की गयी है । उक्त क्रम में इस बार सतना और सीधी जनपदों के प्रागैतिहासिक स्थलों, कुमाऊँ के शवागारों, इमली डीह के ताम्राश्म युगीन स्थल (गोरखपुर जनपद) तथा लालकोट (दिल्ली) के मध्यकालीन पुरास्थलों पर कराये गये उत्खननों के अद्यतन परिणाम प्रस्तुत हैं ।

गतांक में प्रकाशित सोनभद्र जनपद के पुरावशेषों के सर्वेक्षण से सम्बंधित लेख के क्रम में इस अंक के दो लेखों में श्री राम और श्री कृष्ण के कथा-प्रसंगों के अंकन-युक्त पांच प्रस्तर-फलकों के अभिज्ञान का यत्न किया गया है । इनके प्रकाशन के साथ यह जनपद भारत के उन महत्वपूर्ण स्थलों की सूची में स्थापित हो गया है, जहां से हिन्दू धर्म के इन अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय देवताओं के कथांकन प्राप्त हुए हैं। मध्य प्रदेश के दतिया क्षेत्र के सांस्कृतिक विकास के विषय में प्रकाशित लेख अन्य क्षेत्रों के संदर्भ में भी ऐसे ही समेकित अध्ययन और गहन विचार प्रस्तुत करने के लिए अत्यन्त उपयोगी एवं मानक-स्वरूप हैं । इससे अन्य क्षेत्रों की संस्कृतियों की पारस्परिक समानता एवं उनके विशिष्ट भिन्न तत्वों को समझना क्रमशः सहज हो सकेगा । 'स्मृति साहित्य में मूर्ति विज्ञान' विषयक शोध-पत्र इस विषय के अल्प-ज्ञात आयामों की ओर ध्यानाकर्षित करा रहा है । अग्रेतर अध्ययन के लिए यह बहुत ही उपयोगी है ।

आन्ध्र प्रदेश में, श्रीशैलम प्रोजेक्ट के अन्तर्गत, डूब क्षेत्र से उबार कर, बहुसंख्यक प्रस्तर-देवालय अन्यत्र सुरक्षित स्थान पर प्रत्यारोपित (ट्रान्सप्लान्ट) किये गये थे । उत्कृष्ट तकनीकी कुशलता से भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण द्वारा सम्पादित कराये गये इस बहुचर्चित कार्य के विषय में अब तक यत्र-तत्र थोड़ी - थोड़ी जानकारी मिलती रही है । भविष्य में ऐसे प्रयत्नों के लिए इसकी पूर्ण प्रक्रिया की अधिकाधिक जानकारी उपलब्ध होना बहुत जरूरी है । अतएव इसकी रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित करते हुए हमें हार्दिक संतोष है ।

कन्नौज और संचान कोट की मृण्मूर्तियों और अन्य विषयों पर प्रकाशित सामग्री भी अनेक नये तथ्यों को उजागर कर रही है ।

उपर्युक्त के अतिरिक्त अक्टूबर, 1990 में उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन द्वारा लखनऊ में, "उ०प्र० में पुरातात्विक गतिविधियां और भविष्य की संभावनाएं" विषय पर, आयोजित 'सेमिनार' में प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्रों की दूसरी खेप 'प्राग्धारा' के इस अंक में क्रम सं० 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 24 पर इस आशय से प्रकाशित की जा रही है, कि इससे हमारे सहधर्मियों को, उनके छपने में लगने वाले संभावित समय तक, महत्वपूर्ण सामग्री की प्रतीक्षा न करनी पड़े। ये लेख विशेषतः उत्तर प्रदेश में पुरातत्व की विभिन्न विधाओं में शोध के दिशा - निर्धारण में निश्चय ही अत्यन्त सहायक होंगे। मुख्यतः प्रागैतिहासिक युग से सम्बंधित उक्त संगोष्ठी में पढ़े गये लेख 1992-93 में अलग से प्रकाशित किये जा चुके हैं। बचे हुए थोड़े से लेख प्राग्धारा के अगले अंक में सम्मिलित करने का विचार है। आशा है हमारी सीमाओं को ध्यान में रखकर इनके प्रकाशन की यह व्यवस्था व्यवहारिक रूप में स्वीकार्य होगी।

यह अंक प्रकाशित कराते समय, अपने एक अत्यन्त सहज, कृपालु और स्नेही संरक्षक **डा० कृष्ण दत्त बाजपेयी** के अनन्त यात्रा पर निकल पड़ने के कारण, हमारे उत्साह में विशाद के गहरे भाव भी समाहित हैं। डा० बाजपेयी ने अपने 75 वर्ष के जीवन में लखनऊ और मथुरा के संग्रहालयों तथा सागर विश्वविद्यालय के प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्व विभाग के मुखिया के दायित्यों का निर्वहन करते हुए लगभग तीन दर्जन पुस्तकें और आठ सौ शोध-पत्र लिखे। उन्हें न्यूमिसमेटिक सोसाइटी ऑफ इण्डिया, आल इण्डिया हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस, एपिग्राफिकल सोसाइटी ऑफ इण्डिया, आर्कियोलॉजिकल सोसाइटी ऑफ इण्डिया आदि संस्थानों का अध्यक्ष मनोनीत किया गया। इसके अतिरिक्त वे भारत सरकार तथा उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश सरकारों की पुरातत्व परामर्शदात्री समितियों के सदस्य रहे। जीवन के एक-एक पल का सदुपयोग पठन-पाठन में करते हुए उन्होंने दर्जनों प्रकाशनों का सम्पादन किया और 50 से अधिक छात्रों के शोध - प्रबन्ध प्रस्तुत कराये। यह उपलब्धियां हासिल करके उन्होंने अपने राष्ट्र, समाज और कुल की कीर्ति को चरमोत्कर्ष तक पहुंचाया। वर्ष 1951 से 1953 तक प्रथम पुरातत्व अधिकारी के पद धारक के रूप में उन्हें पाने का गौरव उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन को प्राप्त है। उसके बाद भी एक शिक्षक और वरिष्ठ पुराविद् के रूप में हमें सदैव उनका संरक्षण मिलता रहा। अक्टूबर 1980 में प्राग्धारा के प्रथम अंक का विमोचन उनके कर-कमलों से ही होने का संयोग बना। उनके अभाव में सहसा उभर आया एक बड़ा सा शून्य उनके कृत्य, और कीर्ति का आभा-मण्डल बन कर हमारा मार्ग-दर्शन करा रहा है। उनके प्रति हम अपनी हार्दिक श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करते हैं।

प्राग्धारा के लेखकों और पाठकों से हमें अनेक उपयोगी सुझाव प्राप्त हुए हैं। यथासंभव हम उनका लाभ उठाने का यत्न कर रहे हैं। इस अंक में हिन्दी लेखों का अंग्रेजी में सारांश प्रकाशित करने का प्रारम्भ इसी दिशा में एक कड़ी है। लघु-लेख (शार्ट नोट्स) और उपयोगी सूचनाओं का अलग महत्व है, इसलिए, इस अंक से इनके लिए भी स्थान निर्धारित हो रहा है। अगले अंकों के लिए और अधिक ऐसी सामग्री मिलने पर इस ' कालम' की उपयोगिता बढ़ाने की कोशिश रहेगी। इसी प्रकार अन्य पक्षों पर भी ध्यान देकर इस पत्रिका का स्वरूप विकसित करने की मनोकामना है। पत्रिका के सामयिक और स्तरीय प्रकाशन के लिये निर्धारित समय से शोध-पत्रों का प्राप्त होना अत्यावश्यक है। अतएव सभी पुराविदों से विनम्र अनुरोध है कि वे अपने लेख विलम्बतम् सितम्बर 1993 के प्रथम पक्ष तक हमें अवश्य उपलब्ध कराने की कृपा करें।

इस अवसर पर हमें अपने पूर्व सचिव श्री आलोक सिन्हा की याद आ रही है जिनकी प्रेरणा से यह पत्रिका

प्रारम्भ और परिवर्धित हो सकी। वर्तमान सचिव डा० रमेश यादव की रुचि भी उतनी ही स्मरणीय है। उन्होंने इस पत्रिका को समुचित संरक्षण प्रदान कर इसके इस रूप में प्रकाशित हो सकने का मार्ग प्रशस्त करने के अतिरिक्त इसकी भूमिका लिखने की भी कृपा की है। प्रकाशन की औपचारिकताओं के संवहन में सांस्कृतिक कार्य विभाग के निदेशक श्री रविन्द्र कुमार शर्मा, श्री चन्द्र मोहन बेरी, संयुक्त सचिव, उप सचिव श्री लक्ष्मण राम टम्टा, संयुक्त निदेशक श्री शीतला प्रसाद और श्री अरविन्द नारायण मिश्र का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। पुरातत्व परिवार इन सज्जनों का सदैव कृतज्ञ रहेगा।

श्री गिरीश चन्द्र सिंह ने जिस उत्साह और परिश्रम से इस प्रकाशन में सहयोग किया है उसका परिचय पाठकों को इस अंक के संयोजन–मुद्रण और गेट - अप से स्वतः ही मिल जायेगा। उन्होंने सही मायने में इस कार्य में निष्ठावान साथी होना सिद्ध किया है। उनके प्रति आभार व्यक्त करते हुए उनके ऐसे ही सहयोग की सतत् कामना है।

पुरातत्व संगठन के साथियों डा० अम्बिका प्रसाद सिंह ने समय–समय पर प्रूफ पढ़ने, श्री मनमोहन डिमरी ने स्तरीय मानचित्र, श्री राम गोपाल मिश्र ने अति उत्तम छायाचित्र तथा सुश्री गीता साही, श्री मातादीन और श्री शशि भूषण राय ने लेखों के टंकण आदि कार्यों में सहयोग किया, जिसके लिये हृदय से धन्यवाद ज्ञापित करते हुए उनसे यह संबल सदैव पाते रहने की आशा है।

राहुल सांकृत्यायन का चित्र तैयार करने तथा प्राग्धारा की सुन्दर छपाई के लिए हम क्रमशः श्री पी०के० शर्मा और सर्वश्री प्रतिभा प्रेस के प्रति भी धन्यवाद व्यक्त करते हैं।

सम्पादक

8 मार्च, 1993
लखनऊ

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प्राग्धारा

PRĀGDHĀRĀ

हजारीबाग जेल भेजे गये । यहां वे सिंहली 'मज्झिम निकाय' में डूबने लगे। केरल के शंकराचार्य स्वामी भारती कृष्णतीर्थ से गणित, आप्टिक्स और ज्योतिष पढ़ी । चार अंग्रेजी उपन्यास हिन्दी में अनूदित किये । फ्रांसीसी और अवेस्तन भाषाएं सीखीं । इस्लाम धर्म की रूपरेखा लिखी । ब्राह्मी लिपि का अध्ययन किया ।

दो वर्ष जेल काट कर निकले तो 1926 में कश्मीर, कारगिल, लद्दाख, न्यूब्रा घाटी और लेह आदि की यात्रा की । वहां के लामाओं से भेंट की और किन्नौर-शिमला के मार्ग से वापस लौटे । गौहाटी कांग्रेस में शामिल हुए । डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जैसे नामी-गिरामी नेताओं के साथ किसान सभा में बोले । 30 मार्च, 1927 को जमींदारी के नाश से पहले परसा न लौटने की प्रतिज्ञा कर ली ।

हजारीबाग जेल के स्वाध्याय के समय लगे बौद्ध धर्म के स्वाद ने पूरी तरह छकने का चस्का लगाया । उस समय लंका में इसके अवसर देख, कलकत्ता की महाबोधि सोसाइटी की मदद से, वहां के विद्यालंकार परिवेण में धूनी रमा ली । 16 मई 1927 से उन्नीस माह तक बौद्ध साहित्य पढ़ने और संस्कृत पढ़ाने में ध्यानस्थ रहे । इसी अवधि में इलाहाबाद की सरस्वती पत्रिका के लिए श्रीलंका के विवरण भेजे । पांच भाग में संस्कृत पाठमाला लिखी । सिंहली और फ्रांसीसी में मश्क लगायी। 'पाली टेक्स्ट सोसाइटी' और 'रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी' के प्रकाशनों का मंथन किया तथा 'त्रिपिटिकाचार्य' की उपाधि पायी ।

पालि साहित्य और उसकी अट्ठ कथाओं के पारायण के बाद संस्कृत बौद्ध साहित्य की थाह लेने की चाह उन्हें, लंका से सांची, कौशाम्बी, कुशीनगर आदि बौद्ध तीर्थों की परिक्रमा करा कर 1929 में, उन्हें हिमालय के उस पार तिब्बत ले गयी । ब्रहमपुत्र के आरी-आरी रेंगते मठों-विहारों में पुरा-पोथियां तजबीजते हुए 'छुओरी' पहुंचे । नदी पार की और 'ल्हासा' में आसन लगा कर आस-पास के विहारों में पड़ताल जारी रखी । ऐसे कितने ही ग्रंथ उनके हाथ लग गये जो संस्कृत से कभी तिब्बती में अनूदित हुए थे और भारत में कब के गुम हो चुके थे । आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव की व्यवस्था से मिल रहे 50 रुपये के वजीफे और श्रीलंका के भदन्त आनन्द कौसल्यायन के भेजे 3000 रुपये से खरीद कर और भेंट में मिली ढेरों दुर्लभ पोथियाँ खच्चरों पर लाद कर जब वे भारत ले आये तो देश-परदेश सब जगह उनकी प्रतिभा का डंका बजने लगा । मशहूर रूसी विद्वान श्चेर्बात्स्की ने इन खोजों से प्रभावित हो कर उनको रूस आने का बुलावा भेजा । लेकिन, बौद्धों की दुनिया में रहने और पूरी तरह उनके रंग में पग कर लौटने के बाद उन्होंने पहले लंका पहुंच कर जून 1930 में विद्यालंकर विहार में विधिवत 'प्रव्रज्या' ग्रहण की और बौद्ध भिक्षु की दिनचर्या के साथ अपनाये गये रामोदर सांकृत्यायन नाम को बदल कर 'राहुल सांकृत्यायन' हो गये ।

भारत आये तो अध्ययन-मनन और लेखन से ज्यादा जरूरी उन्हें अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ लड़ना लगा और वे दुबारा स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन में भाग लेने लगे । कांग्रेस के सम्मेलनों में शिरकत की । फिर, लंका गये और वहां से यूरोप जाकर बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार किया । चार माह के इस प्रवास में काशाय वेश धारण कर विचर रहा यह अनोखा भिक्षु मार्क्स के विचारों में रुचि लेने लगा ।

1933 में यूरोप से लंका और वहां से लद्दाख जा पहुंचे । कुछ दिनों के लिए जम गये । 'मज्झिम निकाय' का अनुवाद किया । 'तिब्बत में बौद्ध धर्म', 'तिब्बत प्राइमर', 'तिब्बती पदावलियाँ' और 'तिब्बती व्याकरण' लिखा । इसी बीच 'धम्मपद' का संस्कृत छायानुवाद भी किया ।

1934 में दूसरी बार तिब्बत पहुंचे, एक-एक कर सभी बाधाएं उनके व्यक्तित्व के सामने हटती गयीं । बरसों से बन्द विहारों के कमरे खुलते गये । उनमें जमा पोथियों के अम्बार तलाश कर वे जितना हो सका उतने की नकल और फोटो उतारते रहे । तकरीबन 1500 फीट की ऊंचाई पर सुन्न कर देने वाली शीत में भी उन्होंने प्रतिदिन 500 श्लोक की गति से नकल उतार कर हैरतअंगेज करतब कर दिखाया । कदम और कलम का यह अद्भुद तारतम्य, चार माह तक ही नहीं, लगे हाथ उनकी सुनिश्चित जानकारी प्रतिष्ठित शोध-पत्रिकाओं के माध्यम से विद्वत-जनों की नजर में लाने के लिये लिखते जाने में भी दिखता रहा ।

1935 में रंगून, जापान, कोरिया, मंचूरिया और मास्को तक बुद्ध के संदेश पहुंचाते और ज्ञान का भण्डार बढ़ाते हुए, ईरान होकर छः माह के बाद साम्यवाद में रचकर लाहौर पहुंचे । 'सतमी के बच्चे', 'जापान', 'तिब्बत में बौद्ध धर्म ' जैसी रचनाएं सामने आयीं । तिब्बत से लायी कुछ दुर्लभ प्रोथियों का संपादन/ प्रकाशन करते-कराते पैरों की चकरी नाचने लगी । हिमालय के पार बसी उनकी आत्मा फरवरी 1936 में एक बार फिर उन्हें तिब्बती विहारों में खींच ले गयी । अलभ्य पोथियां खोजने, नकल उतारने का सिलसिला आठ माह तक चलता रहा । नवम्बर 1936 में उनकी इस कमाई का तीसरा खेवा भारत पहुंचा। इसे संभालते-रखते सोवियत अकादमी का दूसरा निमंत्रण मिला ।

सितम्बर 1937 में ईरान के रास्ते मास्को, फिर लेनिनग्राद प्राच्य संस्थान पहुंचे और वहां संस्कृत के प्रोफेसर का पद संभाला । यहां उन्होंने भारतीय-तिब्बती विभाग की सचिव लोला, जो स्वयं एक भाषाविद् थीं, को भी संस्कृत पढ़ाना शुरू किया । लोला उन्हें रूसी भाषा के पाठ सिखाने लगीं । पढ़ने-पढ़ाने का यह क्रम प्रणय की पेंगों में बदल कर 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम' की स्थायी कड़ी बन गया । सितम्बर 1938 में लोला से उनके पुत्र 'इगोर' का जन्म हुआ । लेकिन '**चरक भिक्खवे चारिकं**' की माला डुलाने वाला उसका पिता अब तक पामीर के पठारों पर पहुंच कर कलम - कैमरे से 'नैयायिक ज्ञानश्री ' और 'योगाचार-भूमि ' जैसे दुर्लभ ग्रन्थ संजोने में लग चुका था ।

1939 में भारत लौट कर वे किसान आन्दोलन में कूद पड़े । गिरफ्तार हुए । कुछ महीनों की कैद में 10 दिन और 17 दिन के उपवास

रखे । छूटे । मोतीहारी के किसान आन्दोलन और बिहार हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के अध्यक्ष चुने गये । किसान आन्दोलन के चलते 1940 में फिर पकड़े गये । 29 मास के कारावास में भी इनकी बानगी निराली ही रही। 'दर्शन दिग्दर्शन' जैसा 847 पृष्ठ का ग्रन्थ लिख कर एक-एक दिन खरा-खरा भुनाया ।

कैद से छूटे तो कुछ दिन आस-पास – कनैला, विजयवाड़ा, उत्तराखण्ड जैसी जगहों पर – मंड़रा कर साईबेरिया की ओर उड़ चले और 4 जून 1945 को लेनिनग्राद के पुराने ठीहे पर बसेरा डाला । पत्नी-बच्चे के साथ रह कर दो बरस अध्ययन-अध्यापन करते हुए 'मध्य एशिया के इतिहास' की सामग्री जुटाई । वहां की सरकार ने उन्हें अपना परिवार साथ ले जाने की इजाजत नहीं दी । अकेले हिन्दुस्तान की ओर लौट पड़े।

17 अगस्त, 1947 को बम्बई बन्दरगाह पर उतरना भी एक संयोग रहा। मुल्क की तरह उनकी जिन्दगी की नयी शुरुआत हुई । अपनी तरह से, अपनी पूरी सामर्थ्य के साथ, नये भारत के निर्माण में जुट गये । इसी साल उन्हें 'हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन' का सभापति चुना गया । राहुल बाबा ने काम की उमंग में ऐसी-ऐसी अनहोनी कर दिखायी कि बड़े-बड़े दांतों अंगुली दबाएं, चौदह रोज में 16000 शब्दों का अंग्रेजी-हिन्दी शासन-शब्दकोश और तीन दिन में भारतीय संविधान के हिन्दी रूपान्तर का मसौदा तैयार किया ।

एक-एक मिनट का हिसाब रखने वाले राहुल का कोई साल ऐसा नहीं गया जबकि उन्होंने चारों ओर बिखरी ज्ञान-राशि को दोनों हाथ बटोरा और खुले हाथ बांटा न हो । इसी धुन में 1949 में उन्होंने घुमक्कड़ी को धर्म बनाकर 'घुमक्कड़ शास्त्र' नामक एक ऐसा कालयजी ऊर्जा-स्रोत रच दिया, जिसका स्पर्श मात्र अलौकिक लोक और मुक्ति-मार्ग तक ले जाने में सक्षम है । लेखन के इस अबाध क्रम में अप्रैल 1949 में कलिम्पोंग में सहायिका के रूप में मिलीं 'कमला पेरियार' क्रमशः उनकी प्रेयसी और, 23 दिसम्बर, 1950 को, धर्मपत्नी बन गयीं । 'सूदखोर की मौत', 'कुमाऊँ और 'मध्य एशिया का इतिहास' आदि एक के बाद एक नयी – नयी रचनाओं का प्रणयन, रूपान्तरण, टीकाकरण चलते रहे ।

1953 में पुत्री जया और 1955 में पुत्र जेता के जन्म के बाद बाबा को माया ठगने लगी । यहीं से उनकी 'करुण कहानी' शुरू होती है । बच्चों की परवरिश और नून तेल लकड़ी की चिन्ता सताने लगी । लेकिन उनके मूल धर्म में कहां परिवर्तन आने लगा । पढ़ना-पढ़ाना, घूमना और लिखना ही इस फिक्र से दो-दो हाथ करने के भी साधन-साध्य बने रहे । इसी बीच 'काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा' से हिन्दी में विश्वकोश प्रकाशन की योजना बनी । इसके प्रधान संपादक का भार ग्रहण करने का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करके वे तत्सम्बन्धी सामग्री जुटाने में लग गये । उप संपादक आदि के नामों की सूची बना ली । लेकिन 1956 तक प्रतीक्षा करके ऊबने लगे और तब भी यह काम उन्हें नहीं सौंपा गया तो वे क्षुब्ध होकर चीन-तिब्बत जाने की सोचने लगे । इसी साल वे विश्व बौद्ध सम्मेलन में भाग लेने नेपाल गये तो 'आल चाइना बुद्धिस्ट एसोसियेशन' के महामंत्री श्री चाऊ-फू-चू से भेंट होने पर चीन जाने और तिब्बत में अनुसंधान करने की इच्छा व्यक्त की । अक्टूबर 1957 में वाराणसी में मालूम हुआ कि विश्व कोश का काम उन्हें नहीं मिलना है । यह जान कर उन्हें बड़ा दुख हुआ । उनके आत्म-सम्मान पर बहुत चोट लगी । स्वास्थ्य गिर गया और स्वभाव चिड़चिड़ा हो गया । वे भारत से बाहर निकलने की सोचने लगे ।

1958 में श्री चाऊ-फू-चू के प्रयास से, चीन सरकार के निमंत्रण पर, राहुल जी चीन गये । वहां चार माह रहकर उन्होंने बौद्ध धर्म पर भाषण दिये। राजनीतिक उथल-पुथल के कारण तिब्बत जाकर कुछ और खोज करने की उनकी इच्छा पूरी नहीं हो सकी । इससे उनका मन और खिन्न हो गया और पेकिंग में उन्हें गम्भीर रूप से दिल का दौरा पड़ा । एक माह चीन में ही इलाज कराकर उनकी पत्नी उन्हें साथ लिवा लायीं ।

संयोग से पेकिंग में ही उन्हें श्री लंका के विद्यालंकार विश्वविद्यालय का निमंत्रण मिल गया था। अतः आठ माह इलाज और आराम करके 1959 में 66 वर्ष की उम्र में दर्शन के महाचार्य पद को सुशोभित करने श्रीलंका पहुंचे । परिवार भारत में छोड़ दिया । वहां दिन-रात केवल अध्यापन ,मनन और लेखन में लग गये । अनवरत कठोर श्रम और दो जगह की आर्थिक व्यवस्था की चिन्ता आदि से अन्ततः उनका फौलादी तन भी दरकने लगा । स्वास्थ्य दिनोदिन बिगड़ता गया । मधुमेह-प्रमेह दोनों बढ़ आये । किसी तरह गिरते-पड़ते कलकत्ता-दार्जिलिंग पहुंचे । दो माह के इलाज से कुछ ठीक होने पर फिर श्रीलंका चल दिये । तब तक एक पटकनी और लगी, दो ही महीने में भारत आना पड़ा । नवम्बर, 1961 में राहुल जी दार्जिलिंग से कलकत्ता आये । उन्हें मृत्यु का आभास होने लगा था । 8 दिसम्बर को डायरी लिखना छोड़ा और 11 दिसम्बर को स्मृति लोप का आघात हुआ । **"गगन विहारी हारिल जमीन पर तड़फड़ाने लगा"** । भारत और रूस के अच्छे से अच्छे डाक्टर भी उन्हें ठीक न कर सके । अत्यधिक कष्टप्रद कारुणिक स्थिति से गुजरते हुए 1[illegible], अप्रैल 1963 को 70 की उमर पार करके अनन्त की यात्रा पर निकल पड़े ।

> **"सत्तर की उम्र कुछ कम नहीं होती और न तीन सौ (?) से ऊपर पुस्तकों का सृजन एक जीवनकाल के लिए कुछ कम कहा जा सकता है लेकिन तो भी राहुल का देहान्त आकस्मिक और असमय लगता है तो इसीलिए कि उसकी क्रियाशक्ति इस अन्तिम बीमारी के पहले तक बिल्कुल अक्षुण थी और वह अपनी आयु के एक-एक पल से उसका रस निचोड़ने में उसी तरह लगे हुए थे जो कि उनकी खास पहचान थी । जो आदमी कुछ करता-धरता नहीं, बस आलसी की तरह खटिया तोड़ता पड़ा रहता है, उसका मरना**

> एक बात है और जो आदमी लगातार काम में लगा हुआ है वह कभी भी जाये, कितना भी बूढ़ा हो जाये, मन उसके जाने को जैसे स्वीकार नहीं कर पाता, यही लगता है कि ऐसी क्या जल्दी थी, अभी और कुछ बरस रह जाते ।"[22]

III

> "काम का उनका दिन सोलह घंटे से कम नहीं होता, अठारह घंटे भले ही हो जाये । कड़ा से कड़ा बुखार हो तो भी, अनशन से क्लान्त शरीर हो तो भी ।"[13]

> "अविश्रान्त भाव से काम करते रहते । उनके साथ बहुत कम सहयोगी काम कर पाते थे । एक ही साथ दो-दो तीन-तीन सहयोगियों से वह काम लेते थे । अधिक से अधिक चार-छः महीना काम कर लेना उनके किसी भी सहायक के लिये बहुत प्रशंसनीय था।"[10]

> " जिन्होंने राहुल को बरसों-बरसों रोज़ नियमपूर्वक अठारह और बीस घंटे काम करते देखा है, वह जानते हैं कि राहुल ने अपने शरीर के साथ कैसा अत्याचार किया है । आराम का ख्याल नहीं, बीमारी का लिहाज़ नहीं, जोता है घोड़े की तरह, चाबुक मार-मार कर ! और अन्त तक यही उनका ढंग रहा।"

> "कहीं जाना नहीं, आना नहीं, घूमने तक की फुर्सत नहीं और थोड़ा-बहुत जो कुछ घूमना होता वहीं अपने कमरे में घूम लेते-खुद को जैसे काल कोठरी की सजा दे रखी हो । शरीर थक चुका था, जवाब देने लगा था ।"[22]

> " उस वय (67 साल) में भी राहुल जी की कार्य क्षमता देख कर हमें आश्चर्य होता था । - - - - - - रात को 2 बजे से पहले न सोते । अपने रहने के दोनों कमरों को उन्होंने काल-कोठरी का रूप दे रखा था। रात को मच्छर तथा कीड़े-मकोड़े भीतर न जाएं, इसलिए सभी झरोखे कांच से बंद करवा डाले थे तथा संध्या होते ही उनका सेवक आ कर शीशेदार खिड़कियां बन्द कर जाता था ।"[27]

इतने कड़े परिश्रम ने उनके जीवन को छोटा करने में बड़ा भारी हाथ बंटाया लेकिन धुंआ देते हुए चिरकाल तक सुलगते रहने की अपेक्षा क्षणमात्र के लिये प्रज्वलित होना श्रेयस्कर – **क्षणं प्रज्वलितं श्रेयः, न च धूमायते चिरात्** – समझने वाले राहुल भला कहां मानने वाले थे। इसी मन्त्र के बल पर उन्होंने एक व्यापक रचना-संसार का सृजन किया, जिसकी सूची परिशिष्ट 2 पर अवलोकनीय है । यहां उसके उल्लेखनीय पक्षों की चर्चा समीचीन होगी ।

राहुल बाबा किसी मठ या 'कूप-संस्थान' के उन महाचार्यों में से नहीं थे जो गांवों से मातृभाषा में शिक्षा लेकर ऊंचे आसनों तक पहुंचने के बाद अपनी भाषा में लिखने में हीनता महसूस करते हैं और प्रायः यह बहाना करते देखे जाते हैं कि अपनी भाषा में उनकी कलम नहीं चलती । इसके विपरीत दर्जनों भाषाएं सीख कर भी राहुल जी ने अपनी भाषा को वरीयता दे कर उसकी शोध-साहित्य प्रस्तुत करने की क्षमता का परिचय कराया। उनका दृढ़ विश्वास था कि ज्ञान का प्रवाह आम आदमी की ओर उन्मुख होना चाहिए और यह केवल उनकी अपनी भाषा के माध्यम से ही संभव है । इस सोच को उन्होंने उस जमाने में अमली जामा पहनाया जबकि अंग्रेजी राज में सूरज नहीं डूबता था और चारों ओर अंग्रेजों का बोलबाला था । एक बार ऊंचे आसनों से उतरकर यदि कुछ दिन जनता के बीच विचरते हुए दुनिया देखी जाये तो आसानी से समझा जा सकता है कि पूर्व उपनिवेशों के अलावा, अन्य इलाकों का आकार कितना ही छोटा और आबादी कम हो, वहाँ के लोगों में अपनी भाषा के प्रति गौरव का भाव कितना प्यारा और पक्का है ।

बाबा ने इस भ्रम को भी बखूबी धराशायी कर दिखाया कि हिन्दी में लिखने पर मान्यता नहीं मिलती । 'वोल्गा से गंगा' और 'मध्य एशिया का इतिहास' इसके जीते-जागते गवाह हैं । इनका अनुवाद भारतीय भाषाओं और अंग्रेजी में ही नहीं अन्य विदेशी भाषाओं में भी किया गया। यदि लेखन उत्कृष्ट और शोध परक हो तो प्रायः दूसरे देश वाले भी उसके क़द्रदान होते हैं ।

लोक साहित्य के संग्रह में उन्होंने विशेष रुचि दिखलायी । हिन्दी एवं उसकी बोलियों को साहित्यिक स्वायत्तता दिलाने तथा उन्हें शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाने पर पूरा बल दिया । हिन्दी के प्रश्न पर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से निष्कासित होना पड़ा, परन्तु समझौता स्वीकार नहीं किया । 'शासन शब्द-कोष' और 'प्रशासनिक टर्मिनोलॉजी' तैयार की । 'तिब्बती-संस्कृत शब्द कोष' प्रकाशित कराया ।

हिन्दी को उनकी सर्व उल्लेखनीय देन है तिब्बत के 'ङोर' विहार से 750 ई० के सरहपा के दोहाकोश की प्रति खोज निकालना । वे पहले व्यक्ति थे जिन्होंने सिद्ध आचार्यों के प्राचीन अपभ्रंश साहित्य की ओर ध्यान दिलाया और इस प्रकार हिन्दी साहित्य के उद्भव का समय तत्कालीन मान्य काल से 400 वर्ष पीछे चला गया । उन्होंने सरहपा के दोहों के तिब्बती पाठ को मूल अपभ्रंश में सम्पादित करके तिब्बती और हिन्दी अनुवाद के साथ प्रकाशित कराया ।

दक्खिनी हिन्दी काव्य धारा' भी बहुत काम की किताब है। इसमें उन्होंने बताया है कि 'रेख्ता' या 'उदू' प्राचीन हिन्दी की ही एक शैली है, जिसे वली उल्लाह, मोहम्मद कुली और कुतुब शाही आदि ने अपने लेखन से सम्पन्न बनाया। उपन्यासों में 'सिंह–सेनापति', 'जय यौधेय' और 'मधुर स्वप्न', अंग्रेजी से हिन्दी में रूपान्तरित 'विस्मृति के गर्भ में', 'जादू का मुल्क' और 'दाखुदा', तथा 'सरदार पृथ्वी सिंह' की जीवनी आदि रचनाएं भी खासी पढ़ी जाती हैं।

बौद्ध धर्म से सम्बन्धित साहित्य में 'मज्झिम निकाय', 'दीर्घ निकाय', 'विनय पिटक', 'धम्म पद' का हिन्दी अनुवाद तथा 'बुद्ध चर्या' सर्व प्रमुख हैं। तिब्बत में बौद्ध धर्म के उद्भव और विकास तथा भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वानों के योगदान के विषय में 'तिब्बत में बौद्ध धर्म' नामक पुस्तक में विस्तृत एवं गम्भीर जानकारी उपलब्ध करायी है। बौद्ध धर्म से सम्बन्धित विषयों पर इनके अतिरिक्त भी कई रचनाएं लिख कर अपना योगदान किया है।

उनकी सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि तिब्बत की चार साहसिक यात्राओं में 'शलू', 'ङोर', 'गु–रुन–ल्हा' आदि बौद्ध विहारों से संस्कृत बौद्ध साहित्य की दुर्लभ पुरापोथियों को प्रकाश में लाना मानी जाती है। इनका विवरण 'जर्नल आफ दि बिहार एण्ड ओड़िसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी' में प्रकाशित हुआ है (परिशिष्ट 3)। राहुल जी अपनी इन यात्राओं में खरीद कर, भेंट में, नकल उतार कर और फोटो खींच कर जो सामग्री खच्चरों पर लाद कर भारत लाये हैं उसमें 'कंजूर' और 'तंजूर' के संग्रह तथा अनेक ऐसे ग्रन्थ सम्मिलित हैं जो भारत में कई शताब्दियों पूर्व लुप्त हो चुके थे। इनमें से किसी एक ग्रन्थ की खोज किसी भी अन्वेषक को अक्षय ख्याति दिलाने के लिये बहुत काफी है।

इन ग्रन्थों पर पाश्चात्य विद्वानों विशेषकर रूस के श्चेर्बात्स्की और इटली के तूची अर्से से नजरी लगाये थे। यूरोप के संग्रहालय इनकी मनमांगी कीमत दे सकते थे। इनके भारत पहुंचने की सूचना पा कर पाश्चात्य शोध–कर्ताओं यथा- ओतो, रूदोल्फ, सिल्व्यां लेवी आदि ने समुद्री तार से बधाइयां भेजीं। श्चेर्बात्स्की ने उन्हें रूस आने का निमंत्रण भेजा और काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल को पत्र लिख कर इस सामग्री की खोज को रेखांकित करने और इनके महत्व की चर्चा के लिए अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कान्फ्रेन्स के आयोजन हेतु अनुशंसा की। उन्होंने यह भी लिखा कि –

> **" राहुल जी ने धर्मकीर्ति के ग्रन्थों का पता लगाकर उन्हें प्राप्त करने का जो आश्चर्यजनक कार्य किया उसका समाचार पढ़ कर हम लोगों को अत्यन्त हर्ष हुआ। धर्मकीर्ति भारत वर्ष के कान्ट थे। अब तक हमें उनके ग्रन्थों के अनुवाद चीनी और तिब्बती में पढ़ने पड़ते थे, पर अब तो मूल ग्रन्थ ही मिल गया है। मैं और मेरे सहायक डाक्टर वस्त्रीकोव भारत पहुंचकर उन ग्रन्थों को देखना चाहते हैं।"** 15

इतनी दुर्लभ सामग्री की खोज और उस से मिली ख्याति के बाद ऐसा नहीं कि राहुल जी बैठ गये हों। एक उत्कृष्ट शोधकर्ता की तरह उन्होंने शांत रक्षित के 'वाद न्यायः', धर्मकीर्ति के 'प्रमाण वार्त्तिकम्', – मातृचेट के 'अध्यर्ध शतक', नागार्जुन की 'विग्रह व्यावर्तिनी', मनोरथ नन्दी कृत 'प्रमाणवार्तिक वृत्ति', प्रज्ञाकर गुप्त कृत 'प्रमाणवार्तिक भाष्य', और सरहपा के 'दोहा कोश' का सम्पादन किया, वसुबन्धु की 'विज्ञप्ति मातृता सिद्धि' का अनुवाद किया और 'अभिधर्म कोश', 'हेतु बिन्दु' तथा 'सम्बन्ध परीक्षा' और 'प्रमाणवार्तिक' की टीकाएं भी लिखीं। प्रो० सिल्वयां लेवी ने उनके इस कार्य के विषय में इस प्रकार लिखा है –

> **" मुझे सन्देह है कि बहुत दिनों से कम से कम एक शताब्दी से, नेपाल के पण्डित अमृतानन्द के जमाने से कोई भी बौद्ध विद्वान ऐसी सुन्दर भाषा नहीं लिख सका था। वह भाषा जिसे अश्वघोष, नागार्जुन और वसुबन्धु ने ऐसे अधिकारपूर्ण ढंग से व्यवहार किया था। आपका अभिधर्मकोश आपकी संस्कृत योग्यता का एक प्रमाण देता है। आपकी भूमिका, आपका विशाल अध्ययन और आपकी बहु भाषा विद्वता सूचित करती हैं।"** 15

> **" खास तौर से मुझे खुशी होगी भिक्षु राहुल सांकृत्यायन के साथ काम करने में, क्योंकि मैं उनकी गणना बौद्ध धर्म के वर्तमान सर्वश्रेष्ठ विद्वानों में करता हूं और उन्हें बौद्ध आदर्शों का एक प्रतिनिधि मानता हूं।"** 15

दर्शन शास्त्र पर लिखे गये ग्रन्थों में प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन भारतीय एवं विदेशी दार्शनिक–विचारधाराओं का परिचय देते हुए उनपर समीक्षा प्रस्तुत करने वाला, 'दर्शन–दिग्दर्शन' नामक ग्रन्थ बड़ा स्तरीय माना जाता है। हिन्दी में यह अपनी तरह का पहला प्रयत्न है। इसमें इस्लामी, यूरोपीय और यूनानी विचार- धाराओं पर विचार किया गया है। इसके अन्त में भारतीय और विदेशी दार्शनिकों का एक तुलनात्मक चार्ट भी दिया गया है।

इतिहास और पुरातत्व राहुल जी के सर्वप्रिय विषय रहे हैं। इनकी धुरी पर उनके चिन्तन, मनन और लेखन का चक्र घूमता रहा है। उन्होंने इतिहास की सबसे ठोस सामग्री पुरातात्विक साक्ष्यों को माना है। अपनी रचनाओं के प्रणयन में उन्होंने इनका जमकर प्रयोग किया है। उनकी कहानियों, उपन्यास, इतिहास आदि रचनाओं में जगह–जगह इनके दर्शन होते चलते हैं। यात्रा–विवरणों में तो ऐसी सामग्री का लेखा–जोखा हर ठहराव पर मिलता है। राहुल जी में इनके उपयोग की अद्‌भुद क्षमता और विषय में गहरी पैठ दिखती है। मंदिर–मूर्ति, सिक्के, साहित्य, जन–जीवन, परम्पराओं, पुराने बर्तन, चित्रों,

वास्तु, महाश्म और अभिलेखों-पाण्डुलिपियों आदि के अलग-अलग विशेषज्ञ मिलकर भी कभी -कभी जैसा अध्ययन करते हैं, राहुल जी ने अकेले ही उनके समतुल्य और कहीं-कहीं उनसे बढ़कर कार्य किये हैं। पोथियाँ और अभिलेखों को पढ़ने, पाठान्तरण, रूपान्तरण और व्याख्या-टीका करने की उनमें आश्चर्यजनक गति थी । इस विषय के विद्वानों ने भी उनकी इस सिद्धहस्तता की प्रशंसा की है ।

'पुरातत्व निबन्धावली' और 'गंगा' का पुरातत्व अंक इस विषय में उनकी गहरी अभिरुचि के पक्के दस्तावेज हैं । उन्होंने इस विधा में विद्वानों के साथ सामान्यजनों की भागीदारी पर भी विशेष रूप से बल दिया है । इनके परीक्षण-परिरक्षण में उनके योगदान की उपादेयता को उन्होंने बड़े सरल और प्रभावशाली ढंग से बताया है । वस्तुतः भारत में पुरातात्विक सामग्री इतने स्थानों पर, इतने रूपों में, मिलती है कि केवल अधिकारी-विद्वानों के बलबूते पर ही इनका अवगाहन और सार-संभाल कर लेना संभव नहीं है । राहुल जी इसके लिए सीधे आम आदमी का आवाहन करते हैं :-

> **" यह ख्याल रखें कि, पुरातत्वविद् न सर्वज्ञ हैं और न वह भारत में सब जगह पहुंच ही सके हैं, इसीलिए आपके गांव के डीह या महादेव स्थान पर ढेर की हुई खण्डित मूर्तियों के टुकड़ों में भी कभी कोई हीरा निकल आ सकता है ।"**
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> **" (क) मिट्टी से भठे तथा दब गये भीटों वाले जहां तालाब हों, (ख) जहां आस-पास पुराने देवस्थानों या पीपल के वृक्षों के नीचे टूटी-फूटी मूर्तियां अधिक मिलती हों, (ग) जहां खेत जोतते या मिट्टी खोदते वक्त पुराने कुंए या ईंटों की दीवारें आदि निकल आती हों, (घ) जहां बरसात में मिट्टी के घुल जाने पर तांबे आदि के पैसे तथा दूसरी चीजें मिलती हों (चौकोर और मूर्ति वाले सिक्के अधिक पुराने होते हैं, और पाने वाले को, उनका कई गुना अधिक दाम मिल सकते है), ऐसे स्थान पुरातत्व के लिए अधिक उपयोगी होते हैं ।"**
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> **" गांव में, साधारण लोगों में, यह भ्रम फैला हुआ है कि, सरकार जहां-कहीं खुदाई करती है, वह किसी खजाने के लिए । उन्हें समझना चाहिए कि, पुरातत्व की खुदाई में सरकार ने जितना खर्च किया है, यदि खुदाई में निकले हुए सोने-चांदी के दाम से मुकाबिला किया जाये, तो उसका शतांश भी न होगा। फिर भी सोने-चांदी या कीमती पत्थर की जो कोई चीज मिलती है, उसे न गलाया जाता है, न बेचा जाता है । वह तो भिन्न-भिन्न संग्रहालयों में, इतिहास के विद्वानों और प्रेमियों के देखने और जानने के लिए, रख दी जाती हैं । यदि गांव में इस तरह के सिक्के आदि किसी को मिलें तो उसे वह गला कर या तोड़-फोड़ करके खराब न कर दें । सम्भव है कि उससे उसकी अपनी जाति का कोई सुन्दर इतिहास मालूम किया जा सके । बहुत से भूले वंशों के परिचय और गौरव स्थापन करने में इन चीजों ने बहुत सहायता की है । सम्भव है, ऐसी चीज को गलाने या तोड़ने वाला अपने पूर्व पुरुषों की कीर्ति और इतिहास को अपनी इस क्रिया द्वारा गला और तोड़ रहा हो।"**[32 (V)]

इतने सरल लफ्जों और इतने साफ तरीके से पुरातत्व में जनता की भागीदारी की बात उनके अलावा कोई और नहीं कर सका है । इस निबन्धावली में नक्शों और सन्दर्भों के साथ 'श्रावस्ती,' 'जेतवन' और 'विक्रमशिला', 'जथरिया' और 'थारू' लोगों, 'वज्रयान और चौरासी सिद्ध' और 'तिब्बत में चित्र कला' आदि विषयों पर शोध-परक और सूचनाप्रद लेख सम्मिलित हैं । इनमें प्रस्तुत सामग्री और रेखा-चित्र विषय को सहज और सुबोध बनाने के लिए बड़े जतन से संयोजित किये गये हैं।

'गंगा' के 'पुरातत्व अंक' के प्रकाशन से तत्कालीन हिन्दी जगत में सनसनी फैल गयी । इस भाषा में इसके पूर्व ऐसा प्रयोग नहीं हुआ था । इसको मुख्यतः राहुल जी ने ही अपने शोध-परिणामों से उपयोगी बनाया था । यद्यपि अब तक पुरातत्व विषय में बहुत सी नयी-नयी खोजें हो चुकी हैं, फिर भी, इसकी उपयोगिता आज तक बनी हुई है । वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल, भगवत शरण उपाध्याय आदि विद्वतजनों ने मुक्त कंठ से इसका महत्व स्वीकार किया है ।

रूस यात्राओं के दौरान राहुल जी ने करीबन 2400 पृष्ठ की जो सामग्री जुटाई थी, उसके आधार पर उन्होंने दो भागों में 'मध्य एशिया का इतिहास' नामक ग्रन्थ का प्रणयन किया । अन्वेषण और शोध की दृष्टि से यह एक उत्कृष्ट रचना मानी जाती है । इसमें सम्मिलित सामग्री इसके पहले कभी एक जगह जुटाकर प्रकाशित नहीं करायी गयी थी । इस क्षेत्र का बहुत सा अध्ययन रूसी भाषा में उपलब्ध था और उससे सम्बन्धित स्थल सोवियत क्षेत्र में स्थित थे । इस क्षेत्र में जाना और मूल रूसी भाषा को समझना, दोनों ही, रूस में हुए शोध-कार्यों का लाभ लेने के रास्ते में दुष्कर व्यवधान थे । लेकिन राहुल के लिए इन्हें पार कर जाना बड़ा सहज था, उन्होंने तोलसताफ आदि रूसी अन्वेषकों और उत्खननकर्त्ताओं की रिपोर्टों तथा अंग्रेजी और अन्य भाषाओं में उपलब्ध सामग्री का भरपूर उपयोग करके इस ग्रन्थ में भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वानों और भिक्षुओं द्वारा मध्य एशिया में प्रसारित सन्देश और वहां के जनजीवन, साहित्य और कला आदि पर पड़े प्रभाव का विस्तृत विवरण दिया है । इसके पूर्व ऐसा ग्रन्थ किसी भी भाषा में नहीं लिखा गया था । इसकी उपयोगिता का अन्दाजा इसी से लगाया जा सकता है कि इसे पढ़ने के लिए पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने हिन्दी पढ़ी और इसका अनुवाद अंग्रेजी के अतिरिक्त कई

विदेशी भाषाओं में किया गया । इस ग्रन्थ के लिये सामग्री जुटाने के साथ ही उन्होंने 400 पृष्ठों में एक 'रूसी-संस्कृत शब्दकोश' का प्रणयन किया था । यह कोश अभी तक अप्रकाशित है, किन्तु इसे पुरातात्विक शब्दों पर रूसी और संस्कृत भाषाओं में की गयी टीकाओं से युक्त एक अनूठा शब्द-कोश बताया जाता है ।

वोल्गा से गंगा (कहानी संग्रह), सिंह सेनापति और जय यौधेय (उपन्यास) आदि शुद्ध रूप से पुरातत्व की पृष्ठभूमि में लिखी गयी ऐसी रचनाएं हैं कि इन्हें पढ़ने वाले बिना किसी यत्न के सहज की एक खास क्षेत्र के युग विशेष की जीवंत झांकियां देखते चलते हैं । 'साम्यवाद ही क्यों' का पहला अध्याय भी मुख्यतः पुरातात्विक खोजों के आधार पर लिखा गया है ।

पुरातत्व-इतिहास लेखन में उनकी अति तीव्र गति का अनुमान इस दृष्टांत से लगाया जा सकता है कि -

> **" एक बार जब उन्हें आजमगढ़ जिला गजेटियर समिति की ओर से उक्त जिले का इतिहास तैयार करने का काम सौंपा गया, तो उन्होंने सिर्फ 6 दिन में समूचे जिले का दौरा कर, न सिर्फ उसका प्रारंभिक इतिहास ही तैयार कर दिया, वरन् विभिन्न गांवों से करीब 58 मूर्तियां एकत्रित कर उनके पुरातात्विक परिचय के साथ उन्हें वहां के 'हरिऔध कला भवन संग्रहालय' को भेंट कर आये । "**[5]

राहुल जी ने हजारीबाग जेल में जिन चार किताबों का अंग्रेजी से हिन्दी में रूपान्तरण किया था – 'शैतान की आंखें', 'विस्मृति के गर्भ में', 'जादू का मुल्क' और 'सोने की ढाल' – उनकी पृष्ठभूमि में मिस्र और अफ्रीका आदि का पुरातत्व ही है । जासूसी उपन्यासों की तरह रोचक इन उपन्यासों में पाठक क्रमशः मिस्र और अफ्रीका आदि की पूर्व संस्कृतियों का रसास्वादन करता है ।

उन्होंने एक-एक कर कई धर्म धारण किये और आंक-तौल कर त्याज दिये । एक धर्म ऐसा भी रहा जो उन्हें जीवन भर धारे रहा और जिसने दुनिया दिखा कर केदार को राहुल बनाया । जब इस 'सत्य' को उन्होंने पहचाना तो औरों के भले के लिए इसका दर्शन 'घुमक्कड़ शास्त्र' में उतार कर प्रस्तुत किया । उनकी सारी उपलब्धियों का मूलाधार यही धर्म है, जिसकी बदौलत वे वह सब कर सके जिनका जिक्र ऊपर किया गया है । मेरी समझ से उनकी सबसे बड़ी देन तथा सर्वश्रेष्ठ और सर्वजन हिताय रचना यह 'शास्त्र' ही है । यह घर-घर में संजो कर रखने की चीज है । घुमक्कड़ी और घुमक्कड़ की महिमा का बखान करते हुए इसके पहले अध्याय में इस तरह जिज्ञासा जगायी गयी है –

> **" घुमक्कड़ से बढ़ कर व्यक्ति और समाज का कोई हितकारी नहीं हो सकता । कहा जाता है, ब्रह्मा ने सृष्टि को पैदा, धारण और नाश करने का जिम्मा अपने ऊपर लिया है । पैदा करना और नाश करना दूर की बातें हैं, उनकी यथार्थता सिद्ध करने के लिये न प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण सहायक हो सकता है, न अनुमान ही। हां दुनिया के धारण की बात तो निश्चय ही न ब्रह्मा के ऊपर है, न विष्णु के और न शंकर ही के ऊपर। दुनिया दुःख में हो चाहे सुख में – सभी समय यदि सहारा पाती है तो घुमक्कड़ों की ही ओर से ।"**
>
> **" घुमक्कड़ क्यों दुनिया की सर्वश्रेष्ठ विभूति है? इसी लिये कि उसी ने दुनिया को बनाया है । यदि आदिम पुरुष एक जगह नदी या तालाब के किनारे गर्म मुल्क में पड़े रहते, तो वह दुनिया को आगे नहीं ले जा सकते थे ।"**
>
> **" अमेरिका अधिकतर निर्जन सा पड़ा था एशिया के कूप-मंडूकों को घुमक्कड़ धर्म की महिमा भूल गयी इसलिये उन्होंने अमेरिका पर अपनी झंडी नहीं गाड़ी। दो शताब्दियों पहले तक आस्ट्रेलिया खाली पड़ा था। चीन और भारत को सभ्यता का बड़ा गर्व है, लेकिन इतनी अकल नहीं आयी कि जाकर वहां अपना झंडा गाड़ आते । आज अपने 40-50 करोड़ की जनसंख्या के भार से भारत और चीन की भूमि दबी जा रही है, और आस्ट्रेलियां में एक करोड़ आदमी नहीं हैं । आज एशिया वासियों के लिए आस्ट्रेलिया का द्वार बन्द है, लेकिन दो सदी पहले वह हमारे हाथ की चीज थी । क्यों भारत और चीन आस्ट्रेलिया की अपार सम्पत्ति और अमित भूमि से वंचित रह गये? इसलिए कि वह घुमक्कड़ धर्म से विमुख थे, उसे भूल चुके थे ।"**
>
> **" घुमक्कड़ धर्म से बढ़कर दुनिया में धर्म नहीं है। धर्म भी छोटी बात है, उसे घुमक्कड़ के साथ लगाना 'महिमा घटी समुद्र की रावण बसा पड़ोस' वाली बात होगी । घुमक्कड़ होना मनुष्य के लिए परम् सौभाग्य की बात है । यह पन्थ अपने अनुयायी को मरने के बाद किसी काल्पनिक स्वर्ग का प्रलोभन नहीं देता, इसके लिए तो कह सकते हैं – क्या खूब सौदा नकद है, इस हाथ दे उस हाथ ले ।"**[32(VII)]

इस शास्त्र के मर्म का मतलब भर घोल मिलाकर शिक्षा और समाज में क्रान्तिकारी बदलाव लाये जा सकते हैं । कम से कम आठवें दर्जे से आगे की पढ़ाई के लिये घुमक्कड़ी को अनिवार्य विषय बना दिया जाये तो औपचारिक पढ़ाई खत्म करते–करते सभी छात्र चारों कोने अपना देश, वन–पर्वत, मरु–मैदान, सरित–सागर विस्तार, जगह–जगह के लोग, उनके रीति–रिवाज, रहन–सहन को अपनी आंखों से देख–परख कर पक्के हिन्दुस्तानी और बेहतर आदमी बन सकेंगे । इस प्रक्रिया का अनिवार्य प्रतिफल अच्छा समाज है ।

यह शास्त्र सबके लिये त्रिवेणी स्नान की तरह तारक है । जाति–पांति, धर्म–सम्प्रदाय, क्षेत्रीयता जैसी कितनी ही संकीर्णताओं से घुमक्कड़ पंथ का बुनियादी वैर है । उदारता, मानवता, विश्व बन्धुत्व, एकीकरण और सर्वे–भवन्तु सुखिनः इसके मेरु-दण्ड की कड़ियां हैं । ज्ञान–विज्ञान के द्वार खोलने और सभी तरह के पाखंडों और पोंगापन का खण्डन करने वाले इस धर्म में आज की बहुत सी लाइलाज समस्याओं का इलाज छुपा है ।

राहुल के घुमक्कड़ पंथ को बहुत गम्भीरता से लिया जाना चाहिये। इसका आशय सतही सैर-सपाटे, पिकनिक या मौज-मस्ती से नहीं है । दुनिया के बड़े-बड़े धर्म–प्रवर्तक और अनुसंधानी, यथा – गार्गी, बुद्ध, महावीर, ईसा, शंकराचार्य, चैतन्य प्रभु, गुरु नानक, डार्विन, दयानन्द – आदि इस पंथ के श्रेष्ठ अनुयायी बताये गये हैं । इनकी राह चल कर जीवन सफल बनाने और पर हितकारी होने में किसे सन्देह हो सकता है ? मतलब साफ है, घर में खाट तोड़ते हुए मेज पर ही काम करके 'कोल्हू का बैल' तो बना जा सकता है, अनुसंधान और सर्वजनहिताय उपाय निकालना इस मार्ग के बिना संभव नहीं है । श्रेष्ठ घुमक्कड़ बनने की क्षमता नहीं हो, तो भी इसके अभाव में कहां गुजारा है ? खनिज, वनस्पतियां या पुरानी जगहें खोजनी हों, जनभावना टटोलनी हो या सत्य का प्रयोग करें, सबके लिये 'एक्सप्लोरेशन' सर्वेक्षण, पद–यात्रा, परिव्रजन,जो भी नाम दे लें, उन्नति की ओर ले जाने का यह अकेला रास्ता है । इसलिये सभी को इस पंथ पर निर्द्वन्द भाव से चलना चाहिए ।

IV

विश्वास नहीं होता, एक आदमी इतना कुछ कर सकता है । निपट गांव से मिडिल पास करके घर से निकला किशोर प्रायः अनौपचारिक शिक्षा के बल पर क्रमशः अपनी संभावनाओं को इतना विकसित कर ले कि दो–दो विदेशी विश्वविद्यालयों में अलग–अलग विषयों का अध्यापन करे और डी० लिट् की मानद उपाधियों से सम्मानित किया जाये । अपने मुल्क के कोने–अतरे ही नहीं, बीसों देशों का 'दर्शन' करते हुए वहां के लोगों से उनकी बानी में बतियाए । निरन्तर चलते रह कर लिखने पढ़ने का इतना समय निकाल ले कि करीब 50,000 पृष्ठ छपने के बाद भी कुछ मसौदे बचे रह जायें । इतना स्तरीय लिखे कि दूसरे देश के विद्वान साथ काम करने की ख्वाहिश करें । पांच धर्म धारण और बाकी की छान–बीन कर उनका नाव की तरह इस्तेमाल करे । जरूरत पड़ने पर सब कुछ किनारे रख कर परदेशी और देशी जुल्म के खिलाफ लड़े, घायल हो, महात्मा गांधी और राजेन्द्र बाबू जैसे नेताओं के साथ भाषण दे, एक–दो नहीं पूरे पांच साल जेल काटे और राजनीतिक ओहदे विकास के पड़ाव बना ले ।

बृहत्तर भारत के कोने–कोने, तिब्बत–चीन–जापान, कोरिया – मंचूरिया और सोवियत के आरम्पार, बाकू की ज्वालामाई, फारस और पीसा की मीनार देखने वाले इस स्वामी के सामने बड़े–बड़े घुमक्कड़ बौने लगते हैं । हवेन्तसांग, फाहयान, स्काट, कोलम्बस और मार्कोपोलो, एक से एक साहसी अन्वेषक हुए हैं, लेकिन उनकी तरह 40 साल विचरने वाला बिरला ही मिलेगा । ये यात्री अगर राहुल की तरह व्याकरण, वेदान्त– दर्शन पढ़ने बैठते तो जाहिरन ड्यौढ़ी लांघने के लाले लग जाते ।

जाने–माने विद्वानों में भी किसी–किसी ने एक से ज्यादा विषयों पर, इतना विशद और इतना अच्छा लिखा होगा । यदि उन्हें दुर्गम दर्रे पार करके पामीर के पठार की हाड़–तोड़ शीत में पोथियां पढ़कर 500 श्लोक प्रतिदिन की रफ्तार से [redacted] श्लोक नकल करने पड़ते तो रास्ते में उनके दम तोड़ देने और व्याकरण-श्लोक भूल जाने का खासा भय रहता । हो सकता है कोई–कोई यह सब भी साध लेते तो तिब्बती, चीनी, रूसी, बर्मी, फ्रांसीसी, पालि, प्राकृत आदि भाषाओं और ब्राह्मी, कुटिला, शारदा, नेवारी, रंजन व वर्तुल लिपियों से पार पाना क्या संभव होता ? व्याकरण, साहित्य, धर्म–दर्शन, इतिहास–पुरातत्व आदि विषयों के अलग–अलग विशेषज्ञ बहुतेरे मिल जायेंगे लेकिन एक ही व्यक्ति में इन सबका उत्कृष्ट समन्वय कहां मिलता है ? इतना ही नहीं वह व्यक्ति सहज विमोहिनी बलिष्ठ काया, मृदु स्वभाव और बुद्ध के समान तेज व प्रभाव रखने वाला भी हो ? ऐसे विलक्षण संयोग तो राहुल, केवल राहुल, में ही दिखते हैं ।

> **"जो काम अक्सर अनुदानों के बल पर बड़े–बड़े प्रतिष्ठान, शोधकर्मियों के दल–बल के साथ, नहीं कर पाते वह उस अकेले जिज्ञासु ने कर दिखाया ।"** [29(ii)]

> **" राहुल एक व्यक्ति नहीं है, जिस साधारण अर्थ में हम इस शब्द को ग्रहण करते हैं, वह एक में अनेक व्यक्ति हैं, और अनेक में एक–उनकी कर्मठता या क्रियाशीलता अनेक व्यक्तियों की समन्वित कर्मठता या क्रियाशीलता है ।"** [22]

> **" ईश्वर जैसे नाना रूपों में आस्ति–नास्ति का खेल खेलता है, ऐसे ही राहुल जी के गुण इतने विरोधी थे कि मानव की विचित्रता मुखर हो उठती थी । भदन्त**

> **आनन्द कौसल्यायन जब उनकी चर्चा करने लगते तो जैसे कोई वीतरागी योगी अंतर में उतर आता । बंधुवर नागार्जुन उनके जिस रूप का वर्णन करते वह उस ऐश्वर्यशाली राजा का होता था जो शापग्रस्त होकर फिर से पृथ्वी पर आ गया हो । तीसरे बंधु उनके स्नेह और विनय की चर्चा इस प्रकार करते थे कि मैत्रेय की प्रतिमा साकार हो उठती थी । '**[15]

ऐसे लोग पृथ्वी पर एक बार ही आते हैं । अपने विलक्षण और चमत्कारिक कृत्यों से सबको चकित, आलोकित करके, आगे का रास्ता दिखाते हुए चले जाते हैं । ऐसे ही लोगों के लिये कहा जाता है – उन्हें भगवान ने अपने हाथों से, फुरसत की घड़ी में बड़े जतन से गढ़ा होगा। उनके लिये कालिदास की यह उक्ति बहुत सटीक बैठायी गयी है [10] –

'तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूत समाधिना ।'

(विधाता ने उन्हें महाभूतों के अद्भुद समन्वय से रचा था ।)

उन्हें स्मरण करते हुए हम उनका शतशः अभिनन्दन करते हैं ।

राकेश तिवारी

उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन

RĀHULA SĀNKṚITYĀYANA

The year 1993 is the centenary year of a vagabond wanderer, who has aptly been likened to a 'carvan' which passes through new destinations and new lands, every day assimilating varied experiences. Perhaps only due to this reason, he has narrated the account of his own life long journey in the form of a travelogue.

Though this born gipsy has set off for globe trotting in a lighter vagrant vein but the more carelessly he tried to scan the world, the more he dug deep into the realities of the universe. But no enigma of the world could restrain him, he kept on unfolding his personality on the principle of 'one who digs the deepest gets the best.' His prodigious curiosity and 'faquir' like character exhorted him to traverse lands after lands; to travel in time and space simultaneously. Travelling became his religion, so much so, that he founded a 'wandering cult' and he even wrote a cult classic on wandering to give his cult a classical base and sanctity. This is one aspect of his personality, and if all the facets of his personality are interwoven, it would make an uncomparable character known as *Rahula Sānkṛityāyana* all over the world.

Memoirs of the persons who came in contact with him are engrained with his enchanting image. This six footer wanderer, possessing bewitching physical constitution with broad fore head, vast chest and strong shoulders has been likened to native *Aryans* and *kaddavar Pathans.* His smiling and radiant face always illuminated with a halo, like Buddha and Swami Vivekananda. He was full of human milk. His nature bore child like innocence and naivity. His behaviour was always very simple, decent, courteous, desciplined and balanced.

> "But at the time I least suspected that the man will blossom into this Rāhula Sānkṛityāyana as I know him today - a man resembling the Buddha, a man absolutely free from hostility to any living man, universal in his outlook, absolutely calm, to whom children run up instinctively, to whom man would respond as to Christ or Gautam if he said "follow me."8

He was also known as Rāhula, Rāhula ji, Rāhula Bābā, Mahapandita, Ghumakkar Raj, Pandit ji and Ramodar Sadhu. None of the above names was given by his parents, but were appended to him at various turns of his journey of life. It is only due to this unique character that a remote sleeping village, Pandaha, of distt. Azamgarh of U.P. is being discussed today far and wide. Being paternal village of Rāhula ji, Kanaila, too,is drawing the attention of the media. Names of his mother Kulwanti Devi and father Govardhan Pandey are also glowing in the light of his writings and glory.

We don't have any hesitation in saying that a number of volumes of 'Prāgdhārā' as well as our capability would not be sufficient to describe all his works and every aspect of his character and personality. But, dedicating this volume of 'Prāgdhārā' to this great patriarch, we have endeavoured honestly and to the best of our ability, to high light some important things about him.

II

Born at his maternal village, the boy Kedar Nath Pandey inherited the traditions and customs of a middle class 'Sanatan Brahmin' from his maternal grand father along with the stories of his military exploits and hunting adventures since childhood. He was sent to study at the *'Madarsa'* of Rani Sarai at the age of five. His maternal grand father wanted to teach him English but destiny changed the course of events. At the tender age of nine the couplets of *'Navajinda-Bajinda'*, which he came across in a third standard book, unconciously prompted this future *Bohemian* to take his maiden flight to Varanasi.

At the age of only 11 years he was married to Ram Dulari who was five years older than him. His mother passed away when he was only 13 years old. At the age of 14 he left for Calcutta and served as a domestic servant over there.

After four month,s stay at Calcutta he came back home. Next year, his sister and grand mother (maternal) also passed away. He passed his Urdu Middle and Hindi Middle Classes at the age of 15 and 16 respectively. By that time apathy resulting from the demise of his close relatives and a dear friend compelled him to set himself free from the puritan grip of his ageing maternal grand father and once again he fled to Calcutta. This time, he got a clerical job at a shop. Over there, he was given intoxicant mixed sweets by some one and he had to be admitted in the medical college. After returning from Calcutta, this time, he started living in Kanaila.

At the age of 17 his enthusisam of adolescence drove him to Himalayas. After visiting Haridwar, Badari Nath and Kedar Nath, he stayed at Chakrapani Brahmin's place in Kashi. He enriched his knowledge by studying the *Laghu Kaumudi* and Sanskrit grammar over there. During this sojourn, he visited Chunar, Mirzapur and Allahabad, travelling all the way on foot.

In 1911, with the inspiration of a Nepali ascetic, he tried to propitiate Goddess Durga during 'Navaratri' period. He took vow to have *'darshan'* of the Goddess or else finish himself, and when he could not get success, he ate poisonous Belladona seeds, but timely medical treatment saved his life. He could get his composer back after reading some travel accounts published in the *Saraswati* magazine and listening to the discourses of Swami Satyadeva Parivrajaka. He got admission in class seventh in Daya Nand School and started learning English and Mathematics. But again, after sometime, he started getting apathetic towards his studies.

In the year 1912, he became disciple of *Vaishnav Mahant Baba* of *Parsa Matha* of Saran and later on became his successor. He thought that Parsa would be too distant a place from Kanaila, where none of his relatives, neither father, nor maternal grand father, nor uncle would be able to follow and bother him and once he became proclaimed ascetic, nobody would be able to rope him in.[13]

Kedar Nath Pandey, by that time, had turned Ram Udar Das. Side by side the routine rituals of the *'Matha'*, he also studied 'Saraswati' and 'Devi'. But soon he got disenchanted because he could no longer cope with this environment and came back to Kanaila. He came to Ayodhya after visiting Hazipur, Asansol and Madras etc. in 1913. There he fought against the sacrifice of goats in a temple. Later on he came in contact with Arya Samajis and studied 'Satyarth Prakash'.

Though he came back home in 1914 but again took flight for Agra in 1915 and got admission in Arya Musafir School over there. He studied Sanskrit, Arabi, Persian, Religion and History for two years. Indulged in religious discourse with *maulvis* and priests. During this period, in 1915 itself, he started writing in 'Musafir' in Urdu and in 'Bhaskar' in Hindi under the pen name Kedar Nath Vidyarthi.

He went to Lahore in 1916 to enhance his knowledge of Sanskrit. To propagate Arya Samaj, he travelled Lucknow, Kanpur and other places. Soon he got disillusioned even with Arya Samaj. In 1918, he learnt about Russian revolution through newspapers. In 1919 *Jaliyanawala massacre* lit revolutionary fire in him and ultimately, in 1921, under the influence of Mahatama Gandhi, he renounced asceticism and bore the torch of freedom movement.

He delivered his maiden political speech in Khandawa. Thereafter he made Parsa, the focal centre of his activities. He served down trodden, poor and flood affected people, distributed spinning wheels and spat venom against the foreign rule everywhere, for which he was arrested on 31st Jan. 1992. He confessed his offence and was sentenced to six months imprisonment. Buxar jail proved to be a hermitage for him. Besides, he started teaching Upanishadas and Vedanta to the prisoners, solved the problems *(samasya purti)* and started translating 'Kuran' in Hindi.

On 29th Oct. he was elected secretary of the District Congress Committee and participated in the congress session of Gaya. As soon as he returned from Nepal, after doing *darshan* of 'Pashupati Nath' in March-April 1923, he was again arrested and was sent to Bankipur and thereafter to Hazaribag jail. There he did indepth study of Ceylonese Majjhim Nikaya. He learnt mathematics, optics and astrology from Sankaracharya Swami Bharati Krishna Teertha of Kerala. He translated four English novels in Hindi. He also learnt Brahmi script. After spending two years in jail, when he came out in 1926, he travelled Kashmir, Laddakh and Leh etc. He met *Lamas* in Leh and returned via Shimla-Kinnaur route. He also attended Gauhati Congress Session. He delivered a speech in Kisan Sabha alongwith renowned leaders like Rajendra Prasad. He took an oath on 30th March 1927 not to return to Parasa unless Jamindari was abolished.

During his imprisonment in Hazaribag jail he developed deep interest in Buddhism. After exploring the possibilities of satisfying his quest for Buddhism in Sri Lanka at that time, he got himself absorbed in *Vidyalankar Pariven* in Sri Lanka with the help of Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta. From 19th May 1927 onwards for the next 19 months, he remained engrossed in studying Buddhist literature and teaching Sanskrit. He also sent articles for 'Saraswati' magazine from there and wrote Sanskrit Pathmala in five volumes. Mastered Singhalese and French languages. Thoroughly studied the publications of 'Pali Text Society' and 'Royal Asiatic Society', and was bestowed with the title of *Tripitakacharya.*

Now, his insatiable quest to fathom the depth of Sanskrit and Buddhist literature took him to Tibet across the Himalayas in 1929, via Kaushambi, Kushinagar and other Buddhist pilgrimage en route. Navigating across 'Brahma Putra' and rummaging through ancient scriptures, he reached chuori. After crossing the river he settled at 'Lhasa' for the time being and kept on surveying the surroundings therefrom. He could lay hands on some rare scriptures, which were translated in Tibetan language from Sanskrit long ago and had since vanished from India. When he arrived in India with pony loads of books, purchased from the scholarship money, which was being given to him at the rate of fifty rupees per month by the courtesy of Acharya Narendra Deva, and three hundred rupees sent to him by Bhadant Anand Kaushalyayan of Sri Lanka, alongwith a large number of rare writings and scripts, given to him as gift, he took the literary world by storm and his prodigious talent was acknowledged every where. Influenced by his researches and findings, the famous Russian scholar Scherbatsky invited him to Russia. But, after dwelling in the world of Buddhism, when he came back, he was so overwhelmed by Buddhist philosophy that at the very first opportunity he went to Sri Lanka in June 1930 and got himself initiated in Buddhism at Vidyalankar Vihar. He changed his earlier name Ramodar Sankrityayan, which he had adopted while leading the life of a Buddhist monk, to Rāhula Sānkṛityāyan. But when he again came back to India, he felt more duty-bound to fight against the British rule. Therefore, once again he started participating in the freedom movement. Again, he went to Sri Lanka wherefrom he went to Europe to propagate Buddhism.

In 1933, after returning from Europe he settled in Sri Lanka for sometime and translated *'Majjhim Nikaya'* and Dhammapad. He also wrote a few other books on Tibet.

In 1934, he went to Tibet for the second time. His dynamism got over all the hinderances one by one and it appeared as if the doors of the monasteries, which were lying closed for years, were flinging themselves open to pave the way for this explorer. He kept on photographing and copying the writings and scriptures. The amazing coherence and consistency between the tramp and the penman was discernible, not only during those four months when kept on stalking monastery after monastery and copying scriptures, it was visible, at the same time, also, in the art of communicating and disseminating their authentic knowledge among the intelligentia through writing articles in the reputed research magazines.

In 1935, he propagated the preachings of Buddha, as far as Rangoon, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Moscow and reached Lahore via Iran. Thereafter, he produced writings like 'Satami Ke Bachche' and 'Japan' etc. and edited a few rare manuscripts, which he had brought from Tibet.

His soul, which always dwelt across the Himalayas, drew him again towards the monasteries of Tibet. Again the sequence of searching and copying of rare scriptures continued for eight months. Third instalment of his findings reached India in Nov. 1936 and while he was arranging them, he got second invitation from the Soviet Academy.

He reached Moscow in 1937 via Iran. Thereafter, he landed at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad, where he became professor of Sanskrit. He also started teaching Sanskrit to Ms. Lola, secretary of the Deptt. of Indo-Tibetan Learning. In turn, Lola started teaching him Russian. This routine turned into romance, which ultimately resulted in matrimonial knot, symbolising his cosmopolitan out look.

In Sept. 1938, Lola gave birth to son Igor but by that time his father, an ardent belives as he was in the Buddhist dictum (monks ! keep on moving), had crossed over the great plateau of Pamir and had started rearranging some rare scriptures with his pen and camera.

He got involved in the Kisan movement after returning back to India and was arrested in 1939. He sat twice on fast for ten and seventeen days respectively, during his brief term in jail. After his release, he was elected president of the Kisan movement of Motihari. He was again arrested in 1940 during the Kisan movement but even during his 29 months term in jail, his overtures were distinct and different from others. By writing a 847 page treatise - 'Darshan Digdarshan' - he fully utilised his imprisonment period.

After his release, he roamed around Kanaila, Vijaywada, Uttarakhand etc. and thereafter, headed towards Siberia. On 4th June 1945 he landed at Leningrad to settle at his old abode. There he remained for two years with his wife and son and while doing teaching and learning, he kept on collecting material for writing the "Madhya Asia Ka Itihas". Since Russian government did not allow him to take his family to India, he came back alone.

His landing at Bombay port on 17th August 1947 was a pleasant coincidence - like India he, too, had a new beginning in his life. He dedicated himself, with full might and sincerity, to the reconstruction of a new india. He was elected president of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in this very year. With his new vigour and enthusiasm, Rahula Baba performed so many rare feats which made 'Big Pundits bite their nails. He prepared an English to Hindi 'Official Dictionary, consisting of 16000 words, in fourteen days and draft of the Hindi version of Indian constitution within three days. He utilised every minute of his life by learning and enriching his knowledge bank and disseminating this knowledge among the seekers. In his relentless zeal, he made wandering a 'cult' and in 1948 wrote an eternal source of inspiration & energy for wanderers viz. 'Ghumakkar Shastra'. Its mere perusal was enough to take any one towards ethereal world and salvation.

During his continuous journey of writing, he got Kamala Periar in April 1949 in Kalimapong as his aide, who lateron became his beloved and ultimately his wife on Dec. 23, 1950. He kept on translating, collecting and consolidating new writings, one after another like 'Darjeeling Parichay', 'Meri jeevan Yatra' and so on.

After the birth of daughter Jaya in 1953 and son Jeta in 1955, materialistic bonds started shackling him. From this point onwards his life story took tragic turn. He started worrying about his family and problems of bread and butter. But it was not easy to change his basic mettle and shake his conviction. Here too, learning and teaching proved to be his trusted weapons and medium to fight his worries. Meanwhile he made a plan to publish Hindi Vishwakosh of Nagari Pracharini Sabha. After accepting the proposal of shouldering the responsibility of its chief editorship, he started collecting relevant material for its publication. He prepared the list of its deputy editors etc. But when this job was not entrusted to him till 1956, he got restless and frustrated.

When he went to Nepal to participate in the world Buddhist conference in that very year, he expressed his desire to go to China and of doing research in Tibet after meeting Mr. Chau Fu Chu, the general secretary of All China Buddhist Association, over there. In Oct. 1957, when he came to know at Varanasi that the job of publishing the Vishwakosh was not being entrusted to him, he was very much pained. His self respect was hurt badly. His health started deteriorating and his nature became irritable.

In 1958, due to efforts of Mr. Chau Fu Chu, he went to China on the invitaion of Chinese Govt. During his four months stay overthere, he delivered lectures on Buddhist religion. He could not fulfil his desire of going to Tibet to do further research due to political turmoil. As a result, he became so disturbed that he had had a serious heart attack at Peking. Per chance, during his eight months treatment, he got an invitation from Vidyalankar University of Sri Lanka at Peking itself.

Thus in 1959, at the age of 66, he reached Sri Lanka to adorn the post of Professor of philosophy. He left behind his family in India. There in Sri Lanka, he totally involved himself in teaching, reading and writing. He worked with incessant zeal. His robust physique started deteriorating due to continuous rigorous labour and financial problems of double establishment. His health started failing day by day. He grew diabetic. He could manage to reach Calcutta with great difficulties. When his health improved a little after two months, he again left for Sri Lanka. But after a few days he again had a spell of bad health and had to come back to India within two months. In 1961, Rāhula Ji came to Calcutta from Darjeeling. He started having premonitions about his death. He stopped writing diary on 8th Dec. and on 11th Dec. he had had an attack of amnesia. Wings of the free bird were clipped. Even the best of the Russian doctors could not cure him. At the last he left for heavenly abode on 14 April 1963 at the age of 70, after passing through a very painful and traumatic phase.

"Neither the age of seventy is small age nor the creation of more than a hundred books is a small job for a life time, yet if the demise of Rahula sounds untimely and sudden, it is only because of the fact that his creativity was unabated till his last ailment, and he remained absorbed in extracting the maximum from every moment in his characteristic style. Death of a person who does nothing and lazes around is immaterial or a normal happening, but if a person, who remains contiuously busy, dies, howsoever old he may be, mind does not accept his death. One wishes he should have lived for some more years."[22]

III

"Whether he was suffering from high fever or his body was badly enervated due to fasting, he would never work for less than 16 hrs. in a day, on the contrary it might go up to eighteen hrs."[13]

"He used to work tirelessly. Very few people could keep pace with him. He used to take work from two or three persons at a time. It used to be commmendable for any of his assistants if he could work with him for maximum four to six months. He always maintained continuity and pace of his study and writing, by disposing off his visitors summarily. He strongly disliked idling away ones time in gossiping."[10]

"Those who had seen Rāhula working regularly for eighteen to twenty hours daily, for years together, know that how badly he treated his own body. He never bothered for his own comfort, nor he ever cared for his illness. He only treated his body like a saddled horse, constantly whippint it. This used to be his way of life till the end."

"He restricted his movements so much that he did not have time even to take leisurely stroll and if he ever felt like taking a walk, he would pace up and down in his room itself, as if he had condemned himself to death cell. His body was badly exhausted and had started failing him."[22] "His capacity to work was astonishing even at the age of 67. He never slept before 2 A.M. He had converted both of his living rooms into an isolation ward. He had got all his ventilators covered with glass so that mosquitos and insects might not enter his room, and with the approach of dusk his servant would close all glass pane windows."[27]

That much of harsh labour contributed a lot to shorten his life but Rahula thought it better to shine like a meteoric blaze than to keep on smouldering till eternity, ('क्षणं प्रज्वलित श्रेयः, न च धूमायते चिरात') Only on the strength of this dictum, he created a vast world of writings.

Rahula was not from amongst such high priests, who after learning primary lessons in their mother tongue at their village, feel inferiority complex in writing in their mother tongue, when they attain some high position and who are often seen pretending as if they could not get flow in their mother tongue. On the contrary, even after learning scores of other languages, he gave priority to his mother tongue and revealed its capability to produce research literature. It was his firm belief that knowledge should trickle down to the common man and it is possible only through the medium of their language. He actualised his this thought in those days when it was said that sun never sets in the British empire and English language dominated every field of the society. Descending from our high seats, if we traverse across the world mingling with common people, we can very well understand that besides the erstwhile colonies, howseover small may be the size and population of a geographical entity (nation), its people possess immense pride and love for their language.

Baba demolished this misunderstanding that one does not get recognition by writing in Hindi. *'Volga se Ganga'* and *'Madhya Asia ka Itihas'* are its living testimony. These were transalated not only in Hindi and English, but in other foreign languages also. If the penmanship is excellent and writings research oriented, then normally foriegner also value it and hold it in a high esteem.

He showed special interest in collecting folk literatures. He put great emphasis on giving Hindi and its dialects an independent literary identity as well as on making them medium of education. He was expelled from the communist party on the question of Hindi but did not make compromise on this point. Discovery of *Doha Kosh* of *Sarhapa* (750 A.D.), from Ngr monastery of Tibet, was his another important contribution for Hindi. He was the first person to draw the attention of literary world towards the 'apabhransh' (corrupt) literature of Siddha Acharyas and thus traced the origin of Hindi literature 400 year earlier than the then recognised period.

His *Dakkhini Hindi Kavya Dhara* is a very useful book. In this book he had explained that Rekhta or 'Urdu' is one of the styles of ancient Hindi which were enriched by the writings of Wali Ullah, Mohammad Kuli and Qutub Shahi etc. His Hindi novels viz. *'Singha Senapati'* , *'Jaya Yaudheya'* and '*Madhur Swapna*', - *'Vismrit Ke Garbha Mein'*, *'Jadu Ka Mulk'*, *'Da khunda'*, and '*Jeevani of Sardar Prithvi singh'*, which were translated from English to Hindi, are widely read.

Among his Buddhism related literature, *'Majjhim Nikaya,'* *'Digha Nikaya'*, *'Vinaya Pitaka'*, Hindi translation of *'Dhammapada*' and '*Buddha Charya'* are the most important. The book *'Tibet Mein Bauddha Dharma'* provides details and deep knowledge about the contribution of Indian Buddhist scholars. Apart from this, he also contributed some more writings on the subjects, related with Buddhism.

His one of the greatest achievements was to bring to light some rare ancient scriptures of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, during his four adventurous journeys to Tibet, from some of the Buddhist monasteries. Their description has been published in the journal of the Bihar and Orrissa Research Society.

Some western scholars, specially Prof. Shoherbatsky of Russia and Tucci of Italy, had had an eye on these scriptures since long. These include Tanjur and Kanjur and some other scriptures which were believed to be extinct. Discovery of even a single scripture of the above mentioned category would have been sufficient to bestow immortal fame on any discoveror. On hearing the news that these scriptures had been brought to India by Rahula ji, some western scholars viz Otto, Rudolf, Prof. Levi, etc. sent congratulations through overseas telegrams. Shcherbatsky invited him to visit Russia and made recommendation by writing a letter to Mr. K.P. Jayaswal to convene an International conference to highlight this discovery and to discuss its importance. He also wrote that they were very glad to read the news of the tremendous job done by Rahula ji by discovering the scriptures of Dharma Kirti. He called Dharma kirit- 'Kant of India'. Till then they were able to read only Chinese and Tibetan translations of his scriptures but that discovery would give them access to the original scriptures. He expressed his desire to see those scripture alongwith his assistant Dr. Vastrikov.

It was not so that Rahula ji would have felt complacent and sat relaxed after the fame, he got for discovering such a rare material. Like an outstanding research scholar, he published Shanti Rakshat's *'Ved Nyaya,* Dharma Kirti's *'Pramana Varttika'* Matracheta's *'Adhyardha Satak',* Nagarjuna's *'Vigrah Vya Vartani',* Manorath Nandi's *Pramana Varttik Vritti,* Pragyakar Gupta's *Pramana Varttika Bhasya,* and 'Sarhapa's *Doha Kosh.'* He translated Vasu Bandhu's '*Vigyapti Matrata Siddhi'* and wrote critiques of *'Abhi Dharma Kosh', Hetu Bidu, 'Samandha Pariksha',* and *Pramana Varttika.*

Writing about Rāhula ji,Dr. Levy has written that since long, at least for about a century, since the period of Pandit Amrita Nand of Nepal, none of the Buddhist scholars could write such a beautiful language – the language which was used by Ashvaghosh, Nagarjuna and Vasu Bandhu - in such an authoritative manner. His *'Abhi Dharma Kosh'* gives testimony of his proficiency in Sanskrit. It reflects his background, his vast studies and multilingual knowledge.

He rated monk Rahula as one of the greatest Buddhist scholar of the contemporary literary world and treated him as one of the representatives of the ideals of Buddhism.[15]

His book *'Darshan Digdarshan',* which besides being a critique of ancient and modern philosophical thoughts, also gives their introduction, is rated high among the books, written on philosophy. It was the first effort of its kind in Hindi. Islamic, European and Greek ideologies have been discussed from the Marxist point of view in it. In the end of this book, a comparative chart of Indian and foreign thinkers has also been given.

History and Archaeology had been his most favourite subjects. The wheel of his thought and writing moves on the king pin of these subjects. He has considered archaeological evidences as the most authentic material of history. He has used these materials amply in the composition of his writings. We can have glimpses of these materials regularly in his stories, novels and history books etc. In his travelogues, we may find accounts of such materials at almost every turn. Rahula ji was having tremendous capacity to use these materials, which shows his deep command of the subjects. If various experts of temple architecture, iconography, numismatics, literature, social sciences, customs, ancient patteries, paintings and scriptures etc. combine together, they would rarely be able to produce such a study. Rahul ji alone has done their equivalent work and some times has done, even greater than them. He possessed astonishing speed of reading the scriptures and writing crituque of scriptures and documents as well as doing their adaptation and translation. Even the scholars of these fields have praised his this quality.

'Puratatva Nibandhavali 'and archaeological number of 'Ganga' are the authentic documents of his deep interest in this subject. He has laid great emphasis on the participation of common men with scholars,in this field. He has explained, with great interest and an impressive style, the utility of their contribution in their analysis and conservation. In fact, the archaeological materials are found at so many places and in so many forms that it is impossible to exhume and consolidate them only on the strength of officers and scholars. Rahula directly exhorts common man for this in 'Puratatva Nibandhavali'.

None other than him could have put forth the concept of people's participation in archaeology in such a simple language. In this collection of essays, some very informative and research oriented essays on the subjects like 'Sravasti', 'Vikram Shila', 'Jatharia,' 'Tharus', 'Vajrayan aur Chaurasi Siddha', 'Tibet Mein

Chitra Kala' etc. are included along with maps and references. The material and sketches presented in these essays have been compiled and arranged very meticulously to make the subject easy and comprehensible.

The publication of 'Archaeological Edition' of 'Ganga' created a sensation in the contemporary literary world. Hithertobefore such an experiment had never been done in this language. Mainly, Rāhula jī had made it useful by the effects of his research works. Though a large number of discoveries have been done in the field of archaeology by now yet it is useful even today. Scholars like Vasudeva Sharan Agarwala, Bhagawat Sharan Upadhyaya etc. have openly recognise its importance.

Rāhulaji wrote his book 'Madhya Asia Ka Itihas' in two volumes, consisting of about 2400 pages, on the basis of the material, which he had collected during his Russian voyages. It is supposed to be an excellent work from the point of view of investigation and research. The material contained in this book had never been published at one place, in a consolidated form. A lot of source material of this topic was available in Russian Language and the places mentioned in it were situated in Soviet land. To go to that area and to understand Russian language, both were difficult impediments in the way of availing of the benifits of the research work which was done in Russia. But Rahula ji over came it easily. In this book he has given an elaborate description of the messages spread by the Indian Buddhist scholars and monks in the Middle Asia and their influence over it. For this purpose, he had made the fullest use of the reports of the Russian excavators and discoverers like Tolstaf etc. as well as of the material available in the English and other languages. The importance of this work may be understood by the fact that the western scholars learnt Hindi only to study it, and besides English, it was translated in other foreign languages. Alongwith, collecting material for this book, he also prepared a 'Russian - Sanskrit Shabda Kosha', consisting of 400 pages. Though this dictionary is still unpublished, it is supposed to be an unique work on the archaeological words and terminology.

'Volga se Ganga;, 'Singha Sena Pati' and 'Jay Yaudheya' are somre of his books which are written in such a true archaelogical background that the readers effortlessly get the glimpses of a particular era of a particular area.

His extra ordinary speed in writing on archaeology can be understood by the instance that once when he was entrusted with the job of preparing the history of that distt., by the District Gazetteer Committee of Azamgarh', he not only wrote the introductory history of that district by touring the whole district within six days, but he also collected fifty statues from various villages and gifted them over to Hari Audha Kala Bhawan Sangrahalaya, with their archaeological introduction.[5]

While reading the books, which Rahulji translated in Hazari bagh jail - viz. - 'Shaitan Ki Ankhen,' 'Vismriti Ke Garbha Maen', 'Jadu Ka Mulk' and 'Son Ke Dhal', - readers get a feel of the ancient cultures of Egypt and Africa etc. in them. These books are interesting like detective novels.

He adopted various religions one by one and after assessing, renounced them. But one religion remained with him life long which turned Kedar into Rāhula after showing him this world. And when he recognised this truth, he presented its philosophy in the form of 'Ghumakkar Shastra', for the benefit of others. This cult is the base of all his achievements, due to which he could do all that which has been mentioned above. In my opinion, this Shastra is his best contribution and is his best and the most benificial composition. It should be a worthy possession for every home. While eulogising wandering and the tramp, the very first chapter of this book arouses curiosity about them in such a manner as is evident from the following paragraph --

> 'No one can be a greater benefactor of the society than a wanderer. It is said that lord Brahma had taken the responsibility of creating, sustaining and destroying the world. But what to talk of the creation and destruction of the world, even the fact of his own very existence can not be proved, either by perceptible or by presumptive evidence.............. .'

If the crux and main theme of the book are appropriately utilised, it may bring about radical changes in the field of education as well as in the society. Trekking and excursions should be made compulsory subjects, at least, up to eighth standard so that, by the time students complete their formal education, they may be able to become true Indians and a better person, after seeing and studying all the four corners of their country, mountains, forests, deserts,open plains, rivers, seas, various peoples of various places, their customs and rituals and their way of living, through their own eyes. The inevitable outcome of this process would be a better society.

The study of this Shastra is as good a way of salvation as taking bath in the mythological river, Triveni. The wandering cult is fundamentally opposed to the narrow concepts like casteism, communalism and parochialism etc. Kindness, humanitarianism, universal brotherhood and integration and happiness of all, are the binding factors of this cult. This cult, which opens the doors of knowledge and science and which denounces all sorts of superstitions, bigotories and orthodoxy, bears the key to denouement of so many unsolved problems of this age.

Rahula's wandering cult should be taken seriously. This does not mean simple touring for pleasures sake. Some of the great religious leaders and discoverers, such as Gargi, Buddha, Mahavir, Christ, Shankara Charya, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Guru Nanak, Darwin, Dayandand etc., had been precursors of this cult. Who can doubt that by treading on their path, one can make one's life useful and can do others welfare. The meaning is clear, one can perform ones routine by doing table work or sitting idle at home but to discover something, to find out the ways and methods of public welfare is not possible through this way. Though every one may not possess the ability of becoming excellent wanderer but existence becomes meanigless in the absenca of this quality. If one wants to discover minerals, flora or ancient sites, wants to assess public feeling or do experiment with the truth only exploration or wandering or excursion or by whatever name your may call it, is the way to lead towards progress. Therefore, everyone should follow this path unhesitatingly and carefreely.

It is hard to believe that one man can do so much; that an adolescent left his home, after passing middle standard from a school of a purely rural area and on the strength of his almost informal education, taught different subjects in two different foreign universities, and was honoured with the degree of D.Litt.; that he could develop his faculties and capabilities to such an extent that, not only in the remote corners of his country, he could talk to people in their languages in the scores of countries, he traversed; that while travelling continuously, he could spare so much time for reading and writing that even after publishing about 50,000 pages, some material was left to be published; that he wrote such a class as to make the scholars of the foreign countries aspire to work with him; that if need arose, keeping every thing aside, he would fight against the injustice of the British rule as well as against the injustice perpetrated by our own feudal lords and would spent five years in jail; that he delivered lectures with Mahatama Gandhi and Rajenddra Prasad and made political offices only as resting points in his onward journey; that he adopted five religions and studied serval others but used them, only, as a medium for his research.

Even the great wanderers of the world look dwarf infront of this ascetic who had traversed Tibet, China, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, accross the Soviet Union, valcaro Baku, had seen towers of Persia and Pisa. There had been great adventurous discoverers like Huen-Te- Sang, Fahyan, Scott, Columbus and Marcopolo etc but a wanderer like him, who travelled almost continuously for fourty years, is a rarity. If the above mentioned travellers would have cared to study grammar, Vedant and philosophy like Rahul, even crossing of Jaheran Pass would have proved a hard nut to crack for them. Hardly anyone of the well known scholars have written so elaborately and nicely on more than one subject, as Rāhula did. If they were required to copy down 500 Shlokas per day after reading voluminous books, in bone shattering cold of the platealu of Pamirs and after crossing inaccessible passes, their would have been ample apprehension of their dropping dead and forgetting grammar and shlokas. May be, they would have achieved all that but had it been possible for them to master the languages Viz. Tibetan, Chinese, Russian, Burmese, French, Pali, Prakrit etc. and scripts like Brahmi, Kutila, Newari, Ranjan and Vartula etc. Simultaneous. We can name a number of persons who may be experts of their respective subjects like grammar, literature, religion-philosophy, history and archaeology but a confluence of all these subjects in one person, is inconceivable. It is even more improbable, that such a person should also possess a simple and bewitching personality, a robust physical constitution, extremely sweet nature and should be as graceful and impressive as Buddha, the enlightened one. Such an unique combination is disenible only in Rahula.

Such persons are born on the earth once in ages. They pass away after spellbinding and enlightening the masses by their prodigious and miraculous feats and paving the way for the posterity. It is said regarding such people that the almighty God would have created them with his own hand, during leisure, with extraordinary care. For them the following shloka of Kalidas suits most appropriately --

'तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूत समाधिना ।'

(God has created them out of strange synthesis of great souls).

Remembering him, we bow in reverence.

English version by **Shree Prakash Singh**
Deputy Labour Commissioner
Lucknow

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आभार

उपर्युक्त लेखन में समय–समय पर सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सुलभ कराने हेतु लेखक राज्य संग्रहालय, लखनऊ के डा० अजय कुमार पाण्डे, श्री श्यामा नन्दन उपाध्याय और उ० प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन लखनऊ के श्री गिरीश चन्द्र सिंह के प्रति आभारी हैं ।

राहुल जी के जीवन की प्रमुख तिथियां

परिशिष्ट 1

जन्म	बैसाख, कृष्ण अष्टमी, रविवार, 1950 विक्रमी, 9 अप्रैल, 1893 ई० । ननिहाल – पन्दहा, जिला आजमगढ़ में । गोत्र–सांकृत्य, पिता–गोवर्धन पांडे, माता–कुलवंती देवी । नाना–रामशरण पाठक । बचपन का नाम–केदारनाथ, चार भाई तथा एक बहिन में सबसे ज्येष्ठ ।
1898	पांच वर्ष की आयु में आजमगढ़ जिले के रानी सराय के मदरसे में **शिक्षा–प्रारम्भ** ।
1904	आजमगढ़ जिले के अहिरौला ग्राम की राम दुलारी से विवाह ।
1908–1909	क्रमशः उर्दू मिडिल और हिन्दी मिडिल उत्तीर्ण ।
1910	हिमालय–यात्रा । वाराणसी में संस्कृत–शिक्षा । **देवी-भक्त** ।
1912–13	घर से भाग कर परसा–मठ के **साधु** और महन्त के उत्तराधिकारी । दक्षिण भारत की यात्रा ।
1913–14	दक्षिण भारत का पर्यटन ।
1915	आगरा के आर्य मुसाफिर विद्यालय में संस्कृत, अरबी, फारसी आदि का अध्ययन । **लेखन का प्रारम्भ** ।
1916	लाहौर में संस्कृत का अध्ययन । **आर्य समाज का प्रचार** ।
1921	राजनीति में प्रवेश । असहयोग आन्दोलन में भागीदारी।
1922	बक्सर जेल में छः मास । **जिला कांग्रेस के मंत्री**।
1923–25	हजारीबाग जेल में ।
1926	कश्मीर–लद्दाख यात्रा । गौहाटी कांग्रेस में भागीदारी ।
1927–28	श्रीलंका में **संस्कृत के अध्यापक,** बौद्ध साहित्य का अध्ययन । **त्रिपिटकाचार्य** की उपाधि प्राप्त की ।
1929–30	तिब्बत में सवा साल । पहली यात्रा ।**बौद्ध धर्म में प्रव्रज्या** ।
1932–33	इंगलैंड और यूरोप में ।
1934	दूसरी तिब्बत यात्रा ।
1935	जापान, कोरिया, मंचूरिया, सोवियत संघ तथा ईरान की यात्रा । **मार्क्सवादी** दर्शन अपनाया ।
1936	तीसरी तिब्बत यात्रा से लौटने पर काशी की पण्डित सभा द्वारा **महापण्डित** की उपाधि से विभूषित ।
1937	सोवियत संघ में (दूसरी बार) रूसी युवती लोला से विवाह ।
1938	तिब्बत में चौथी बार । इसी यात्रा के दौरान सोवियत रूस में उनके पुत्र इगोर राहुलोविच का जन्म ।
1939	**किसान संघर्ष** अमवारी–सत्याग्रह । जेल में ।
1940–42	हजारीबाग जेल में ।
1943	चौंतीस साल बाद जन्म ग्राम में । उत्तराखंड की यात्रा ।
1944–47	लेनिनग्राद (सोवियत संघ) में **प्रोफेसर** ।
1947	हिंदी साहित्य सम्मेलन के सभापति ।
1949	**'घुमक्कड़ शास्त्र' की रचना** ।
1950	मंसूरी में अपना घर । कमला पेरियार से विवाह ।
1953	पुत्री जया का जन्म ।
1955	पुत्र जेता का जन्म ।
1958	चीन में साढ़े चार मास । **साहित्य अकादमी एवार्ड** से सम्मानित ।
1959–61	श्रीलंका में **दर्शन शास्त्र के महाचार्य** ।
1959	मंसूरी छोड़कर दार्जिलिंग में ।
1961	दिसम्बर महीने में 'स्मृति–लोप' का आघात ।
1962–63	सोवियत संघ में सात महीने चिकित्सा । भारत सरकार द्वारा **'पद्म भूषण'** और विद्यालंकार परिवेण विश्व विद्यालय, श्रीलंका द्वारा **साहित्य चक्रवर्ती** (डी० लिट्) की मानद उपाधि से विभूषित ।
अनन्त यात्रा	14 अप्रैल, 1963, सत्तर वर्ष की आयु में ।

राहुल जी की प्रमुख रचनाएं

परिशिष्ट 2

क्र०सं०	रचना का नाम	काल	अन्य भाषाओं में अनुवाद
	उपन्यास		
1.	बाईसवीं सदी	1923	उर्दू, गुजराती, मराठी
2.	जीने के लिए	1940	
3.	सिंह सेनापति	1944	उर्दू, मराठी, गुजराती, तेलगू
4.	जय यौधेय	1944	मराठी, गुजराती
5.	भागो नहीं, दुनिया को बदलो	1944	
6.	मधुर स्वप्न	1949	गुजराती
7.	राजस्थानी रनिवास	1953	
8.	विस्मृत यात्री	1954	
9.	दिवोदास	1960	
10.	निराले हीरे की खोज	1965	
	कथा साहित्य		
11.	सतमी के बच्चे	1935	
12.	वोल्गा से गंगा	1944	उर्दू, सिंधी, गुजराती, मराठी, कन्नड़, मलयालम, तमिल, तेलगू, उड़िया, बंगाली, असमिया, नेपाली, बर्मी, अंग्रेजी, रूसी । (ब्रेल लिपि में भी प्रकाशित) ।
13.	बहुरंगी मधुपुरी	1953	
14.	कनैला की कथा	1955–56	
	नाटक		
15.	नयकी दुनिया	1942	
16.	मेहरारुन के दुरदसा	1942	
17.	जपनिया राछछ	1942	
18.	जरमनवा के हार निहचय	1942	
19.	देस रच्छक	1942	
20.	ढुनमुन नेता	1942	
21.	ई हमार लड़ाई	1942	
22.	जोंक	1942	
	आत्मकथा		
23.	मेरी जीवन–यात्रा भाग –1	1944	
24.	–तदेव– भाग –2	1950	
25.	–तदेव– भाग –3	1967	
26.	–तदेव– भाग–4	1967	
27.	–तदेव– भाग–5	1967	

जीवनियां

28.	नये भारत के नये नेता खंड –1	1942	
29.	–तदेव– खंड –2	1942	
30.	बचपन की स्मृतियां	1953	
31.	अतीत के वर्तमान (प्रथम खंड)	1953	
32.	स्तालिन	1954	
33.	लेनिन	1954	
34.	कार्ल मार्क्स	1954	
35.	माओ–त्से–तुंग	1954	
36.	सरदार पृथ्वीसिंह	1955	मराठी, गुजराती
37.	घुमक्कड़ स्वामी	1956	
38.	मेरे असहयोग के साथी	1956	
39.	जिनका मैं कृतज्ञ	1956	
40.	वीर चन्द्रसिंह गढ़वाली	1956	
41.	महामानव बुद्ध	1956	
42.	सिंहल घुमक्कड़ जयवर्धन	1960	
43.	कप्तान लाल	1961	
44.	सिंहल के वीर पुरुष	1961	

यात्रा वृत्तांत

45.	मेरी लद्दाख यात्रा	1926	
46.	श्रीलंका	1926-27	
47.	तिब्बत में सवा साल	1931	बंगाली
48.	मेरी यूरोप यात्रा	1932	
49.	यात्रा के पन्ने	1934-36	
50.	जापान	1935	
51.	ईरान (खंड–1)	1935-36	
52.	ईरान (खंड–2)	1935-36	
53.	मेरी तिब्बत यात्रा	1937	
54.	रूस में पच्चीस मास	1944-47	
55.	किन्नर देश में	1948	
56.	घुमक्कड़ शास्त्र	1949	
57.	सोवियत भूमि		
58.	सोवियत मध्य एशिया		
59.	दार्जिलिंग परिचय	1950	
60.	कुमायूं	1951	
61.	गढ़वाल	1952	
62.	नेपाल (अप्रकाशित)	1953	
63.	हिमाचल प्रदेश (अप्रकाशित)	1954	
64.	जौनसार देहरादून	1955	
65.	आजमगढ़ की पुराकथा (अप्रकाशित)	1956	
66.	एशिया के दुर्गम भूखंडों में	1956	
67.	चीन में क्या देखा ?	1960	
68.	हिमालय दर्शन		

निबंध

69.	साम्यवाद ही क्यों	1934	उर्दू, तमिल
70.	पुरातत्त्व निबंधावली	1936	
71.	दिमागी गुलामी	1937	
72.	तुम्हारी क्षय	1937	
73.	आज की समस्याएं	1944	
74.	साहित्य निबंधावलि	1949	
75.	अतीत के वर्तमान (खंड-1)	1953	
76.	अतीत के वर्तमान (खंड-2)	1953	
77.	राहुल निबंधावली (साहित्य)	1970	

विज्ञान

78.	विश्व की रूपरेखा	1942	मलयालम

समाजशास्त्र

79.	मानव-समाज	1942	बंगाली, गुजराती

राजनीति

80.	क्या करें ?	1937	
81.	सोवियत कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का इतिहास	1939	
82.	सोवियत न्याय	1939	
83.	राहुल जी का अपराध	1939	
84.	आज की राजनीति	1949	
85.	कम्युनिस्ट क्या चाहते हैं ?	1953	
86.	रामराज्य और मार्क्सवाद	1959	
87.	चीन के कम्यून	1960	

दर्शन

88.	वैज्ञानिक भौतिकवाद	1942	बंगाली
89.	दर्शन-दिग्दर्शन	1942	बंगाली, मलयालम
90.	बौद्ध दर्शन	1942	

धर्म

91.	इस्लाम धर्म की रूपरेखा	1923	
92.	बुद्धचर्या	1930	
93.	बौद्ध संस्कृति	1953	
94.	धम्मपद	1933	
95.	मज्झिम निकाय	1933	
96.	विनय-पिटक	1934	
97.	दीघ निकाय	1935	
98.	तिब्बत में बौद्ध धर्म	1935	

इतिहास

99.	मध्य एशिया का इतिहास (खंड–1)	1952	अंग्रेजी एवं अन्य भाषाओं में ।
100.	मध्य एशिया का इतिहास (खंड–2)	1952	
101.	ऋग्वैदिक आर्य	1956	
102.	अकबर	1956	
103.	भारत में अंग्रेजी राज्य के संस्थापक	1957	

साहित्य का इतिहास

104.	पालि साहित्य का इतिहास	1963
105.	हिन्दी काव्यधारा	1944
106.	दक्खिनी काव्यधारा	1952

लोक–साहित्य

107.	आदि हिंदी की कहानियां और गीतें	1950

शोध–ग्रन्थ

108.	सरहपादकृत दोहा–कोश	1954

कोश

109.	शासन–शब्दकोश	1948
110.	तिब्बती हिंदी कोश (प्रथम खंड)	1974
111.	जीव रसायन शब्दकोश (अप्रकाशित)	
112.	प्रत्यङ्गशारीर शब्दकोश (अप्रकाशित)	
113.	रूसी–संस्कृत शब्दकोश (अप्रकाशित)	

संस्कृत

114.	संस्कृत पाठमाला, भाग–1	1928	सिंहली
115.	संस्कृत पाठमाला, भाग–2	1928	सिंहली
116.	संस्कृत पाठमाला, भाग–3	1928	सिंहली
117.	संस्कृत पाठमाला, भाग–4	1928	सिंहली
118.	संस्कृत पाठमाला, भाग–5	1928	सिंहली

तिब्बती

119.	तिब्बती बालशिक्षा	1933
120.	पाठावली, भाग–1	1933
121.	पाठावली, भाग–2	1933
122.	पाठावली, भाग–3	1933
123.	तिब्बती व्याकरण	1933

सम्पादन–कार्य : हिन्दी

124.	तुलसी रामायण (संक्षेप)	1957
125.	हिन्दी साहित्य का वृहद इतिहास (भाग–16)	

126.	गंगा का पुरातत्व अंक	1933	

सम्पादन–कार्य : पालि

127.	पालि–काव्यधारा (अप्रकाशित)		

सम्पादन–कार्य एवं टीका : संस्कृत

128.	अभिधर्म कोश	1930	
129.	विज्ञप्तिमातृता सिद्धि	1934	
130.	वाद–न्याय:	1935–36	
131.	सूत्र कृतंग		
132.	प्रमाण–वार्त्तिकम्	1935	
133.	अध्यर्धशतकम्	1937	
134.	प्रमाण–वार्त्तिकम् भाष्य	1935	
135.	प्रमाण–वार्त्तिकम् वृत्तिः	1940	
136.	प्रमाण–वार्त्तिकम् स्ववृत्तिः	1936	
137	विग्रह व्यावर्त्तिनी	1937	
138.	विनय सूत्र	1943	
139.	हेतु बिन्दु	1944	
140.	संबंध परीक्षा	1944	
141.	महापरिनिर्वाण सूत्र	1951	
142.	निदान सूत्र (परीक्षा)	1952	
143.	संस्कृत काव्यधारा	1955	

अनुवाद

144.	शैतान की आंख	1923	
145.	जादू का मुल्क	1923	गुजराती
146.	सोने की ढाल	1923	
147.	विस्मृति के गर्भ में	1923	गुजराती
148.	दाखुंदा	1947	मलयालम
149.	जो दास थे	1947	
150.	अनाथ	1948	
151.	संविधान का मसौदा	1948	
152.	अदीना	1951	
153.	सूदखोर की मौत	1951	
154.	शादी	1952	

राहुल जी को प्राप्त सम्मान एवं उपाधियां

1. **त्रिपिटकाचार्य** – श्रीलंका विद्यालंकार परिवेण ।
2. **महापंडित** – काशी पंडित सभा
3. **साहित्य वाचस्पति** – हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, इलाहाबाद ।
4. **डी० लिट्** (मानद) – भागलपुर विश्वविद्यालय ।
5. **साहित्य चक्रवर्ती** (डी० लिट् मानद) – श्रीलंका विद्यालंकार परिवेण ।
6. **पद्मभूषण** – भारत सरकार ।

MSS. Photographed or copied　　परिशिष्ट 2

Subject		Name	Author	Size in Slokas	Complete	Incomplete
Poetry	1.	X अध्यर्धशतक S	मातृचेट	153	"	
	2.	दोहा कोश Ng	सरह	60	" (?)	"
	3.	सुभाषितरत्नकोश Ng	भीमार्जुनसोम	1,500	"	
Prosody	4.	छन्दोरत्नाकर Ng	रत्नाकरशान्ति	700	"	"
Philosophy	5.	(दर्शन) S	Unknown	6,000	"	"
	6.	अभिधर्मकोशकारिका Ng	वसुबन्धु	550	" (?)	
	7.	" भाष्य Ng	"	15,000		"
	8.	अभिधर्मप्रदीप Sh -	Unknown	1,500		"
	9.	अभिधर्मसमुच्चय Sh	असंग	250	"	
	10.	" भाष्य Sh	(यशोमित्र)	4,000	"	
	11.	x तर्कज्वाला Sh	भाष्य	1,000		"
	12.	दर्शन Sh	Unknown			"
	13.	मध्यान्तविभंगभाष्य Ng	वसुबन्धु	1,000	"	
	14.	महायानोत्तरतन्त्र Ng	मैत्रेय	500		"
	15.	" टीका Sh	यशोमित्र	200		"
	16.	x योगाचारभूमि S	असंग	8,000		"
	17.	वज्रसूची Ng	अश्वघोष	150	"	
	18.	x विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनी Sh	नागार्जुन	450	"	
	19.	विंशिकाविवृत्ति Sh	Unknown	150	"	
Logic	20.	अपोहसिद्धि Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	1,200	"	
	21.	अवयविनिराकरण Sh	"	200	(?) "	
	22.	आगमप्रामाण्यनिरास Sh	Unknown	50	"	
	23.	क्षणभंगसिद्धि Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	1,000	"	
	24.	x क्षणभंगाध्याय Sh	ज्ञानश्री	3,000	"	
	25.	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरण Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	700	"	
	26.	तर्करहस्य Ng	Unknown	2,000	"	
	27.	नैरात्म्यसिद्धि Ng	जितारि	50	"	
	28.	(न्यायटीका) Ng	Unknown			
	29.	न्यायबिन्दुटीका Ng	दुर्वेकमिश्र	5,000	"	
	30.	प्रज्ञालंकार Ng	Unknown	60	"	
	31.	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकटीका Ng	"	..		"
	32.	x प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य S	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त	15,000	"	
	33.	x प्र० वा० वृत्ति Sh	मनोरथनन्दी	10,000	"	
	34.	x प्र० वा० स्ववृत्ति S	धर्मकीर्ति	800		"
	35.	x प्र० वा० स्व० टीका S	कर्णकगोमी	8,000	"	
	36.	प्रमाणान्तर्भावप्रकरण Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	200		
	37.	वादरहस्य Sh	Unknown	3,000	"	
	38.	व्याप्तिनिर्णय Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	1,000	"	
	39.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धि Sh	"	1,000	"	

	40.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिसंक्षेप Ng	शंकरनंदन	100	"	
	41.	सहोपलम्भासिद्धि Ng	जितारि	100	"	
	42.	सामान्यनिराकरण Sh	रत्नकीर्ति	750	"	
	43.	स्थिरसिद्धि दूषण Sh	"	800	"	
	44.	हेतुबिन्द्वनुटीका Ng	दुर्वेकमिश्र	5,000	"	
Vinaya	45.	उपसम्पदाज्ञप्ति Ng	(विनय)	70	"	
	46.	प्रातिमोक्षसूत्र Ng	"	400	"	
	47.	" टीका S	Unknown	100	"	
	48.	भिक्षुविनय S	Unknown	200		"
	49.	विनयकारिका S	विशाख	150		"
	50.	विनयक्षुद्रक Sh	(विनय)	3,000	"	"
	51.	विनय (लोकोत्तरवादि-) Ng	(")	1,200		
	52.	विनयसूत्र Sh	गुणप्रभ	500	"	
	53.	" वृत्ति Sh	"	300	"	
	54.	" " S	"	300		"
	55.	श्रामणेरकारिका Ng	जयरक्षित	300		"

X = Books with this sign (x) are copied, others are photographed.
S = MS. belonging to Sa–skya, Ng = Nagor, Sh = Sha – Lu.

Courtesy : The Journal Of The Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1935, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, pp. 27–43; 1937, Vol. XXIII, Pt. I., pp. 21–57; 1938, Vol XXIV, Pt. IV, pp. 143–163.

परिशिष्ट 3

I. Kun–de–Ling monastery (Lhasa)

Vol.No.			Name	Author	Script	Size (in inches)	Leaves		Lines (in each page)
I		1.	अष्टसाहस्रिका –T प्रज्ञापारमिता		मागधी	..	..		6
II		2.	सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र T		„	..	..		5
III		3.	वादन्यायटीका T (विपञ्चितार्था)	शांतरक्षित	(कुटिला)	$11\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$	90		(8 or 9)
II. Spos–khang monastery (near Gyantse)									
I		4.	अष्टसाहस्रिका – प्रज्ञापारमिता T and others			..	..		Incomplete ..
II.		5.	A commentary on some सर्वास्तिवाद Sutras	अश्वघोष[1]	.. ..	.. ..	..		..
		6.	... परिकथा	„	..	..	..		..
III	1.	7.	*मध्यान्तविभंगकारिका T	मैत्रेय	नेवारी	..	..		..
	2.	8.	*मध्यान्तविभंगसूत्र T	„	„	..	..		..
	3.	9.	*अभिसमयालंकार T	„	„	..	..		..
III. Sa–lu monastery (near Si–ga–rtse)									
I.		10.	समाधिराजसूत्र T			10x2 $2\frac{1}{3}$			Incomplete
II	2.	11.	काशिका पञ्चिका	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि	वर्तुल	$12\frac{2}{5}$ x $2\frac{1}{3}$			„
III	3.	12.	भिक्षुप्रकीर्णकविनय	..	„	$21\frac{1}{3}$ x $2\frac{1}{3}$			Complete
IV	4.	13.	Miscellaneous leaves.	..	„	$21\frac{1}{3}$ x $2\frac{1}{3}$		..	
V	5.	14.	महाप्रतिसरा विद्याराज्ञीकल्प etc. T (पञ्चरक्षा)		नेवारी	$23\frac{1}{3}$ x 2	..		..
VI	1.	15.	प्रज्ञापारमिता (?)	..	रंजन	$12\frac{2}{3}$ x 2	..		Incomplete
	2.	16.	मंजूश्रीनामसंगीति T	..	वर्तुल	„	..		„
	3.	17.	व्याकरण (लिंग)	..	नेवारी	„	..		„
	4.	18.	रक्तयमारितंत्र T	--	वर्तुल	„	..		Complete
VII	1.	19.	अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन	20x2	..	..	Incomplete
	2.	20.	अभिसमयालंकारविवृति T(?)	..	वर्तुल	„	..		„
VIII	1.	21.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धि	रत्नकीर्ति	पुराणमैथिली	$21\frac{1}{3}$ x $2\frac{1}{3}$	1–17		Complete
	2.	22.	अपोहसिद्धिप्रकरण	„	„	„	18–36	..	„
	3.	23.	क्षणभंगसिद्धि	„	„	„	37–45	..	„
	4.	24.	प्रमाणान्तर्भावप्रकरण	„	„	„	45–47	..	„

	5.	25.	व्याप्तिनिर्णय	”	”	”	47–59	..	”
	6.	26.	स्थिरसिद्धिदूषण	”	”	”	59–69	..	”
	7.	27.	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरणवाद	”	”	”	69–77		Complete
	8.	28.	अवयविनिराकरण	”	”	”	77–82		”
	9.	29.	सामान्यनिराकरण	”	”	”	82–91	..	”
IX		30.	पंचविंशतिसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमितोपदेश	बुद्धदास (आचार्य)	वर्तुल	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	107	..	”
X	1.	31	भट्टारकवज्रासनसाधनोपदेश etc.	..	वर्तुल	$20\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	3	..	”
	2.	32.	वज्रामृततन्त्र T	..	”	”	8	..	”
	3.	33	.... पंजिका	भीमदेव	”	”	7	..	”
	4.	34.	अचिन्त्याद्वयक्रमोपदेश T	आर्य कुद्दालियाद	”	”	3–8	..	Incomplete
	5.	35.	समयमुद्रापुरुषकार	नागार्जुन	”	”	3	..	Complete
	6.	36.	महागोप्यतत्वोपदेश T	दारिकपाद	”	”	I	..	”
	7.	37.	ज्ञानसारसमुच्चय T	आर्यदेव	”	”	3	..	”
	8.	38.	श्रीसंवरस्तोत्रटीका	वज्रपाणि	”	”	47	..	Incomplete
XI	1.	39.	... महायानसूत्र	..	”	$20\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	..	..	”
	2.	40.	महायानविंशिका T	नागार्जुन	शारदा	”	..	..	”
	3.	41.	...	प्रशान्तमित्र	..	”	..	..	”
	4.	42.	रत्नगुणसञ्चपगाथा T – व्याख्या	हरिभद्र	..	”	..	..	”
	5.	43.	महायानोत्तरतन्त्र T	(मैत्रेयनाथ)	शारदा	”	..	..	”
	6.	44.	सूत्रालंकार(वि) भंग	..	”	”	..	..	”
	7.	45.	अभिसमयालकार प्रज्ञोपदेशशास्त्र	..	वर्तुल	”	..	..	”
	8.	46.	अभिसमयालंकारालोक T	(हरिभद्र)	पुराण नगरी	$20\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$		”	

IV. Ngor monastery (one day's journey from Si–gar–tse)

I	1.	47.	अर्थविनिश्चयसूत्र T	..	वर्तुल	$22 \times \frac{2}{3} \times 2$	16	..	Page 13 missing
	2.	48.	अर्थविनिश्चयसूत्रनिबंधन	वीर्यश्रीदत्त	”	”	44	..	Complete
	3.	49.	भूतडामरतंत्र T	..	”	”	23	..	Incomplete
	4.	50.	भूतडामरभट्टारकसाधन	..	”	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	8	..	Complete
	5.	51.	भूतडामरमण्डलोपथिक	सुभूतिपालित	”	”	13	..	”
	6.	52.	कुरुकुल्लाकल्प	..	”	”	10	..	”
	7.	53.	आदिकर्मावतार	मंजुकीर्ति	मागधी	”	13	..	”
	8.	54.	बुद्ध ... (पूजाविधि)	”	..	”	10	..	”
	9.	55.	आदिकर्मावतारप्रतिबद्ध	”	..	”	5	..	”
II.		56.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	3–207	6	Incomplete
III		57.	” T	..	”	$22\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	174	6	Complete
IV		58.	” T	..	”	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	233	6	Complete
V		59.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	..	5	Incomplete

VI		60.	अष्टसाहस्रिका प्र० पा० T	..	मागधी	$14 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	..	6	Incomplete
VII	1.	61	” T	..	”	$22 \times 2\frac{2}{3}$	202	6	Complete
	2.	62.	व्याकरण(?)	..	”	”	10	7	Incomplete
VIII	1.	63.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	..	5	”
	2.	64.	”	..	”	”	..	5	”
	3.	65.	.. (काव्य–) टीका	..	कुटिला	”	..	6	”
	4.	66.	(दर्शनग्रंथ)	..	”	”	4	6	”
	5.	67.	एकवृक्षादिटीका	..	”	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 1\frac{2}{3}$	2	4	”
	6.	68.	महायानोत्तरतंत्र T	(मैत्रैयनाथ)	”	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	11	7	”
	7.	69.	(दर्शनग्रंथ)	..	”	”	3	8	”
	8.	70.	प्रकरणयोगपीठ ..	..	”	”	5	5	”
	9.	71.	चक्रसंवरविवृति ..	..	”	”	..	8, 11	”
	10.	72.	गुह्यसमाज T	..	कुटिल	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 1\frac{2}{3}$	33	6	Incomplete
IX		73.	शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञा पारमिता T	..	रंजन	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	639	6	”
X	1.	74.	न्यायबिन्दु अनुटीका (धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप)	दुर्व्वेकमिश्र	मागधी	”	84	8	Complete
	2.	75.	(हेतुबिन्दु–अनुटीका)	”	”	”	ˊ70	8	”
XI	1.	76.	महामंत्रानुसारिणी महाविद्याराज्ञी T	.	रंजन	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	1–10	6	Illustrated
	2.	77.	महासहस्रप्रमर्दिनी T	..	”	”	–17	”	”
	3.	78.	महामायूरी विद्याराज्ञी T	..	”	”	–40	”	”
	4.	79.	सीतवती महाविद्याराज्ञी T	..	”	”	–42	”	”
	5.	80.	महाप्रतिसरा महाविद्याराज्ञी T	..	”	”	–58	”	”
	6.	81.	महाकालतंत्र T	..	मागधी	”	37	”	Incomplete
XII	1.	82.	(चांद्रव्याकरणटीका, सुबन्त)	..	मागधी	$21\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	16	5	”
	2.	83.	कलापवृत्ति T	दुर्गसिंह	मैथिली	”	88	7	”
XIII		84.	क्रियासमुच्चय	मंजुग ..	नेवारी	$13\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	333	7	Complete
XIV	1.	85.	कालचक्रतंत्र T	..	..	$12\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	120	6	”
XV	1.	86.	सांकथ्यविनिश्चय from अभिधर्मसमुच्चयभाष्य T (यशोमित्र)	..	मागधी	$11\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	149	6	”
	2.	87.	(अर्थ) विनिश्चयसूत्र T	..	”	”	7	7	”
	3.	88.	(अर्थ) विनिश्चयसूत्रनिबन्धन T	वीर्यश्रीदत्त	”	”	41	9	”
	4.	89.	छन्दोरत्नाकर T	रत्नाकरशान्तिपाद	मैथिली		27	6	,,
XVI		90.	भाषावृत्ति	पुरुषोत्तमदेव	,,	12×2	..	7, 8	Complete(?)
XVII	1.	91	हेवज्रटिप्पण	सरोरुववज्र	मागधी	$1\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	31	7	Complete
	2.	92.	हेवज्रटीका	..	,,	,,	31	7	,,
	3.	93.	हेवज्रसाधन(तत्त्वावतार)	..	,,	,,	13	7	,,
XVIII	1.	94.	पंचक्रम T	नागार्जुन	नेवारी	$12\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	1–13	9	”
	2.	95.	वज्रसत्वसाधन T	चन्द्रकीर्ति	”	”	–19	”	”

	3.	96.	अनुत्तरसंवर	शाक्यमित्र	”	”	–21	”	”
	4.	97.	उत्पत्तिक्रमसाधन	चन्द्रकीर्ति	”	”	–28	”	”
	5.	98.	पिंडीक्रम T (?)	अंगुरिपाद	..	नेवारी	–38	”	”
	6.	99.	बलितत्वाधिकार	..	”	”	–42	”	”
	7.	100.	कर्मान्तविभागमेलावण etc.	..	”	”	–59	”	Incomplete
	8.	101.	व्याकरण (?)	..	मागधी	$12 \times 1\frac{2}{3}$	..	..	”
XIX	1.	102.	श्रामणेरकारिका टीका	जयरक्षित	”	10 x 2	..	5	Complete (?)
	2.	103.	उपसम्पदाज्ञप्ति	..	”	”	28	5	”
XX	1.	104.	त्याद्यन्तप्रक्रिया (कलाप) T	सर्वधर	”	$12\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	..	6	”
	2.	105.	अभिधर्मकोशकारिका T	वसुबन्धु	”	$11\frac{1}{3} \times 1\frac{2}{3}$	1–43	4	Incomplete
	3.	106.	चण्डमहारोषणतंत्र T	..	”	$10\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	2–48	5	”
XXI	1.	107.	(व्याकरण टीका)	प्रज्ञावर्म	शारदा	12x2	23	6	Complete ?
	2.	108.	(वज्रयान ग्रन्थ)	..	कुटिला	”	..	6	” (?)
	3.	109.	काशिकाविवरणपंजिका	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि	मैथिली	$12 \times 1\frac{2}{3}$	40	5	(Pāṇini i.1)
	4.	110.	बोधिचर्यावतार T	शान्तिदेव	मागधी	”	14	..	Incomplete
	5.	111.	(वज्रयान work)	..	”	12x2	..	..	”
XXII		112.	(गुह्यसमाज–)प्रदीपोद्योतन टीका T	चन्द्रकीर्ति	..	$12 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	176	7	Complete
XXIII		113.	कालचक्रटीका T विमलप्रभा	(अवलोकितेश्वर)	”	10x2	..	5	” (?)
XXIV	1.	114.	काव्यादर्श T	दण्डी	”	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	23	7,8	Complete(?)
	2.	115.	विंशिकाविवृति	..	”	$11\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	..	7	” (?)
	3.	116.	सूत्रालंकार T	मैत्रेय	”	”	..	7	” (?)
	4.	117.	अभिसमयसमुच्चयटीका	..	”	”	..	7	
XXV		118.	हेवज्रडाकिनीजालमहातंत्रटीका (वज्ररत्नावली)	आर्यदेव	”	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	239	5	” (?)
XXVI	1.	119.	हेवज्रसाधनोपयिक	सरोरुहपाद	कुटिला	$11\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	1–8	7	Complete
	2.	120	हेवज्राख्ययुगनद्ध T	अद्वयवज्र	”	”	–22	”	”
	3.	121.	हेवज्रसत्यविकाश	दिवाकरचन्द्र	”	”	–46	”	”
	4.	122.	हेवज्रसाधन ज्ञानप्रदीप	”	”	”	–61	”	”
	5.	123.	चित्तविशुद्धि	”	”	”	–62	”	”
	6.	124.	हेवज्रबलिविधि	”	”	”	–65	”	”
	7.	125.	हेवज्रविशुद्धिसाधन T	अवधूतिपाद	”	”	–80	”	Complete
	8.	126.	हेवज्राभिसमयतिलक T	शाक्यरक्षित	”	”	–107	”	”
	9.	127.	हेवज्रसाधन T	अनङ्गवज्र	”	”	–114	”	”
	10.	128.	” T	”	”	”	–123	”	”
	11.	129.	भवशुद्धि	करुणाबलवज्र	”	”	–140	”	”
	12.	130.	परमगंभीरोत्तानक्रम	दिवाकरचन्द्र	”	”	–156	”	”
	13.	131.	हेरूकसाधन T	गर्भपाव	”	”	–160	”	”
	14.	132.	"	अललवज्र	”		–164	”	”
	15.	133.	हेरुकभट्टारकसाधन	आनन्दगर्भपाद	कुटिला	”	–186	”	”

	16.	134.	हेवज्रसाधन	महदपाद	”	”	–197	”	”
	17.	135.	”	सहजवज्र	”	”	–201	”	”
	18.	136.	(हेवज्र) पूजाविधि	शाश्वतवज्र	”	”	–202	”	”
	19.	137.	अभिसमयक्रम	..	”	”	–204	”	”
	20.	138.	हेवज्रसाधन	..	”	”	–218	”	”
	21.	139.	”	“ज्ञानवज्र ”	”	”	–224	”	”
	22.	140.	हेवज्रस्तुति	समाधिवज्र	”	”	–228	”	”
	23.	141.	”	..	”	”	–230	”	”
	24.	142.	हेवज्रचक्रविंशिका	सरोरुहवज्र	”	”	–231	”	Complete
	25.	143.	हेरुकस्तुति	कण्हपा	”	”	–231	”	”
	26.	144.	हेवज्रयोगिनीस्तुति	..	”	”	–235	”	”
	27.	145.	नैरात्म्यस्तुति	..	”	”	–235	”	”
	28.	146.	नैरात्म्यसाधन	..	”	”	–245	”	”
	29.	147.	”	रत्नाकरशांति	”	”	–249	”	”
	30.	148.	”	दिवाकरचन्द्र	”	”	–267	”	”
	31.	149.	बलिचक्रविधि	..	”	”	–271	”	”
XXVII		150.	अमरकोशटीका (कविकामधेनु)	सुभूतिचन्द्र	मागधी	$12 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	192–389	7,8	Incomplete
XXVIII		151.	हेरुकसाधनपञ्जिका	..	”	$10\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	123	5	Complete
XXIX	1.	152.	कलापव्याकरणटीका	उत्सवकीर्ति	”	”	123	5	Incomplete
	2.	153.	त्रिलिङ्गप्रकरण	मंजु	..	”	88	6	Complete
XXX		154.	... (महायान) सूत्र	..	”	$7\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	174	5	”
XXXI		155.	हेरुकाभिधानमंत्रोद्धार etc.	..	मैथिली	21×2	..	5	Incomplete
XXXII		156.	Loose leves on व्याकरण, लक्षण etc.	..	..	..	..	..	Incomplete
XXXIII	1.	157	रसप्रकाशमार्तण्ड *	गोविन्दनाथ	नागरी	$10 \times 3\frac{1}{3}$	44	6	Complete
	2.	158.	नैरात्म्यसिद्धि *	जेतारिपाद	शारदा	$8\frac{2}{3} \times 3$	..	7	”
XXXIV	1.	159.	धर्मपद	..	मागधी	$10\ \frac{2}{3} \times 2$	21	6	”
	2.	160.	मध्यान्तविभङ्गकारिकाभाष्य	वसुबन्धु	"	"	40	6	”
	3.	161.	वनरत्नस्थविरस्तोत्र	..	नेवारी	$10\ \frac{2}{3} \times 1\frac{5}{6}$	1	4	”
	4.	162.	अचलक्रमद्वय T	वनरत्न	”	”	2	4	”
XXXV	1.	163.	एकजटास्तोत्र	..	नागरी	$6 \times 1\frac{2}{3}$	2	6	”
	2.	164.	गणपतिहृदयधारणी	..	”	$7\ \frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{5}{6}$	3	5	”
	3.	165.	पंचरक्षावलि	..	मैथिली	$8\ \frac{2}{3} \times 1\frac{1}{3}$	4	4	”
	4.	166.	वज्रसूची	..	नागरी	”	10	4,5	”
XXXVI		167.	Loose leaves	Tamil	वर्तुल	$51\frac{1}{3} \times 1\frac{1}{3}$	..	..	..
XXXVII	1.	168.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिसंक्षेप	शंकरनन्दन	वर्तुल	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	..	7	Complete
	2.	169.	A Commentary on some Nyāya text	..	रंजन	$11\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	70	6	”
	3.	170.	तर्करहस्य	..	नेवारी	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	50	7	”

XXXVIII	1.	171.	वादन्यायटीक (?)	..	कुटिला	$11\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	42	10	"
	2.	172.	रतिरहस्य	कोकपंडित	"	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{6}$	17	11	"
	3.	173.	प्रज्ञालंकारकारिका	..	मागधी	$11\frac{1}{3} \times 2$	25	6	"
	4.	174.	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका	..	"	"	..	..	"
	5.	175.	आगमप्रामाण्यकारिका	..	"	"	..	..	"
	6.	176.	वादन्याय T	धर्मकीर्ति	कुटिला	$12 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	20	9,10,11	"
XXXIX	1.	177	प्रातिमोक्षसूत्र	..	मागधी	$10\frac{2}{3} \times 2$	..	5	"
	2.	178.	सुभाषिरत्नकोश	भीमार्जुनसोम	"	"	41	12	"

V. Gu–rim–lha–khang library of Sa–skya

I		179.	वार्तिकालंकार	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त	वर्तुल	27x4	59	10–19	II,III Chapters
II	1.	180	अमरकोशटीका(कामधेनु)	सुभूतिचन्द्र	मागधी	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	9	7,8	1–8,10 Page
	2.	181.	(व्याकरणटीका)	..	"	"	1	7	16th page
	3.	182.	(विनयटीका)	..	"	$23 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	3	7,8	Incomplete
	4.	183.	(पंचरक्षा) महामायाविद्याराज्ञी etc.	..	रंजन	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	43	6	46–68 pages Incomplete
	5.	184.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता	..	मागधी	$21\frac{3}{4} \times 2$	137	7	Incomplete

VI. Chhag–pe–lha–khang in Lha–Khang–Chhenmo of Sa–skya Monastery.

(Continued From Volume XXI, Part I)

I	1.	185.	प्रमाणवार्तिक–वृत्ति T	धर्मकीर्ति	मागधी	$22\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	11	7,8	Incomplete
	2.	186.	प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति–टीका	कण्णकगोमी	"	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	215	7	12,37 Missing
	3.	187.	" T	"	"	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	6	7	Incomplete
II		188.	प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य	प्रज्ञाकारगुप्त	"	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	314	6,7,8	Complete
III		189.	अर्थविनिश्चयधर्मपर्याय T	..	कुटिला	$21 \times .1\frac{3}{4}$	108	7	108,109 Miss.
IV		190.	अमरकोशटीका(कामधेनु) T (सुभूतिचंद्र)		मागधी	$23 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	17	7	Incomplete
	1.	191.	नवश्लोकप्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	मागधी	22×2	1	5	Complete
	2.	192.	अष्टसाहस्रिकापिण्डार्थ	कम्बलपाद	"	"	3	5	Complete
	3.	193.	हेवज्रसाधनोपयिक	रत्नाकरशान्ति	कुटिला	22×2	1–5a	6	"
	4.	194.	अष्टश्मशान	..	"	"	–5b	"	"
	5.	195.	आर्यांगुलीधारणी	..	"	"	–6a	"	"
	6.	196.	आर्यांगुलीकल्प	..	"	"	–6b	"	"
	7.	197.	मंजुश्रीगुह्यचक्र	..	"	"	–16b	"	Incomplete
V	1.	198.	विनयसूत्रवृत्ति T	गुणप्रभ	मागधी	$23 \times \frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	72	7	Incomplete
	2.	199.	प्रतिमोक्षसूत्रटीका	..	"	"	3	8	"
	3.	200.	विनयकारिका T	विशाख	कुटिला	$22 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$	14	3,5	"

VI.	201.	बोधिचर्यावतार T	(शान्तिदेव)	मागधी	22 x 2	23	6	Complete
	202.	त्रिस्कन्धदेशना	..	कुटिला	"	2	5	"
	203.	महामायातन्त्रटीका T	..	"	23 x 2	10	6,7	" (?)
VII	204.	योगचारभूमि T	(असंग)	"	$22\frac{1}{4}$ x $1\frac{5}{8}$	156	7	"
VIII	205.	अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता–पंजिका T (सारतमा)		रत्नाकरशान्ति	$23\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	53	7	Incomplete
IX	206.	"	"	कुटिला	23 x 2	103	6	Complete (?)
	207.	अध्यर्द्धशतक T	मातृचेट	कुटिला	$21\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	5	6	Complete
X	208.	दासरसायनं	नागार्जुन	"	22 x 2	4	5	Complete
XI	209.	चान्द्रव्याकरण T	चन्द्रगोमी	"	$22\frac{3}{4}$ x 2	57	6	Incomplete
	210.	"	"	"	$22\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	14	6,7	"
XII	211.	(अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिताटीका)	?	मागधी	21 x 2	8	6	"
	212.	युक्तिप्रदीप	..	कुटिला	22 x 2	3	7	Complete
	213.	गुह्यसमाजमण्डलोपायिका	भद्रपाद	"	"	1	6	Incomplete
XIII	214.	दशभूमिकसूत्र T	..	"	24 x $2\frac{1}{2}$	57	7	"
XIV	215.	गण्डव्यूहसूत्र T	..		$24\frac{5}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$	481	6	"
XV	216.	सद्धर्मपुंडरीकसूत्र T	..	कुटिला	23 x 2	137	6	Complete
XVI	217.	"		रंजन	22 x 2	158	5	"
XVII	218.	पंचरक्षा T	..	मागधा	22 x 2	77	5	Incomplete
XVIII	219.	अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन (ordinary)	22 x 2	206	6	Complete
XIX 1.	220.	"	..	"	"	228	6	"
XX–XXIII	221.	शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	कुटिला	24 x $2\frac{1}{4}$	1160	7,6	Complete
XXIV-XXVI	222.	"	..	रंजन (ordinary)	$21\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{5}{8}$	201–692	5	Incomplete
XXVII	223.	"	..	"	21 x $1\frac{3}{4}$	1–260	"	"
XXVIII	224.	"	..	"	$21\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{3}{4}$	257	"	"
XXIX	225.	"	..	"	22 x 2	1–226	"	"
XXX	226.	"	..	"	21 x 2	1–260	"	"
XXXI	227.	"	..	"	$21\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{5}{8}$	571–781	"	"
XXXII	228.	शुद्धाचार	वाचस्पतिमिश्र	मैथिली	15 x $1\frac{3}{4}$	113	5	Complete
XXXIII	229.	प्रज्ञापारमिता leaves	..	मागघी		32		Incomplete
	230.	"	..	रंजन, कुटिला,		10		"
XXXIV	231.	अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन (ordinary)	$22\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	16	7	Incomplete
XXXV	232.	शिक्षासमुच्चय T	(शान्तिदेव)	मागघी	$22\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	1	2	Incomplete
	233.	पोषधानुशंसा etc.	..	कुटिला,	मागधी	38	6	Incomplete
	234.	Miscellaneous leaves	..			14		"
	235.	Tibetan leaves.	..	Tamil	21 x $1\frac{1}{4}$	117	6	"
XXXVI	236.	संस्कृतपुस्तक 1	..	"	"	14	"	"
	237.	"	..					

		238.	"	..	"	"	10	5,6	"
XXXVII		239.	वेस्सन्तरजातक (?)	..	Sinhalese	$18\frac{1}{4}$ x $1\frac{1}{4}$	50	7	"
		240.	... नुसंसा	..	"	"	47	7	"
XXXVIII		241.	कालचक्रटीका(विमलप्रभा) T	..	"	"	"	"	

VII. Shalu Monastery (Continued from Vol.XXI, Part I)

XII	1.	242.	प्रमाणवोर्त्तिकवृत्ति	मनोरथनन्दी	कुटिला	$26\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	105	7	Complete
		243.	न्यायविन्दुपंजिका T	धर्मोत्तर	मागधी	$24\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$	43	6	"
XIII	1.	244.	प्रमाणवार्त्तिक T	धर्मकीर्ति	कुटिला	$12\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{3}{4}$	31	7	Ch. 2,3,4.
	2	245.	प्रमाणवार्त्तिक (क्रोडपत्र)		"	$12\frac{3}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$	16	7,9	
	3.	246.	क्षणभंगाध्याय	(ज्ञानश्री)	मागधी	$12\frac{7}{8}$ x $1\frac{1}{2}$	128	5	Complete
	4.	247.	महायानोत्तरतन्त्र–टीका T	(असंग ?)	"	$12\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{7}{8}$	54	6	Incomplete
XIV.	1.	248.	विनयसूत्र T	गुणप्रभ	Tibetan (U.chen)	$22\frac{1}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$	62	6	Complete
	2.	249.	" टीका T	"	"	"	36	8	" (?)
	3.	250.	" (टीका)	गुणप्रभ	"	"	9	8	Incomplete
	4.	251.	" (लक्षण–टीका)		मागधी	"	6	7,8	"
	5.	252.	(लक्षण in Tibetan)		Tibetan	"	3	9	"
	6.	253.	अभिधर्मप्रदीप with विभाषा–प्रभावृत्ति		शारदा	22 x $2\frac{1}{8}$	63	9	"
	7.	254.	विग्रहव्यावर्त्तनी T	नागार्जुन	Tibetan	$22\frac{1}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$	7	8	Complete
	8.	255.	स्फुटपीठादिनिर्णय		"	"	17	6,7	" (?)
	9.	256.	दोहाकोश टीका T			16 x $1\frac{1}{2}$	1	6	Incomplete
XV	1.	257.	वार्त्तिकालंकार T	(प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त)	मागधी	$24\frac{1}{4}$ x 2	12	7	Incomplete
	2.	258.	"	"	"	$23\frac{3}{4}$ x 2	114	7	"
XVI	1.	259.	(स्वाधिष्ठानक्रम) वृत्ति (सरह)	बन्धुकीर्त्ति	"	12 x 2	25	6	Complete
XVII	1.	260.	स्वाधिष्ठानक्रमविवृति		कुटिला & मागधी	$12\frac{1}{4}$ x 2	$8\frac{1}{2}$	8	Complete
	2.	261.	अभिसम्बोधिक्रम T	(आर्यदेव)	मागधी	"	2	"	"
	3.	262.	पंचक्रमविवृति T		"	"	2	"	"
	4.	263.	अनुत्तरसत्व विवृति		"	"	3 1/2	"	"
	5.	264.	पंचक्रमविवृति T	कुलोक	मागधी	"	10	8	Complete
	6.	265.	स्वप्नाध्याय		"	"	2	6	Incomplete
XVIII	1.	266.	कातन्त्रपञ्जिका T	त्रिलोचनदास	"	$12\ 1\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{7}{8}$	5	5	"
	2.	267.	"	"	कुटिला	$12\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	29	"	Incomplete
XIX		268.	काव्यप्रकाश	राजानकम्मट	मागधी	$11\frac{3}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{8}$	73	8,9	"
XX		269	(वज्रयानग्रन्थ)		रञ्जन	14 x $1\frac{1}{4}$	46	4	"
XXI	1.	270	हेरुकसाधन	दारिकपाद	कुटिला	$\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	13	6–8	"
	2.	271.	नामसंगीति T		रंजन	11 x $1\frac{3}{4}$	17	5	"
XXII	1.	272.	बोधिसत्वभावनाक्रम	कमलशील	मागधी	12x2	36	6	"
	2.	273.	कुरुकुल्लासाधन T		Old. मैथिली	"	4	5	Complete
	3.	274.	अमोघपाशलोकेश्वरमंडल T		"	"	2	5	Complete

	4.	275.	आदिबुद्ध etc.		"	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	11	5	Incomplete
	5.	276.	योगसारभाष्य	भाष्कराचार्य N.	"	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	24	5	Complete
XXIII	1.	277.	स्रग्धरास्तोत्र T	सर्वज्ञमित्र	मागधी	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 21$	9	"	"
	2.	278.	(बुद्धनमस्कार etc.)		कुटिला, माग.	$10\frac{3}{4} \times 2$	9	"	Incomplete
XXIV	1.	279.	कालचक्रटीका (विमलप्रभा) T	..	मागधी	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	20	7	Incomplete
	2.	280.	महायानलक्षणसमुच्चय	..	"	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	4	7	"
	3.	281.	वज्रभैरवतन्त्रपंजिका T	कुमारचन्द्र	"	$11 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	4	6	Complete
	4.	282.	महावज्रभैरवास्त्र राज	..	"	"	7	7	Incomplete
	5.	283.	मूलदेववाक्यश	..	कुटिला	$12\,1\frac{3}{4}$	10	5,6	"
	6.	284.	(कामशास्त्र)	..	मागधी	$11\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	3	8	"
	7.	285.	षडंगयोगटीका T	..	कुटिला	$12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	7	4,5	Complete
	8.	286.	वसुधाराधारणी	..	"	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	8	5	Incomplete
	9.	287.	Miscellaneous leaves				8		
XXV	10.	288.	महामायातन्त्र T		कुटिला	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	29	4,5	Complete
XXVI	1.	289.	(तद्धित)	पाणिनि	मैथिली	$11\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	27	6	
	2.	290.	चान्द्रव्याकरणवृत्ति T	चन्द्रगोमी	मागधी	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 2$	11	6	Incomplete
	3.	291.	चान्द्रव्याकरण T (उणादि)	"	कुटिला	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	45	6	Complete
XXVII		292.	अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	रंजन	22x2	393	4	"
XXVIII		293.	"	..	"	23x2	199	6	Complete (?)
XXIX		294.	शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T	..	मागधी	$24 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	276	7	"
XXX		295.	चक्रसंवरविवृति T	भवभट	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	54	7	"
XXXI		296.	अमोघपाशकल्पराज T	..	मागधी	$22\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	162	7	"
XXXII		297.	पंचविंशतिसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता T ..		"	$23\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	252	"	Incomplete
XXXIII	1.	298.	कातन्त्रवृत्तिपंजिका T	त्रिलोचनदास	मागधी	$22\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	6	6	Incomplete
	2.	299.	चान्द्रव्याकरणवृत्ति T	चंद्रगोमी	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{4}\,2 \times \frac{1}{4}$	117	7	Complete (?)
XXXIV	1.	300	चान्द्रव्याकरणटीका	रत्नमति	मागधी	$21\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$	235	7	Incomplete
	2.	301.	" पंजिका	पूर्णचन्द्र	"	"	234–66	"	"
XXXV	1.	302.	चतुरंगसाधनटीका T (सारमंजरी)	समन्तभद्र	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	39	7	Complete
	2.	303.	त्रिसमयोपयिक		मागधी	$23\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	6	7,8	" (?)
	3.	304.	रहःप्रदीप(सर्वरहस्यनिबंध) T	रत्नातकर- शान्ति	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	14	7	Complete
	4.	305.	वज्रभैरवतन्त्रपंजिका T	कुमारचन्द्र	मागधी	$22\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	7	"
	5.	306.	कृष्णयमारितन्त्रपञ्जिका	धर्मदास	"	"	32	"	Complete
	6.	307.	(गुह्य) समाजमण्डलोपयिक T	नागबुद्धि	"	"	7	7	"
	7.	308.	वज्रामृततन्त्रपंजिका T	विमलभद्र	"	"	7	7	"

	8.	309.	कल्याणकामधेनु T	नागार्जुन	”	”	7	7	Complete
	9.	310.	प्रतिष्ठाविधि etc.	..	”	$21\frac{3}{4} \times 2$	11	6,7	Incomplete
XXXVI	1.	311.	कालचक्रटीका (विमलप्रभा) T	..	कुटिला	22x2	45	9	”
	2.	312.	महाकालचक्र	..	मागधी	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	49x5	7	Complete
	3.	313.	योगाम्बरसाधन(महायोगानुबद्ध)	..	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	10	7	”
	4.	314.	(बोधिचित्तवज्रगाथाटीका)	..	मागधी	..	4	6	Complete
	5.	315.	(ज्योतिषवैद्यकक्रोडपत्र)	विभूतिचंद्र	”	”	12		”
XXXVII	1.	316.	तर्कज्वाला(मध्यमकहृदय) T	भगवद्विवेक	रंजन	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	24	5,6	Complete
	2.	317.	अभिधर्मसमुच्चय T	..	मागधी	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	17	7	Incomplete
	3.	318.	(प्रज्ञापारमिता)	..	”	”	10	5	”
	4.	319.	गुह्यसमाज T	..	”	”	10	”	”
	5.	320.	(.....सूत्र–टीका)	..	कुटिला	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	11	4,5	”
	6.	321.	(... सूत्र)	..	”	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	9x11	5	”
	7.	322.	(बोधिचित्त ..)	..	कुटिला	”	$\frac{1}{2}$	6	Incomplete
	8.	323.	त्रिसमयपूर्वसेवाविधि	जयप्रभ	”	”	1	9	Complete
	9.	324.	(साधननयोग)*	..	मागधी, कु०		2		Incomplete
	10.	325.	(हेरुक...टीका)	..	”		4	6	”
	11.	326.	(लक्षणटीका)	..	शारदा कु०		2		”
	12.	327.	(प्रज्ञापारमिताटीका)	..	कुटिला		10	6	”
XXXVIII	1.	328.	मंजुश्रीनामसंगीति T	..	कुटिला	$9 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	14	6	Complete
	2.	329.	सिद्धैकवीरतन्त्र T	..	मागधी	$9 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	14	4,5	Incomplete
	3.	330.	तारास्तुति(चन्द्रदास)टीका		कुटिला	”	6	9	”
	4.	331.	त्रिंशिका T	वसुबंधु	कुटिला	$12\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	81	8	Complete
	5.	332.	प्रज्ञापारिमितापिण्डार्थ	दिङ्नाथ	मागधी	”	2	8	”
	6.	333.	त्रिंशतिका ... कारिका	असंग	”	”	3	”	Incomplete
	7.	334.	(गुणापर्यन्त ....T)	दिङ्नाथ	”	”	I	”	”
	8.	335.	गुह्येन्द्रतिलककल्पराज	..	कुटिला	$11\frac{3}{4} \times 2$	37	8	”

VIII. Rta–nag Thub–stan Monastery (Tsang)

I		336	(लंकावतार ?) सूत्र T	..	रञ्जन	22x2	250	6	Incomplete
II	1.	337	...... सूत्र	”	"	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	50	5	”
	2.	338.	...... सूत्र	..	कुटिला	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	2	5	”
	3.	339.	...... तंत्र	..	”	$16\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$	15	3	”

IX. Ngor Monastery (Continued from JBORS., XXI, Part I)

XL	340.	अभिधर्मकोशभाष्य T	वसुबन्धु	मागधी	$12 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$			Complete
XL	341.	दोहाकोश T	सरह	कुटिला	$10 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$			”

IX Shalu Monastery (continued from Vol. XXI, Part I, pp 8–10 and Vol. XXIII, Part I, pp 33–52)

XXXIX	1.	342.	क्षणभंगाध्याय	(ज्ञान श्रीमित्र)	मागधी	22" x 2"	62	7	Complete
	2.	343.	व्याप्तिचर्चा	(")	"	"	9	"	"
	3.	344.	भेदाभेदपरीक्षा	(")	"	"	1–2	"	"
	4.	345.	अनुपलब्धिरहस्य	(")	"	"	2–6/2	"	"
	5.	346.	सर्वशब्दाभावचर्चा	(")	"	"	6/2–8	"	"
	6.	347.	अपोहप्रकरण	(")	"	"	8–20	"	"
	7.	348.	ईश्वरदूषण	(")	"	"	20–33	"	"
	8.	349.	ईश्वरवादाधिकारव्याख्या	(")	"	"	33–54	"	"
	9.	350.	कार्यकारणभावसिद्धि	(ज्ञान श्रीमित्र)	मागधी	22" x 2"	54–56	7	Complete
	10.	351.	योगिनिर्णय	(")	"	"	56–65	"	"
	11.	352.	अद्वैतबिन्दुप्रकरण	(")	"	"	65–72	"	"
		353.	साकारसिद्धि	"	"	"	72–122	"	"
	13.	354.	साकारसंग्रहसूत्र	"	"	"	122–37	"	"
XL	1.	355.	(श्रावक, भूमि) (असंग)		कुटिला	$20\frac{1}{2}$" x $2\frac{1}{8}$"	126	7,8	Incomplete
	2.	356.	आभिप्रायिक गाथानिर्देश		कुटिला	$20\frac{1}{2}$" x $2\frac{1}{8}$"	4	7,9	Incomplete
XLI		357.	बोधिसत्त्वभूमि असंग		"	12 x 2	226	7	Complete
XLII	1.	358.	कातंत्रपंजि. त्रिलोचनदास		मागधी	12 x $2\frac{1}{4}$	57	7	Incomplete
XLIII	1.	359.	अद्वयसमताकल्पराज		कुटिला	21x2	22	7	"
	2.	360.	चतुर्योगिनीसंपुटतंत्रराज		"	"	6	6	Complete
	3.	361.	वज्रडाकतंत्रटीका		"	"	24	7	Incomplete
XLIV		362.	बलितत्व	रत्नशील	मागधी	22 x $1\frac{3}{4}$	16	5	Complete
XLV	1.	363.	पचक्रमटिप्पणी	मुनिश्रीभद्र	कुटिला	13 x 2	50	5	"
	2.	364.	वज्रसत्त्व साधन	लीलावज्र	"	$13\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	4	7	"
	3.	365.	योगरत्नमालाटिप्पणी	बन्धुकीर्ति	मागधी	$12\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	22	3	Incomplete X
	4.		Leaves*		कुटिला	$13\frac{1}{2}$ x 2	5	5	"
XLVI		366.	(Astrology)		मैथिली	15 x 1	35	3	Incomplete
I	1.	4	(सूत्र–धारणीसंग्रह)		रंजन (ordinary)	21 x $1\frac{3}{4}$	100	5	Incomplete
	2.	5	(व्याकरण)	"	मागधी	22 x 2	26	4–6	Incomplete
	3.	367.	(काव्य)		कुटिला	22 x 2	5	6	"
I	1.	6	त्रिदण्डमाला	अश्वघोष	कुटिला	22 x $1\frac{3}{4}$	115	5	Leaf 107 Missing
	2.	7	परिकथा		"	"	57	"	Complete
III	1.	8	मध्यान्तविभागकारिका *	मैत्रेयनाथ	मागधी	$8\frac{1}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$	8	7	Complete
	2.	368.	धर्मधमंताप्रविभागसूत्र	"	"	"	5	"	"
	3.	9.	अभिसमयालंकार	"	"	"	20	"	"

T. Preserved in Tibetan translation.
***.** Written on paper.
1. In Tamil Grantha.
2. In Sinhalese language
3. Except three leaves all on paper.

ARTICLES

Palaeolithic Maihar, Satna District, Madhya Pradesh : A Preliminary Report of Excavations

J.N. Pal
J.N. Pandey

Introduction

Maihar (Lat. 24°16'N and Long. 80°46'E) is situated in Satna district of Madhya Pradesh at a distance of 66 km. in south westerly direction from Rewa. It is head quarter of Maihar sub-division. As connoted by its name itself Maihar is the sacred seat of mother goddess. The well known temple of goddess is situated on top of a hillock known as Maihar Pahari.

The history of Palaeolithic discoveries at Maihar goes back to middle of Nineteen hundred seventies.[1] Surface indications, of exposure of sections at nalas and physical conditions of artefacts indicated that the artefacts at the Lower Palaeolithic site are in primary context and there is considerable covering soil over the artefact level. As we still do not have much sites of Palaeolithic culture in primary context in India it was planned to excavate the site.

The excavations were conducted by J.N. Pandey and J.N. Pal of Allahabad University for three seasons. In 1987 the Acheulian occupation at Maihar I was excavated.[2] In 1988 besides the Lower Palaeolithic site of Maihar I, Middle Palaeolithic site at localities of Maihar II and Maihar III and Upper Palaeolithic site at locality Maihar IV were also excavated. In 1991 the Maihar I was further excavated.

Lower Palaeolithic Site (MHR-I)

Lower Palaeolithic artefacts are found in locality MHR-I in an almost flat land between Maihar Temple hillock and Lilji river (a tributary of the Tons river). The locality is about 700 m. east of the hillock and 170 m. west of the river. The site has a gentle slope from south to north (Pl. 1). Towards north of MHR-I there is a nala which comes from the Maihar hillock and goes to the Lilji. The nala has cut down the formations and bed rock of shale. On both sides of this nala there are Acheulian stone artefacts on the shale formation and in the overlying yellowish clay formation.

To the north of this nala 864 square metre area was planned for excavation to expose the Acheulian level. An area of 36 x 24 m. was gridded in squares of 1 x 1 m. On the highest point in the south west corner a datum (o) was fixed and surface reading was recorded in all the gridded squares before excavation. This recording shows that there is a gentle slope on the present top surface from south to north and west to east. On the surface there were scatters of microliths - blades, flakes and cores and their fragments made on chert, chalcedony and agate.

A test trench of 1 x 2 m. in squares SB-1 and SC-1 was also taken for excavation to the south west corner of gridded area to know the nature of deposits and vertical distribution of artefacts. The test trench was excavated upto a depth of 1.73 m. and the whole deposit is divisible into 3 main layers :

> Layer (1) has two units - (1) and (1A). The first unit varying in thickness from 22 to 25 cm. is a reddish silt deposit containing small iron nodules and rolled tiny shale fragments in it. Upper part of this unit yielded a few blade fragments made on chert. The second unit is a 5 cm. thick band of red silt containing shale fragments, stone chips and calcium nodules apparently accumulated by water activity.
>
> Layer (2) with a thickness of 30-46 cm. is yellowish silt deposit and it also contains iron nodules and shale fragments. No artefact has been found in this layer, but this is the layer which seals the artefact level.
>
> Layer (3) has two units (3) and (3A) and both units contain *insitu* Acheulian artefacts. Layer (3) is a yellowish silt deposit of 13-26 cm. thickness. Besides unabraded frsh artefacts this unit contains weathered shale fragments, pallets coated with laterite and laterite nodules. Layer (3A) lying below layer (3) is a 20-40 cm. thick formation of mottled clay containing insitu artefacts and shale fragments. This formation rests on the shale bed rock and there are bigger sand stone and quartzite blocks on the bed rock. It is interesting to note that stone blocks in layer 3A also are not abraded. As the layers 3 and 3A are dipping towards south, it can be said that during the Acheulian period the surface of Acheulian level had slope toward south whereas present surface slopes towards north.

Most of the artefacts in the Index trench are made on quartzite while in other squares besides quartzite sand stone also has been used for manufacturing the artefacts. The artefacts obtained from index trench include flakes, cores, cleavers and handaxes. Most interesting discovery from this trench is a non-utilitarian stone disc with alternate flaking on its periphery which is one of the rare evidence of art activity in Acheulian period. Possibly this disc was a game object.

In the whole 864 gridded squares planned for excavation 226 squares were excavated in 1987, 100 squares were open in 1988 and 67 squares in 1992. Thus in 393 squares the Acheulian level was exposed.

The excavations of layers 3 and 3A revealed interesting evidence of Acheulian activity areas. The artefact manufacturing areas were located where bigger stone blocks were used as anvils. Hammer stones alongwith differnt sized cores, flakes and tools in different stages of manufacture were found around these anvil stones. There are some areas where density of artefacts is particularly high, suggesting more intensive activity in such areas. The manuports along with artefacts have been plotted which show the distribution pattern of artefacts and workshops of the Acheulian people.

Except the weathered artefacts in the northern most squares which were lying almost exposed to the present surface having no covering soil, the artefacts exposed in all other squares during excavations are mint fresh. Even the small flakes 3.5 cm. in size along with full setting (anvils, hammers, cores, flakes and tools) of manufacturing areas indicate that the Acheulian artefacts are in primary context.

The horizontal excavation of layer 3 with a thickness of 25 to 30 cm. in squares A-31 to 35, B-31 to B-35, C-31 to C-35, D-31 to D-35 and E-31 to E-35 has revealed a semi-circular enclosure made by big sized stone blocks (Pl. 2). Some flat stone blocks measure 1 metre in length, and 65 cm. in width and were possibly used as platforms for sitting while the round boulders with bruised and pitted surface were used as anvils. One of such anvils measured 44 cm. x 38 cm. Some of the big boulders have flake scars indicating that these served the purpose of cores. Similar evidence of big sized stone blocks was also found in G-31 to G-35, H-31 to H-35, I-31 to I-35, J-31 to J-35 and K-31 to K-35 squares. The available evidence suggests that the enclosed area was possibly used for living purpose. Some small retouched flakes were also found in the enclosed area. The artefacts recovered from out side of the enclosure include scrapers, cleavers, handaxes, polyhedron and discoids in addition to cores and flakes.

Besides in the Index trench layer 3A was excavated in squares A-1 to A-5, B-1 to B-5, C-1 to C-5, D-1 to D-5 and E-1 to E-5. The layer with a thickness of 15 to 25 cm. yielded artefacts similar to layer 3.

Artefacts at the locality of MHR-I have been made on quartzite and sand stone. Among the artefacts, unmodified waste includes cores including disc cores, flakes, chunks and their fragments. The tools include cleavers (Pl. 3), scrapers, retouched flakes, retouched chunks, retouched cores, spheroids, handaxes (Pl. 4), knives, choppers, borers and their fragments. Some of the scrapers are made on disc cores. The disc with alternate flaking on its periphery from the index trench is noteworthy discovery. One of the important features of the artefact assemblage is miniature cleavers, which possibly were made to be used by children of the Acheulian occupants of Maihar.

Middle Palaeolithic (MHR-II and MHR-III)

The Middle Palaeolithic site of Maihar II is located 270 m. south of Maihar I. It is about 43 cm. above the main datum (o) of Maihar I. Artefacts made of fine grained quartzite of reddish and blackish colour were scattered at the site which has partly been disturbed by ploughing. The undisturbed 25 square metre area was gridded into 1 x 1 m. squares. As the artefacts were lying on the present surface they were plotted. The artefacts included flakes, flake fragments, chunks, discoid cores, cores, scrapers, retouched flakes, blade fragments and a few cleavers. Due to the exposed nature of the area, artefacts of different facies of Stone Age cultures such as Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic also have been located in this area. However, the major assemblage pertains to the Mesolithic period.

As was the case with Maihar II the site of Maihar III also belongs to the Middle Palaeolithic culture. This locality is further south of Maihar II at a distance of 345 m. from Maihar I. This locality is about 50 cm. below the main datum (o) of Maihar I. Here also 5 x 5 m. area was gridded into 1 x 1 m. squares for plotting the artefacts. After plotting the artefacts scattered on the surface a 3 x 3 m. area was excavated upto a depth of 62 cm. below the datum. The excavation revealed 20 cm. thick reddish loamy deposit, which covers the insitu artefact bearing level. The artefacts were on the weathered surface of shale (Pl. 5). The excavation at MHR-III established that the artefacts on the present surface were not insitu. But the artefacts excavated on the weathered shale are insitu. The lithic assemblage as those of Maihar II included cores, discoids, scrapers, flakes, retouched flakes and chunks made of fine grained dark blackish quartzite.

Upper Palaeolithic (MHR-IV)

Maihar IV is located on the left bank of a meander of the river Lilji, 375 m. south-east of Maihar I. It is about 1.55 m. below the main datum (o) of Maihar I. The surface of the site is littered with artefacts made of chert, chalcedony and quartzite. An area of 20 x 17 m. marked by heavy concentration of artefacts was gridded into 1 x 1 m. squares for plotting the artefacts to show the distribution of artefacts and 5 x 4 m. area in the centre of the site comprising squares K-9 to K-13, L-9 to L-13, M-9 to M-13 and N-9 to N-13 was selected for excavation in adition to K-8.

The excavation revealed that the top layer at the site is a 5 to 6 cm. thin layer of reddish soil which contains artefacts and covers the artefact rich level of layer 2. Layer 2 with a thickness of 5 cm. is full of artefacts (Pl. 6). Layer 3 with a thickness of 8 cm. is also reddish soil containing shale framents. Layer 3 is devoid of artefacts and rests on the weathered bed rock of shale.

The artefacts have been made on chert, quartzite and chalcedony and are divisible into two groups (a) unmodified waste and (b) finished tools/modified tools. The unmodified waste includes flakes, flake fragments, blades, blade fragments, core rejuvinating flakes, core triming flakes, chunks and cores with single or double platform. The modified tools consist of utilized blades and flakes, edge damaged blades and flakes, normal retouched blades, inversely retouched blades, normal and inverse retouched blades, straight backed blades, convex backed blades, partly backed blades, backed and truncated blades, retouched and truncated blades, truncated blades, retouched and denticulated blades, denticulated blades, scalenes, isoceles, lunates, end scrapers and drills. At Maihar IV there is a stone structure known as *Shikargah* which was used as a hunting place by the king of Maihar in British period. As the meander of river Lilji at Maihar IV contains water even in summer the wild animals used to come at the site which were hunted. The place would have been equally suitable during the Upper Palaeolithic period.

Conclusion

Earlier investigations at Maihar by J.N. Pandey and V.D. Misra had confirmed the existance of Mesolithic settlements besides the Lower Palaeolithic site.[3] Thus the existance of all the facies of stone age cultures is confirmed at Maihar. Different localities were occupied in different periods. Maihar I is a primary site of Acheulian culture which is marked by tool manufacturing and activity areas. The open air-settlements of Acheulian culture at Maihar I has a similar significance being in primary context as those of Paisara[4] and Hunsagi.[5] The non-utilitarian disc discovered at maihar I presents the evidence of creativity and aesthetic sence of Acheulian man.

Maihar II and III represent Middle Palaeolithic settlements marked by unabraded tools made on fine grained quartzite but incomparision to Acheulian site the concentration of artefacts is scanty.

Maihar IV presents the occupation of Upper Palaeolithic culture having similarity to that of Baghor I of the Son valley.[6]

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Excavations at the Primary Context Mesolithic Occupation Site of Banki, District Sidhi, M.P. : A Preliminary Report

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Location and General Features

The primary context Mesolithic occupation site of Banki (Lat. 24°35' 10" N, Long. 82° 14'50" E) is located on the left bank of the Kundherī Nālā, a palaeochannel of the river Son, at the southern foot of the Kaimur range in Sihawal Tehsil of Sidhi district, M.P. (Fig. 1A). The site lies about 2 km. north of the Sihawal township and less than a kilometre north-northeast of the village Dudhmania. The site as appears is a low profile mound (Pl. 7), generally irregular-oblong on plan - longer and shorter axes of which measure 114m. (north-south) and 103m. (east-west), respectively - with a maximum height of about 2m. above the surrounding walking surface. However, a substantial part of the site towards the western side has been scraped off and levelled by the villagers for the purpose of cultivation.

The site was first discovered in 1982-83 by the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, during the course of an exploration in the middle Son valley. Impressed by the immense potential of the site, the department was then able to carry out only a small-scale excavation with the immediate purpose of ascertaining the total deposit and the underlying geological formation. The excavation in 1983 of a step trench on the western margin upto a depth of 1.80m. was fruitful in terms of providing a general idea about the microlithic artefacts in their stratigraphic context and the relationship of the site with other excavated sites of the region - Baghor II and Medhauli I, for example. The necessity for a systematic excavation of the site was realised.

Excavation (1991-92)

With a view to ascertaining the thickness of occupational deposits of the site and its stratigraphy on a firmer footing, on the one hand, and outlining the salient features of the material culture, on the other, a small area near the abraded western fringe of the site was selected for excavation. The general slope at the selected spot was generally from north-east to south-west. A 5x5 m. grid was laid out immediately east of the abraded western margin of the site (Fig. 1B). Simultaneously, an 1x1m. test trench was dug immediately to the north of the said grid with a view to determining the stratigraphic sequence of the occupational layers. This furnished us with necessary stratigraphic control in the main excavation. The excavation was conducted between 31 March to 15 April, 1992.

Test Trench

The deepest section of the site is that obtained in the test trench which was dug to a depth of 1.17m. into the upper fine member of the Baghor Formation.[1] The total deposit was divisible into five layers (Fig. 2, Pl. 8). No major unconformity was noticed between the layers and the change, particularly in the lower levels, is a gradual one as is consistent with these deposits belonging to the fine grained upper member of the Baghor Formation and dating to the close of the Pleistocene around 10,000 b.p.[2]

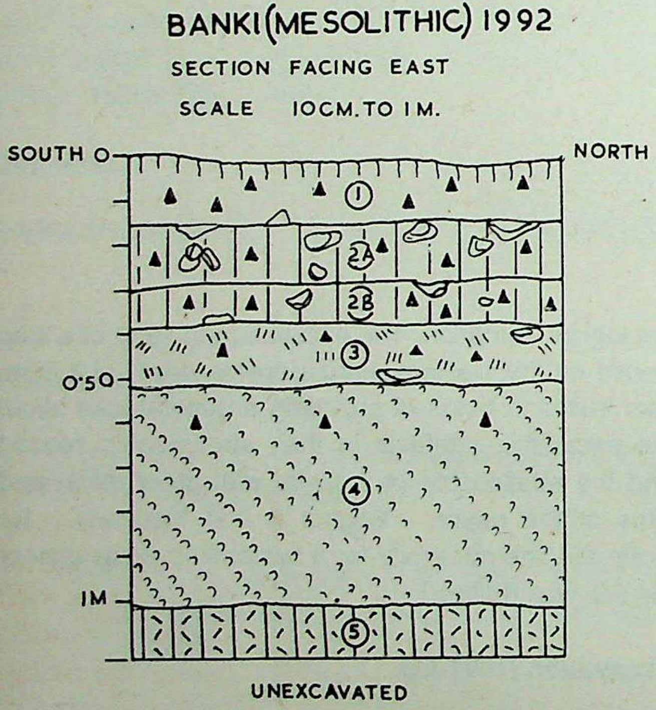

Fig. 2. Banki : Test trench section (west wall). Soil matrix - layer 1, light brown loam; sub-layers 2A and 2B, yellow-brown; layer 3, greyish white clay; layer 4, black clay; layer 5 yellow-grey loam.

The uppermost layer consists of light brown loam and has an average thickness of 15cm. The upper half of this first layer was disturbed due to recent cultivation. Microlithic artefacts in the form of worked nodules, finished tools, wastes, etc. mainly on chert and chalcedony, were recovered from this layer. The subsequent layer, composed of yellow- brown loam was divided into two sub-layers - 2A and 2B, with average thicknesses of 17cm. and 11cm. respectively. The microlithic tools recovered from these sub-layers include various types of blades, as also triangles and lunates. The raw materials used for fashioning these tools include chalcedony (predominant type), chert, agate, jasper, carnelian and quartz. The succeeding layer 3 consists of greyish white clay and measures 13cm. in thickness. Although the tools from this layer were still of microlithic dimension, a marginal increase in their size from those from sub-layers 2A and 2B was noticed. Layer 4 is a 52cm. thick deposit of black clay. The tools recovered from this layer were largest in size in the series and compare well with the terminal Upper Palaeolithic tools from the site of Baghor III.[3] Layer 5, the last in the stratigraphic series, consists of yellow-grey loam and belongs to the upper fine member of the Baghor Formation. It was sterile of artefacts and, therefore, the excavation in this trench was suspended after partially exposing this last layer upto a depth of 10cm.

Main Trench : General Features of Successive Occupational Floors

The excavation in the main trench was carried out upto a depth of 43cm. exposing layer 1 and two successive occupational floors, 2A and 2B (Pl. 9,10 & 11). Sandstone rubbles, querns, mullers, microlithic artefacts, as well as cryptocrystalline raw materials were found distributed in high and low density scatters on these occupational floors. Clusters of high rubble/artefact concentration were noticed in north-western and south-eastern parts of the grid and in much of the area east of the baulk on the occupational floor of sub-layer 2A. In the case of occupational floor of sub- layer 2B, the clusters of high artefact concentration were detected in the northern and southern parts of the grid and in much of the area east of the baulk. Beside these clusters, there were noticed on both the occupational floors 2A and 2B a number of small circular sandstone pavements- probably bases of storage bins - mostly towards the eastern side of the grid. The diametres of these pavements varied from 0.5m. to 1.0m.

A distinguishing feature of the two high concentration zones on the floor level of sub-layer 2B is the presence of a number of post holes along the peripheries of the said zones. The distribution of post holes suggests that the corresponding structures (huts) were either semi-circular or circular/elliptical as is the pattern observed at other Mesolithic sites of the Vindhyas : Chopani-Mando in the Belan valley and Baghor Ii in the Son valley, for example[4]. Although the nature of structures at Banki can be confirmed after opening the adjacent grids in our subsequent excavations (Fig. 1B), the present observation in the main grid suggests a structure similar to that reported from Baghor II, rather than Chopani-Mando. The Bagor II structures functioned as 'shelters' similar in design to the lean-to, open sleeping shelter built by contemporary crop watchers in the region. Within the said high concentration zones on both the occupational floor levels were found many discrete clusters of rubbles, querns, hammer stones, anvils, raw materials, microlithic artefacts and so on. These discrete clusters represent, in all probability, tool manufacturing and food processing activities at the site. The presence of such a large number of rubbles of varying size and shape on the floor levels suggests that these served an important purpose to the occupants of the site. The rubble concentrations enclosed by a number of post holes at regular intervals show that the occupants typically made use of a large number of stone rubbles in shelters - probably these stones were used as paving stones, or more likely, as storage and/or sleeping platforms, head-rests ect., as is practised by the contemporary Sefar Nomads in the Vindhyas[5]. It also seems highly probable that these rubbles were brought to the site by the Mesolithic occupants of the site from the adjacent Kaimur hills.

Tool Typology and Raw Material Compositions

On technological ground the site appears to be first of its kind in the entire Son valley at least in showing the intrasite evolution of the Mesolithic tradition from the terminal Upper Palaeolithic one, as to be judged from the test trench evidence.

The analysis having been confined so far to limited samples from the test trench as well as the main grid, the conclusions drawn below are necessarily tentative. The tools from the lowest artefact-bearing layer, i.e. 4, comprise mainly blades of several sub-types, such as parallel sided, blunted backed, retouched etc. Fashioned mainly on black grey chert, these tools are larger and broader than those recovered from succeeding layers. Apart from the chert, constituting 77.5% of the raw materials analysed so far from this layer, other raw materials (22.5%) include chalcedony, agate etc. -broadly classed here as non-cherts (Table I; Fig. 3). The artefacts and their raw material composition from this layer compare well with those from the terminal Upper Palaeolithic site of Baghor III.

TABLE I : Layerwise raw material composition based on selected Samples from Banki.

Layer/	CHERT		NON-CHERTS		TOTAL
Sub-layer	No.	%	No.	%	
1 (disturbed)	32	26.0	91	74.0	123
2A	70	11.4	543	88.6	613
2B	93	20.5	360	79.5	453
3	95	77.9	27	22.1	122
4	345	77.5	100	22.5	445
			Total studied		1,756

NOTE : Chert includes three sub-varieties - black grey (predominant), white and blue/green. Non-cherts include chalcedony (predominant), agate, jasper, carnelian and quartz.

The assemblage from the succeeding layer 3 includes, among others, broad blades, blunted backed blades and retouched blades, as also blanks, flakes and wastes. Although the proportion of raw materials (chert vs. non-cherts) shows no significant change from that in the preceding layer (Fig. 3), the overall rool size does indicate a marginal size reduction in layer 3.

The assemblage from layer 2 (with sub-units B and A) consists of tools like blades (retouched, blunted backed, notched and truncated), triangles, lunates and percoir. Strangely enough, trapeze was conspicuous by its absence in these two sub-layers, and for that matter, in all the layers. From sub-layer 2A was recovered what could be described as a proto-tranchet or technical tranchet. The unmodified types from sub-layers 2B and 2A include blades, flakes, blade/blade-flake fragments, chunks and cores - both amorphous and fluted types. The assemblage from layer 2, on the whole, represents a typical early, aceramic Mesolithic industry, such as that reported from Baghor II and Medhauli I.

The tools analysed so far show successive size reduction from layer 4 to 2A through 3 and 2B. A change in the relative proportion of chert and non-chert raw materials is also evident as one moves along the stratigraphic sequence (Table I, Fig. 3). For example, chert which predominated earlier asssemblages (layers 4 and 3) shows drastic proportionate decrease in sub-layers 2B and 2A, with the corresponding rise in the proportion of non-chert materials-mainly chalcedony. Another important feature of tools/nodules from all the layers is the evidence of heat treatment on some of them. In fact this has been a regional feature of the middle Son valley during the period between terminal Pleistocene and mid-Holocene[6].

Although the tools from the uppermost horizon (layer 1) are similar to those noted for the preceding sub-layer 2A, a further size reduction is indicated. However, layer 1 being disturbed due to recent human activities, it is not safe to draw any conclusion on either its tool technology or raw material composition.

Palaeoenvironment and chronology

So far no radiocarbon date could be obtained for Banki. However, the stratigraphic sequence noticed in the test trench (Fig. 2) and its comparison with that obtained from the radiometrically dated site of Baghor II in the Son valley with similar geo-stratigraphic sequence[7] can be useful in the reconstruction not only of the broad time range for Banki but also the palaeoenvironmental conditions prevailing at this site. The artefacts recovered from sub- layers 2A and 2B on yellow-brown loam matrix at Banki and their raw material composition compare well with those reported from similar horizons at Baghor II.[8] Baghor II is a primary context aceramic Mesolithic occupation site and has produced a radiocarbon date of 8,330±220 b.p.[9] Therefore, it seems highly probable that the

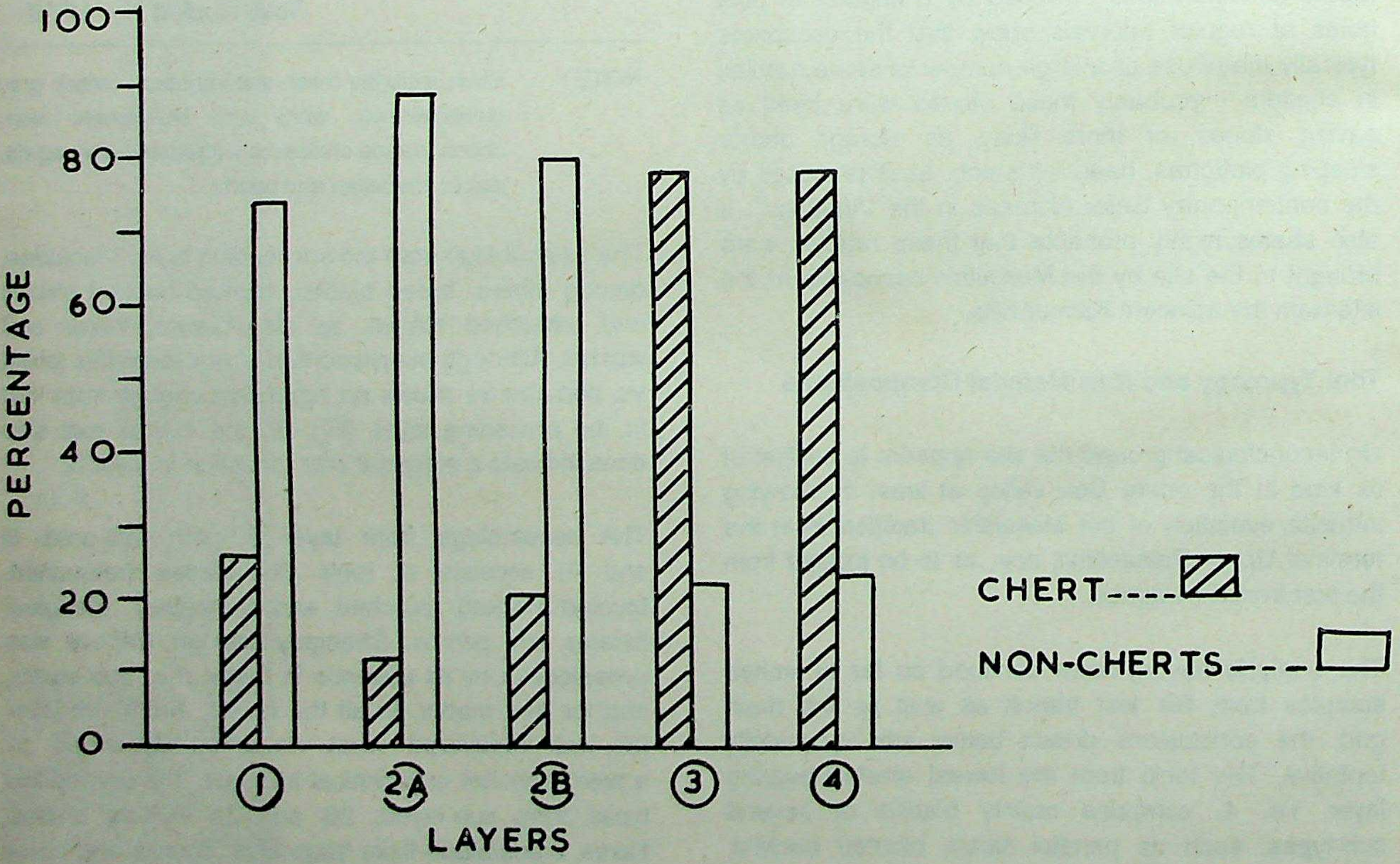

Fig. 3. Histogram showing layerwise variation of chert and non-chert raw materials based on the analysis of selected samples (see text).

Mesolithic occupation at Banki on the yellow-brown loam matrix (sub-layers 2A and 2B) occurred about the same time, i.e. 8th-9th millennia b.p. the underlying layers 3 (greyish white clay) and 4 (black clay) at Banki have their parallels at Baghor II and the late Upper Palaeolithic site of Baghor I,[10] and were "accumulated during times of overbank flooding relating to the suspended bedload aggradation of the Son that took place during the final Pleistocene resulting in the upper member of the Baghor Formation."[11] The black clay strata noticed at these sites along the Kundheri Nala reflect marshy conditions caused by ox-bow lakes or the ponding of water surface.[12]

In contrast to the evidence from Baghor II where the occupation (Mesolithic) begins in the yellow loam matrix, the earliest occupation at Banki (terminal Palaeolithic) starts on the upper parts of layer 4 in black clay matrix. Therefore, the earliest date of occupation at Banki is comparable to that at the late Upper Palaeolithic site of Baghor I and the subsequent occupations at Banki during the Mesolithic period appear to be generally coterminus with those at Baghor II. On the basis of above observations, it is suggested that the occupations at Banki started during the final Pleistocene, as in layer 4, and continued till around 8,000 b ρ.

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Prehistory of Bundelkhand (U.P.)

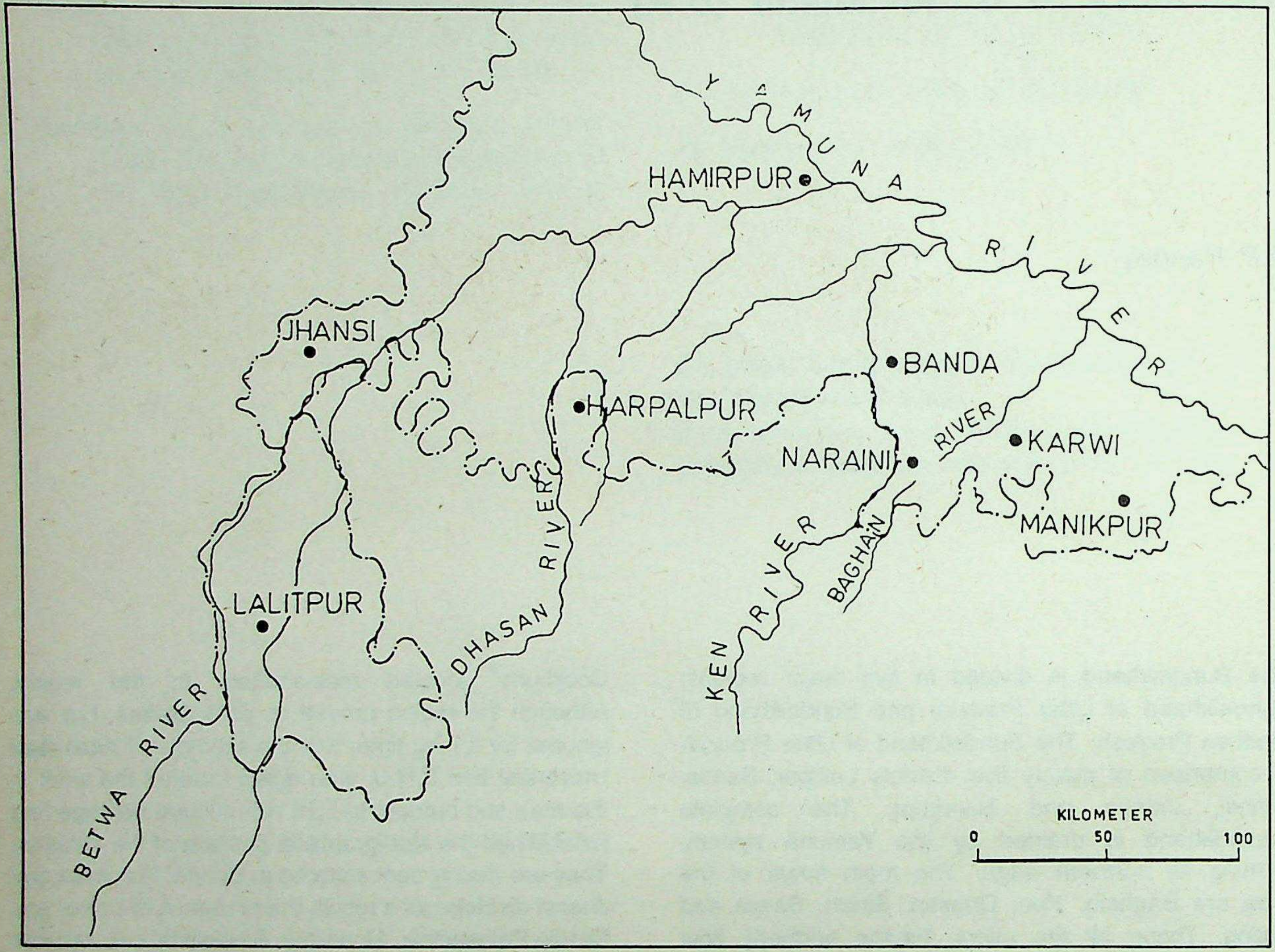
R.P. Pandey

The Bundelkhand is divided in two major regions: Bundelkhand of Uttar Pradesh and Bundelkhand of Madhya Pradesh. The Bundelkhand of Uttar Pradesh is comprised of mainly five districts Lalitpur, Banda, Jhansi, Jalaun and Hamirpur. The complete Bundelkhand is drained by the Yamuna system, forming its northern edge. The main rivers of the area are Baghain, Ken, Dhasan, Sindh, Betwa and Paling. These all the rivers, having northerly flow rise in the hills of Madhya Pradesh and after covering some distances of hilly regions of Madhya Pradesh enter in Uttar Pradesh to form alluvial plains. These rivers finally meet Yamuna which form undulating surface of the Bundelkhand. The main geological formations of the Bundelkhand are the Archaeans, the Bijawars, the Vindhyans, Laterites and Alluvium. The region experiences a typical monsoonal rainfall with an average of about 1000 mm per annum and is covered by Black, Yellow and Red soils nourishing mainly scrub and thorny type of woodlands (Fig. 1).

Previous work

The discoverey of the archaeological material was first made by Rivett-Carnac who discovered a number of polished and chipped celts and flakes in stratified context from Banda[1]. Subsequently, Carlleyle[2] and Cockburn[3] located rock-shelters in the region. Although the region proved its potentialities, but was ignored for a long time. It is the scholars of Allahabad University and B.H.U. who again initiated the work in the area and brought to light rich cultural heritage and established the stratigraphical position of the cultures. They are mainly concentrated in Banda, Hamirpur and Jhansi districts, as a result, the presence of Lower and Middle Palaeolithic, Mosolithic & Neolithic cultures was established. They also discovered many rock-shelters containing preshistoric rock paintings in them.[4]

Some sites were also discovered in Lalitpur district by Sankalia, Ansari and Rajaguru.[5] Later on one of these sites at Lalitpur was excavated by Rameshwar Singh and R.V. Joshi[6]. They also surveyed the area and were able to locate Palaeolithic sites and gravel beds on the Dhasan and Betwa rivers.[7] In seventies the Allahabad and Banaras Hindu University again concentrated in the area and discovered varities of stone Age material from the river valleys *insitu*[8]. Later Pant worked in detail and completed the cultural sequence in the area by discovering many Upper Palaeolithic sites. This work formed a part of his Ph.D. dessertation[9]. Trivedi, also published a book in Hindi and dealt with the archaeological finds of the Bundelkhand[10]. Recently Lal[11] studied the collection of Deogarh, Lalitpur district.


YAMUNA RIVER
HAMIRPUR
JHANSI
BANDA
HARPALPUR
NARAINI
RIVER
KARWI
MANIKPUR
KEN RIVER
BAGHAIN
DHASAN RIVER
LALITPUR
BETWA RIVER
KILOMETER
0
50
100

BUNDELKHAND (U.P.)

Fig. 1.

Quaternary Stratigraphy

The different river valleys namely, Chan, Baghain, Ken, Dhasan and Betwa have been explored. The Quaternary sections are found to be preserved on the main rivers and also on their nalas. These sections also yielded cultural material.

Deokali

One of the important river sections was noticed at Deokali and Lalapur (about 19 km east of Karvi), Karvi, Banda or the Chan a tributary of Paisuni river. These river sections preserved Boulder Conglomerate which yielded Lower Palaeolithic industry. The Deokali section measures about 15 m in thickness and is as follows :

1.	Gravel	I	2.55 m.
2.	Silt		1.0-1.5 m.
3.	Gravel	II	1.50-200 m.
4.	Kankary reddish brown silt		9.00 m.[12]

The topmost deposit yielded Mesolithic industry.

Siddhpur

Another important section of the area is located at Siddhpur in the Bankesiddha valley, about 8 Km

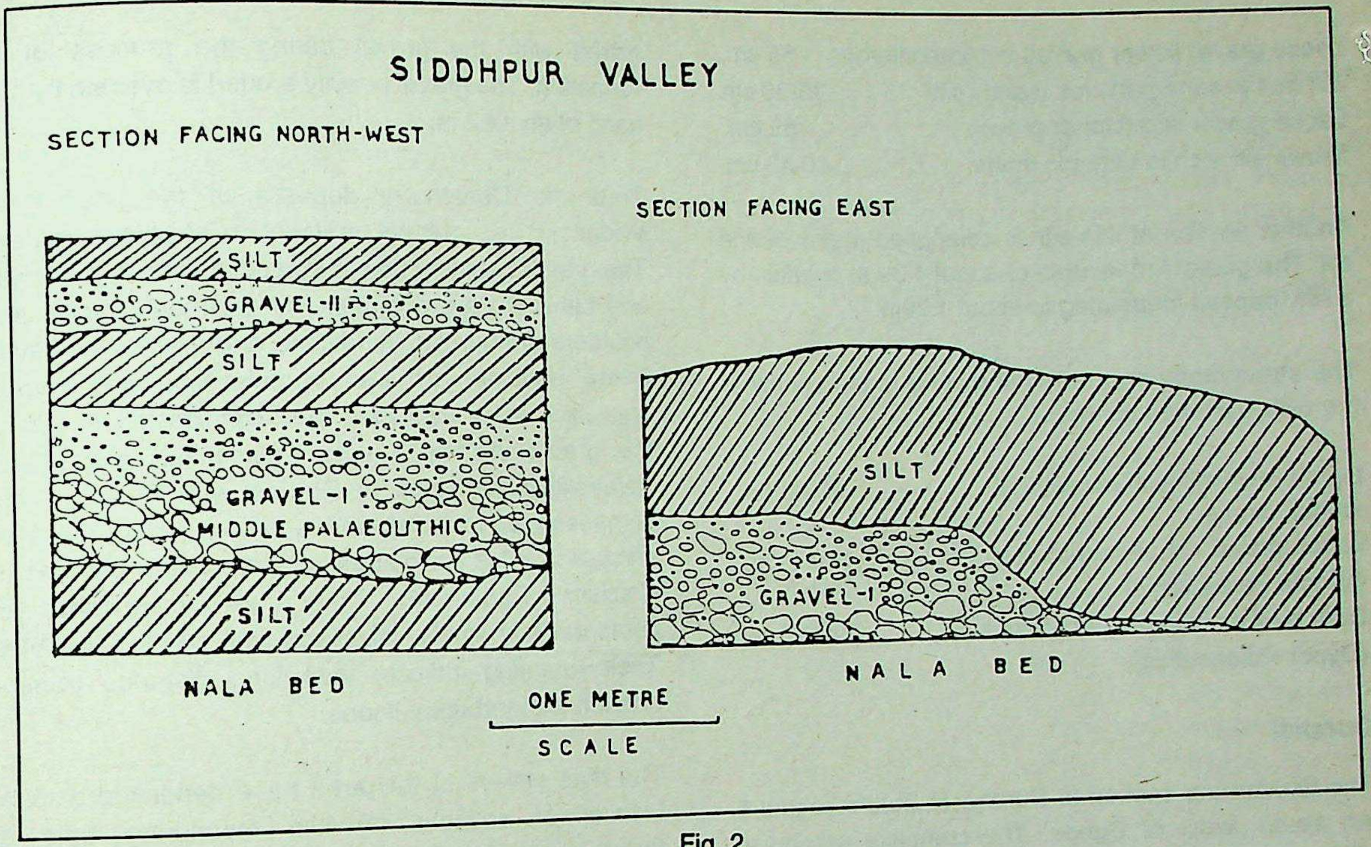

SIDDHPUR VALLEY
SECTION FACING NORTH-WEST
SILT
GRAVEL-II
SILT
GRAVEL-I
MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC
SILT
NALA BED
SECTION FACING EAST
SILT
GRAVEL-I
NALA BED
ONE METRE
SCALE

Fig. 2

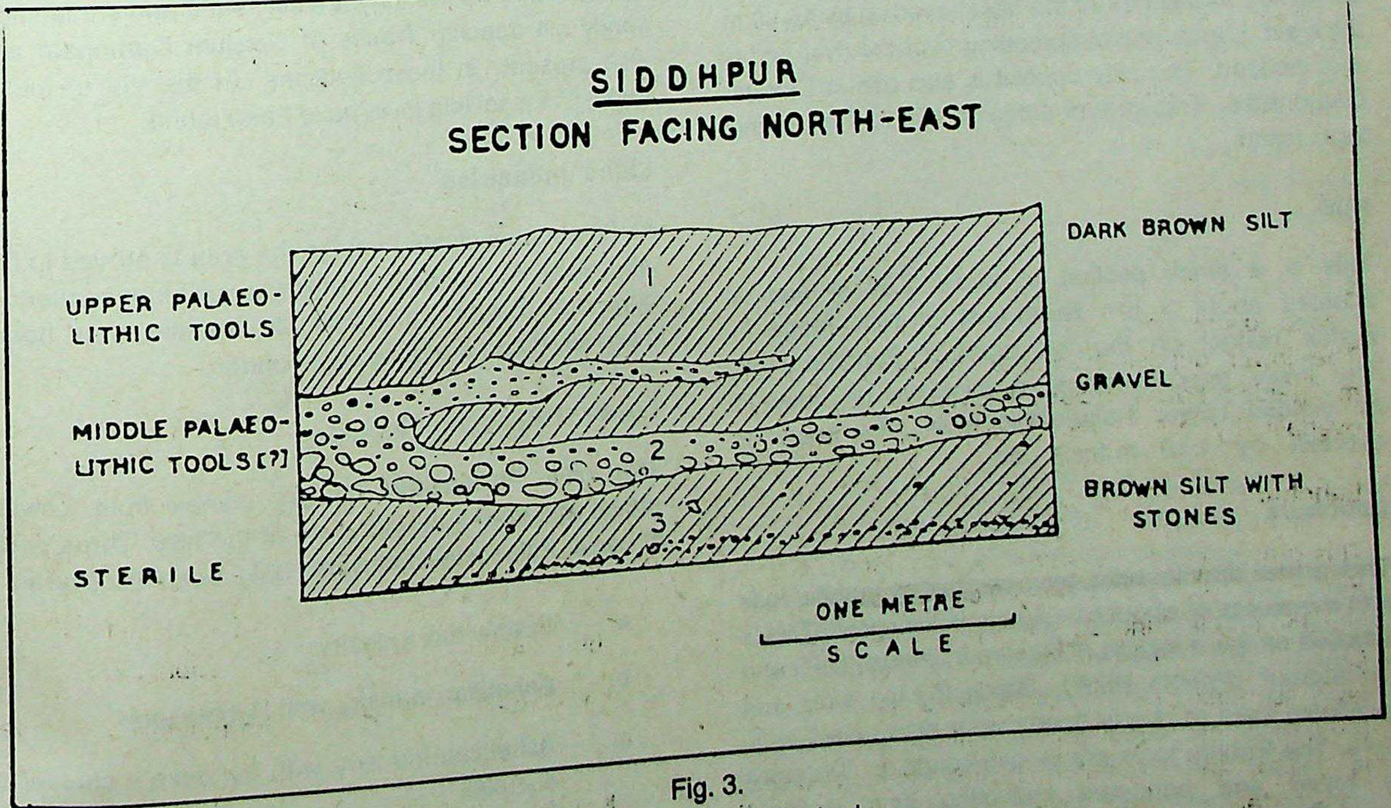

SIDDHPUR
SECTION FACING NORTH-EAST
UPPER PALAEOLITHIC TOOLS
MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC TOOLS [?]
STERILE
1
2
3
DARK BROWN SILT
GRAVEL
BROWN SILT WITH STONES
ONE METRE
SCALE

Fig. 3.

south-east of Karvi, in Banda district. The section measures of about 4 m in thickness and is as follows : (Fig. 2 & 3)

Nala bed

Silt very rich in sand particles (silty sand) 80 - 85 cm.

Loose gravel (lower gravel) implimentiferous	55 cm.
Silt rich in sand particles (sandy silt)	75-80 cm.
Loose gravel and (Upper gravel)	55 cm.
Brown silt, rich in Organic matter	40-45 cm.

Another section at this site is composed of gravel and silt. The gravel I measures of about 1.39 m overlain by a silty deposit measuring to about 1.70m.

The stratigraphy in an alluvial mound in the centre of the valley, worked out to be -

Light brown silt with occasional stones, sterile	32-48 cm.
Loose gravel - implementiferous - (Middle Palaeolithic)	16-34 cm.
Dark brown silt implementiferous (Upper Palaeolithic)	54-76 cm.

Durendi

The Quaternary section at Durendi is situated about 5 km south- west of Banda. The complete section is about 17 m thick, containing 1.50 - 2.00 m thick gravel, cemented in patches at the base, overlain by 15-00 m thick silt. Loose gravel spreading over the river bed is also noticed. The silty deposit is also rich in Calcium Carbonates. This gravel contains Middle Palaeolithic tools *insitu.*

Nihi

This is a small section of about 2.50 m and is situated about 3 Km North-east of Nihi village in Banda district on the left bank of Bardaha river. The lower deposit having a thickness of about 1 m. yielded Lower Palaeolithic tools. The gravel is overlain by 1.50 m.thick silt.

Lahchura

This gravel directly rests over weathered granitic rock and measures of about 50 - 80 cm in thickness. This is situated on the Junction of Hamirpur, Jhansi (U.P.) and Chhatarpur districts (M.P.). Some Pebble tools and levalloise flake of cherty quartz were discovered *insitu* here. The Pebble tools are in mint condition. The flake is rolled and patinated indicating long distance transportation of the flake. According to Pant[13] it appears that the Pebble tools of nearby hill slope got mixed with the gravel during the process of its formation. The gravel heavily eroded is overlain by silty sand of about 2 m.

Thus the Quaternary deposits of the area have evidenced the cultural material in stratified context. The gravels yielding Lower Palaeolithic tools as at Nihi and Lahchura are composed of rounded cobbles and boulders of quartzite sandstone and granite, however, a few boulders are also of crystalline and crypto-crystalline silica indicating their transportation. While, the gravel yielding Middle Palaeolithic and Upper Palaeolithic industries at Durendi and Siddhpur are composed of rounded and sub-rounded pebbles of crystalline silica sand stone, quartzite with patches of Calcium Carbonate. They are composed of comparatively smaller size and well shorted pebbles. Their rounding indicate their long distance transportation with turbulent floods.

The river valleys of this area have deposited a thick blanket of younger alluvium measuring upto a thickness of about 12 m as seen at Durendi and Deokali. Sometimes they are silty sand and sometimes sandy silt depoits. Traces of Calcium Carbonate are also present in these sections. At the top of these deposits Mesolithic tools have been found.

Lithic Industries

As has been indicated earlier, the area is proved to be very rich. A complete prehistoric cultural sequence right from Lower Palaeolithic to Neolithic has been discovered and are detailed as under -

Lower Palaeolthic Industry

The lower Palaeolithc industry comes from Lower gravel and from foot and slope of the hills. Three sets of Lower Palaeolithic industires have been discovered.

a) Pebble tool industry

b) Acheulian industry with Pebble tools

c) Acheulian industry with handaxe - cleaver - complex

The Pebble tool sites are generally found from the slope and foot of the hills and come from only three sites : Lahchura, Bangawan and Belharka. Two of these are rich while at Belharka, only a few Pebble tools numbering to 5 have been discovered. The industry is fashioned on quartzite and basalt material. The tool kit include choppers, partially retouched flakes, flakes, cores and chips. The details of the industry are worked out by Pant[14]. The choppers generally fall in the length range of 60-109 mm and width 70-109 mm. roughly square and circular with very little difference in their length and breadth. The working on Pebble tools of Lahchura and Bhagwan are similar. The working edge in maximum Choppers of the area is above 80°.

The important sites of Acheulian with Pebble tool industry are Gopipur and Nihi in Banda district. Both the sites are situated on Bardaha river. These industries are made on Qurtzite and sand stone material. Both the sites are found from the Boulder-Cobble deposit and also gravel spread of Bardaha river. At Gopipur maximum tools including choppers, handaxes, cleavers, scrapers, notches, flakes and cores range between 120 - 139 mm in length and 110 - 129 mm in breadth while at Nihi they range betwan 140 - 159 mm in length and 110 - 129 mm in breadth.

The better known sites of Acheulian Handaxe-Cleaver complex are Lalitpur and Deogarh, Lalitpur district, Lalapur in Banda district. These industries are also fashioned on quartzite and sand stone material. The important tool types are handaxes, cleavers, scrapers, points, picks, discoids, flakes, cores and nodules. Cleavers outnumber at Lalapur while points, picks and discoids of Deogarh assemblage do not appear in Lalapur industry. The Deogarh collection range from 17.8-8 x 5.6 to 7.0 x 7.0 x 3.7 cm while from Lalapur only in case of cleavers material analysis have been employed and they range from 17 cm - 21 cm in length, 6-17 cm in breadth and 2 cm to 8 cm in thickness.

Middle Palaeolithic Industry

The sites of this industry are generally situated on the slope of the hills and loose stratified gravels. The important sites are Lahchura-2, Siddhpur, Bankat, Sitapur and Kalinjar. The industry is fashioned on quartzite and crypto-crystalline silica. The detailed typological study is available only from Lahchura-2. The Lahchura is situated on hill slope. Although the Lahchura-2 also do not find stratigraphical place but on the typological grounds and separate situation of the site, it has been placed under Middle Palaeolithic industry. The Lahchura-1 is dominated by Pebble tools (98.00%) while at Lahchura-2 Pebble tools are represented by only 18.4%. The scrapers at former are only a few (16%), while at latter they are 46.76%. Other types at Lahchura-2 are borer (2:0.7%), knife (6:2.2%) and burins (9:1.4%). Thus, both the industries exhibit a clear cut difference in them. As the Siddhpur, the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic industries occur together but the Middle Palaeolithie typological features are not detailed here.

Upper Palaeoltihic Industry

The sites of this industry are very well represented in the area. The important ones are Kolgadahiya, Marjadpur, Khoh, and Rihuyia, situated between Manikpur and Karvi, Siddhpur, Ainchwara, Lodhwara (Karvi tehsil), Kalinjar (Naraini tehsil) in Banda district. No other district of Bundelkhand has yielded Upper Palaeolithic material. The richest sites among these are the sites found on the foot - hill slopes and also in stratified context, stratigraphically situated over the upper horizon than those of Middle Palaeolithic. The tools of this culture are fashioned on Crypto-Crystalline group of minerls. i.e. chert, jasper, chalcedony etc. The tool kit of this industry includes side scrapers, end scrapers, retouched and unretouched blades and bladelets, burins, notched tools, denticulates, lunate, triangles etc. The bladelets and blades are the dominant types of this industry. Various types of burins, points, notched tools and denticulates are also sufficiently distributed. (Fig.4)

Pant[15] has brought out the characteristic features of the Upper Palaeolthic industries of the Bundelkhand. The bladelets are dominant than those of blades and flakes. The lunates and backed bladelets occur frequently while triangles are rare and trapezes are totally absent. Side scrapers (dominant) in Middle Palaeolithic industries appear in this collection. The denticulates, points, end scrapers, burins made on bladelets, blades and flakes, considered to be the important components of the Upper Palaeolithic industries of India also appear in the industries of Bundelkhand (U.P.)

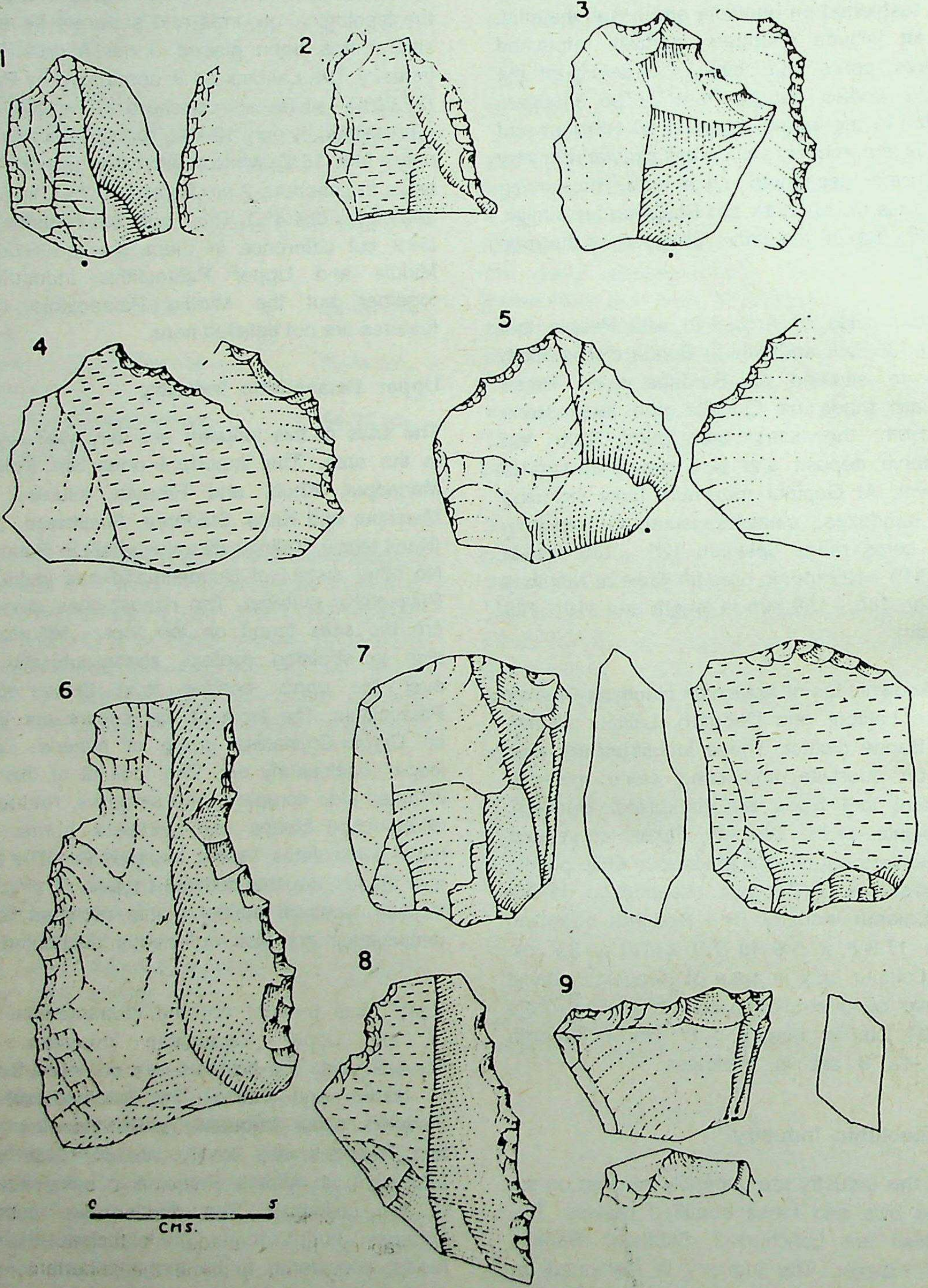

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Fig. 4.

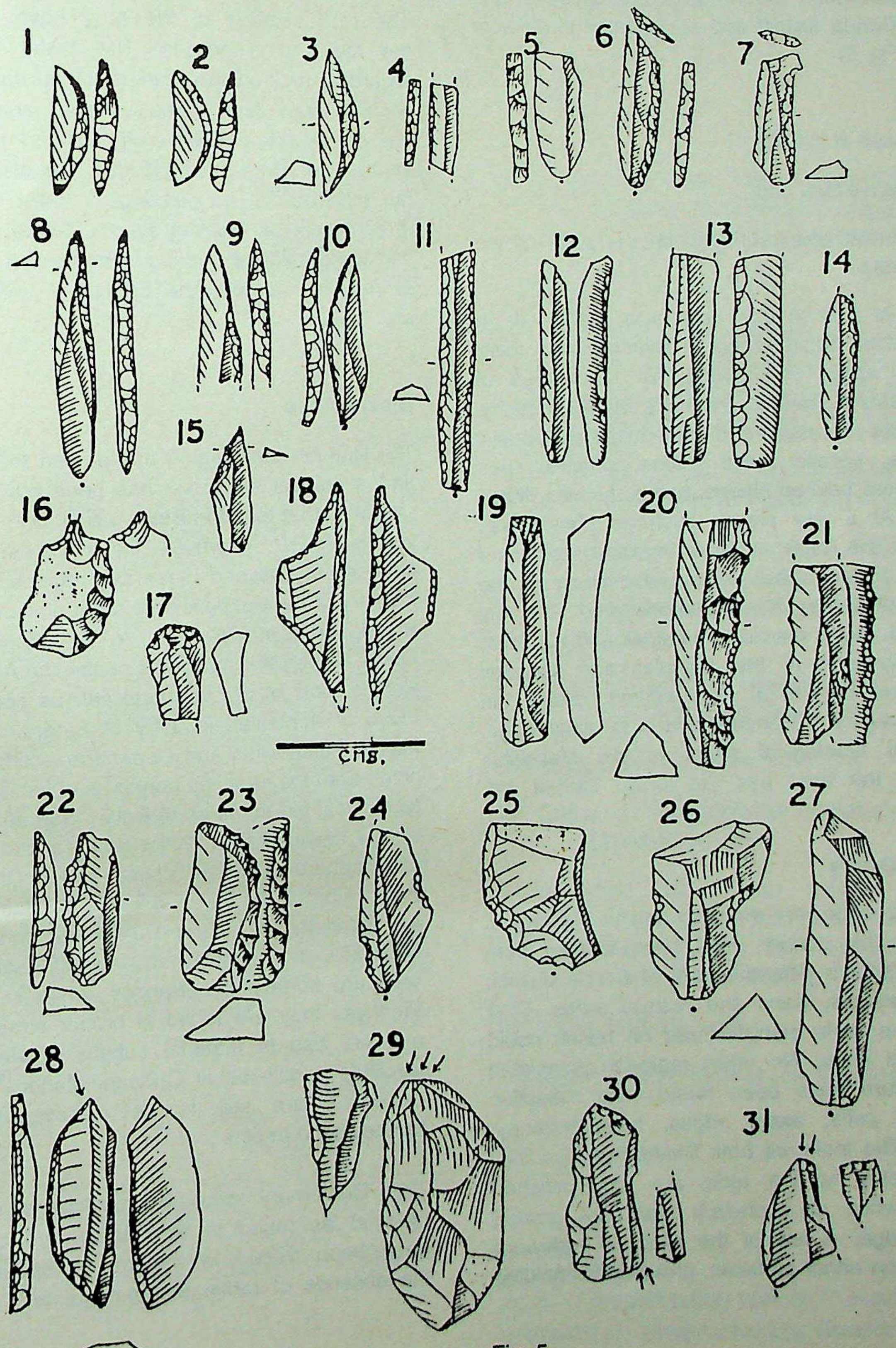
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Fig. 5.

Mesolithic

The Mesolithic industry is the richest in the region. About 35 sites have been discovered which are mainly concentrated around Manikpur, Chitrakut and Naraini in Banda district and are situated in different environs. (Fig. 5)

a) slope of the hills,

b) flat hill tops and

c) alluvial plain surfaces on the bank of the rivers

The tools of this industry are also fashioned on cryptocrystalline silica group of minerals i.e. chert, chalcedony, agate and quartz. No other area of the Bundelkhand, yielded the tools of this industry. The tool types represented in the industry are parallel sided flakes, parallel sided blades, scrapers, pen knives, blunted backed blades, points, lunates, fluted cores etc. At a few places such as Managawan Ki Bhauthi, the tools of this industry are found with crude pottery. The proper association of the occurrence of pottery is not demonstrated. The tool kit of this industry is devoid of triangles and trapezes. The total absence of the triangles and trapezes and rare occurrence of the pottery, place the Masolithic industry of Bundelkhand in an early stage. The detailed typological study of the Mesolithic collection in the area has yet to be carried out.

Neolithic Industry

The Neoliithic evidences are also rich in the region. The tools of this culture have been located from about 15 sites from different parts of Banda district, mainly in Manikpur, Karvi and Naraini areas. Only Neolithic stone tools manufactured on basalt could be discovered sofar. No other material associated with this culture have been found. The collection comprises of celts, axes, adges, hammerstones, ponders etc. The tools are both finished and partially finished. Majority of the tools are fully polished and ground while at Lodhwara axes are ground only at the edge. A few of the axes of Lodhwara also bear pits on either surfaces, probably for holding and proper grip. The detailed work for this culture is yet to be completed.

Rock art

The rock shelters of the area have also contain the rock art evidences. The better known sites regarding rock-art are Markudi Majhawan discovered by Cockburn and Sarhat, Malwa and Kuriyagarh are discovered by Selverod. Painted rock shelters at Malwan, Bargad and Uldan are also mentioned by Selverod.[16] The paintings in these shelters are in ochre colour. Hunting scenes, horse rider groups, cart without wheels, yoked with one bull are depicted in natural manner. The details of these paintings are not available.

Discussions :

The Bundelkhand region has proved to be very rich and a cultural sequence has been brought to light, similar to that found in Belan valley, U.P. and the Son valleys M.P.[17] However, there are some striking differences, between these two regions. The Pebble industry of the Bundelkhand is not encountered in the Belan and Son valleys while the second group of Lower Palaeolithic industries containing Acheulian and Pebble tools of Bundelkhand can be compared with those of Acheulian industry of Singrauli basin. The Middle Palaeolithic and Upper Palaeolithic Industries come from the stratified context and exhibit the similar typological feautures as to Belan, Son and Betwa[18], it should however be mentioned here that the gradual development of the Upper Palaeolithic to Epi-Palaeolithic of the Belan valley is not demonstrated in the Bundelkhand Upper Palaeolithic industries. The Mesolithic and Neolithic industries although very rich in area are surface occurrances, while in neigbouring Vindhyas they are found in proper stratified context and are rich in material culture of Mesolithic and Neolithic people as at Chopani Mando[19]. Such rich evidences are still to be discovered from the Bundelkhand region.

The Quaternary deposits associated with faunal material as found in the Belan and Son valleys have been traced in the region under study. In the absence of radimatric material and also faunal material, the area being near to the Belan and Son and falling in southern U.P. the evidences from neighbouring above area have been taken into consideration to bring out the palaeoenvironment and dating the industries. The Palaeo-environmental conditions and the dates of this area should not be different to those of Belan and Son valleys.

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Archaeological Excavations at Imlidih Khurd - 1992

Purushottam Singh

Introduction

Archaeological excavations at Narhan, located on the left bank of the Ghaghara river, conducted under the direction of the present author during 1984-89 has brought to light a hitherto unknown culture in the Sarayupar plain comprising the present-day districts of Basti, Gorakhpur, Deoria in eastern Uttar Pradesh and district Saran of north eastern Bihar[1]. This culture datable between C. 1300 B.C. and C. 800 B.C. was marked by a black-and- red ware with linear paintings in cream or white colour as the principal ceramic industry. It is associated with other potteries like the plain red ware and the black-slipped ware the latter found in limited quantity. The inhabitants lived in wattle-and- daub houses and cultivated two crops a year comprising of three varieties of wheat, barley, rice and various kinds of pulses. This cereal food was supplemented by meat and fish.

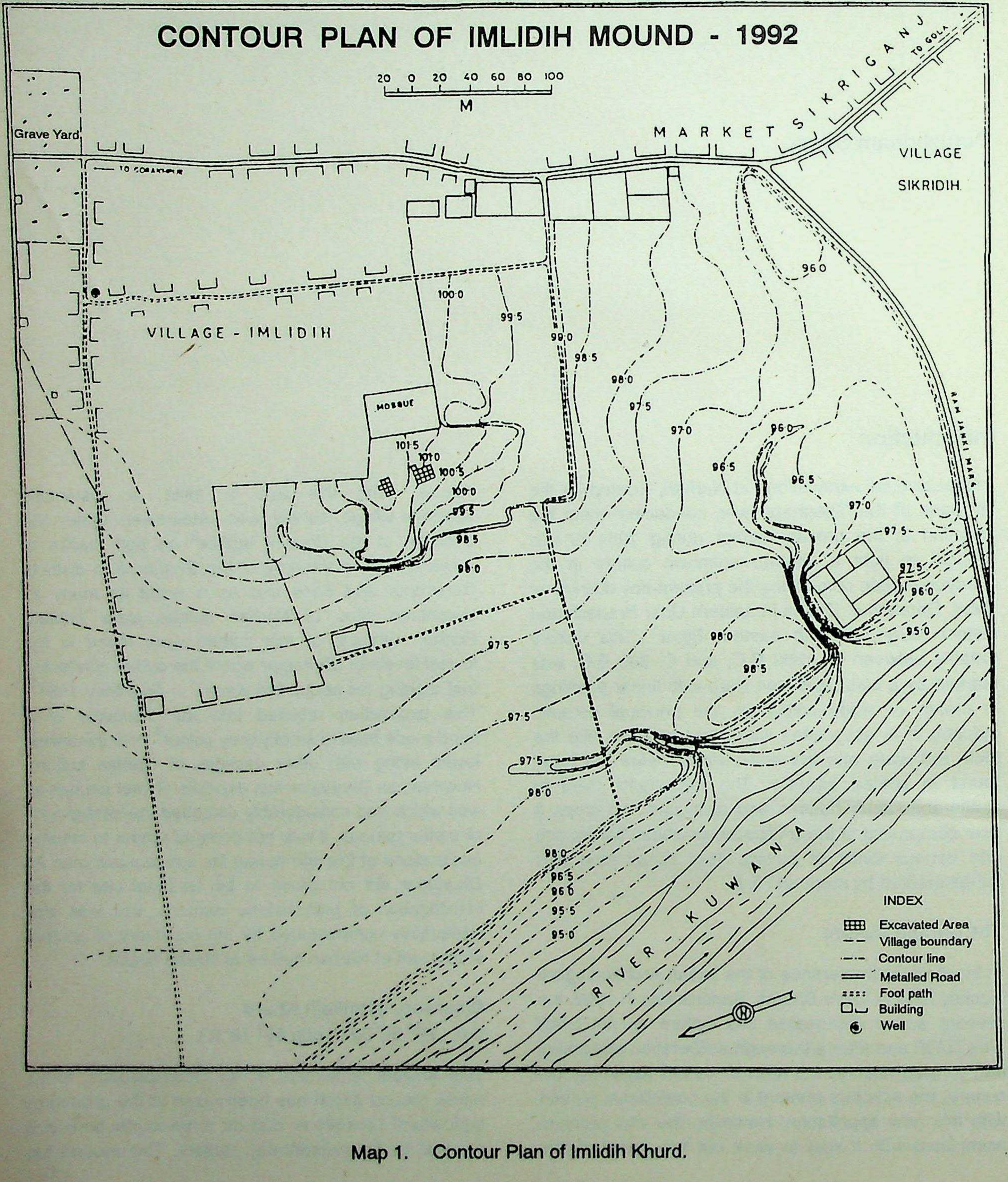
The Narhan Culture

In the Annual Conference of the Indian Archaeological Society held at Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan in 1988, the present author designated this culture as *NARHAN CULTURE* and after a thorough deliberation and taking into consideration all the relevant details regarding this culture, the scholars present in the conference agreed with this new appellation. However, the vital problem associated with it was to work out the extent of this culture. With this aim in mind, a systematic village-to-village survey was undertaken under the direction of the present author[2] on both banks of Kuwana river, a tributary of the Ghaghara in districts Gorakhpur and Basti and as a result as many as seventeen sites of Narhan culture were located. Further, remains of this culture were found in the lowest levels of Dhuriapar where the author conducted trial digging for about five weeks in April-May 1991[3] This excavation resulted into the discovery of a hand-made bowl of smoky grey colour[4] from the lowest levels along with other vestiges of Narhan culture. However, as Dhuriapar has deposits of later periods as well which had considerably disturbed the stratigraphy of earlier periods, it was not deemed proper to resume excavations at this site during the subsequant year. As Dhuriapar did not prove to be an ideal site for the investigation of protohistoric remains, this loss was adequately compensated by the discovery of another settlement of Narhan culture at Imlidih Khurd.

Discovery of Imlidih Khurd

(Lat : 26° 30' 30"; Long 83° 12' 5")

This ancient settlement is an inconspicuous, featureless mound which has been razed to the ground by agricultural operations and its three-fourth portion is covered by the presant-day settlers. This mound has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INDEX
Excavated Area
Village boundary
Contour line
Metalled Road
Foot path
Building
Well

Map 1. Contour Plan of Imlidih Khurd.

been thoroughly denuded of vegetation and for about eight months of the year it is covered by crops as a result of which the ancient settlement has been missed by explorers so far. However, a close look at the dug up earth used in making pathway etc. at the site gives an idea to the discerning eye about the richness of Narhan culture deposits. As such, this mound was located by us in 1990-91 and this discovery was promptly reported for the benefit of the scholars[5]. While conducting excavations at Dhuriapar in April-May, 1991. Imlidih was further visited by us and section scraping done at this site further confirmed the potential of the mound.

Imlidih Khurd is located about half a kilometre north-west of Sikriganj town on the Gorakhpur-Gola road, about 40 kilometres from the former place (Map 1). It extends in an area of 6-8 hectares. The present-day Imlidih village is situated on the eastern portion of the mound. Pottery shapes like pedestal bowl and basins of black-and-red ware and bowls and dishes of black slipped ware were picked up in surface exploration[6]. In order to find out the culture sequence of this settlement as also to obtain a clearer picture of the Narhan culture, twenty-two 3 metre square trenches were excavated in March-May 1992 of which seventeen were fully or partially excavated upto the natural soil and it is gratifying to note that this investigation has been rawarding in more than one ways. The main results of the threefold culture sequence are enumerated in the following pages.

PERIOD I

(Pre-Narhan Culture; suggested date pre-1300 B.C.)

The major achievement of the Imlidih excavation is the discovery of an antecedent phase of culture having a cultural deposit of 50-60 cm. and stratigraphically occuring just below the Narhan culture and hence termed as 'Pre-Narhan' for the time being. The diagnostic trait of this culture is its characteristic pottery hitherto unrecorded from Narhan, Khairadih, Manjhi etc. but supposedly present at Sohagaura in the limited dig of 1963.

The pottery of Pre-Narhan culture is essentially a crude red ware, some of it bearing cord-impression on the exterior of the pots and hence termed 'corded ware' (Fig. 1-2), the others being vessels of plain red ware. In both cases the clay contains good amount of degraissent which got burnt during firing and it resulted into a porus surface. Most vessels, particularly the globular vases have thin, sandy, friable core, some of them having mica pieces. The vessels are generally ill-fired, leaving a black core.

Corded Ware

As stated above, the highlights of the Imlidih excavation is the discovery of cord-impressed pottery (Pl. 12), the principal shapes being the spherical, ovaloid and sub-ovaloid bowls with incurved rim and a pedestal base. The pots bear cord-impression on the exterior of which at least a dozen patterns have been noted. These include rope pattern, criss-cross design and excised notches. After making these patterns a thick paste has been applied in the pre- firing stage with the result that the cord patterns got subdued. A close examination ravealed that the pedestal of such bowls was made separately, presumably on wheel or by *tournette* method and it was affixed to the body of the pot. The rim of such bowl is almost always inturned and there is an impression that a wicker like rim was made by coil method seperately and attached to the body of the vessel. The height of a complete bowl (Fig. 1, No. 3) is 7 cm. and the diameter of the rim is 16 cm. It was observed that while the selection of the clay and the firing did not reach the desired level of efficiency, the potters of this phase had perfected the art of applying a bright slip in the interior of the bowl and the exterior of other types of vessels and burnished it to such an extent that a shining surface with individual burnished strokes is visible even today. As a result the bowl became non-porus and any liquid could be stored in them without the fear of the loss of the contents; as the absorption capacity of clay is greatly reduced or almost eliminated. It is believed that perhaps a burnisher of bone or a very fine grained stone was used. Dr. S.P. Gupta informs that burnishers of onyx and jasper are used for this purpose by the potters of Gujrat even today. The functional aspect of these bowls seems to be complicated as ethnographic parallels are not available at the moment. Besides, a sociological study of such bowls needs to be attempted. The interior of these bowls has hues of red (from bright red to biscuit red or even orange to buff colours) but occasionally the interior is black also. Another noteworthy feature of these bowls is a raised dot or ridge on the rim, the purpose of which remains to be ascertained.

The second type of vessel is the vase, typologically similar to some of the vases of the succeeding Narhan culture but the special feature of pro-Narhan vases is that below the flaring rim the body suddenly expands and it has cording pattern all over the body of the vessel starting just after the neck on the exterior. The thick coating of clay on the exterior is similar to that of the bowl subduing to a great extent the corded patterns. The section of such vessel is very thin and the pots are generally under fired. Because of this defect these vessels are found in a shattered condition.

The third vessel in pre-Narhan Red Ware is a *hāndī*-like cooking vessel with out-turned or inturned rim, constricted neck, expanding shoulders, carinated sides and a sagger base. Some of these vessels bear applique band just below the shoulder having chain pattern, rope pattern or incised decoration, made on the applique band. A large *hāndī* with a diameter of the mouth of 29 cm. is a noteworthy find. The maximum diameter of the body of this vessel is 41 cms. It bears a bright red slip on the neck and shoulder (which has pealed off at places) and a corded pattern below the carinated neck. It has a small spout luted at the shoulder.

Besides, about a dozen tubular spouts have been found from various levels ranging in length from 5.14 cm. to 6.57 cm. and they invariably bear a bright red slip on the exterior. We know for certain that these spouts were luted to the carinated *hāndī* but besides, these, to which other types of vessels they were luted, is not certain. It may be added here that a few pieces of the neck and rim of a vessel having narrow opening like the present day *surahis* of this area were also found. Presumably they had a globular body and some of the spouts might have been luted to this type of vessel.

Decoration of the Pottery

In addition to the various types of corded patterns there are two other methods of decorating the pottery vessels. The first method comprises post-firing scraching by a sharp instrument which essentially includes geometrical patterns (opposed triangles etc. within concentric circles,Fig. 3). Further, a few floral motifs have been noticed in a few cases. It is noteworthy that post- firing scrached designs have not been documented so far on the potteries of middle Ganga plain.

The second method of decorating a vessel was by painting the pot with dots and dashes in red colour over a bright red surface (Pl. 15). However, such painted sherds are very limited in our collection.

Applique Design

Yet another method of decorating pottery vessel was the applique method (Pl. 13, 14) noted above. This method of decoration is confined to the *hāndīs* only (Fig. 2). A strip of clay was generally affixed on the exterior of the vessel at the point of carination below the shoulder and by cutting, incising and other methods, various types of rope and chain patterns were executed on the added strip of clay. Below the carination, the *hāndis* generally have a corded exterior.

The decorated pot-sherds are illustrated below.

Figure - 1

Cord-Impressed Pottery

No. 1. Fragment of a bowl of Red Ware with incurved thickened rim having rope impressions on the exterior. The impressions run in various directions. The section has smoky grey colour. There is a thick slip both in the interior as well as exterior. IDH/92, Trench - XK-15, Depth 1.90 - 1.95 mt; Layer - Pit ISB (3)

No. 2. Another fragment of the same bowl described above.

No. 3. Fragment of a pedestalled bowl of cord-impressed Red Ware. The exterior has impressions of irregular strokes going to various directions, over which a thin slip has been applied. The exterior has a thick slip and has been elaborately burnished. The clay is gritty having rice husk and vegital matter used as degressant and the

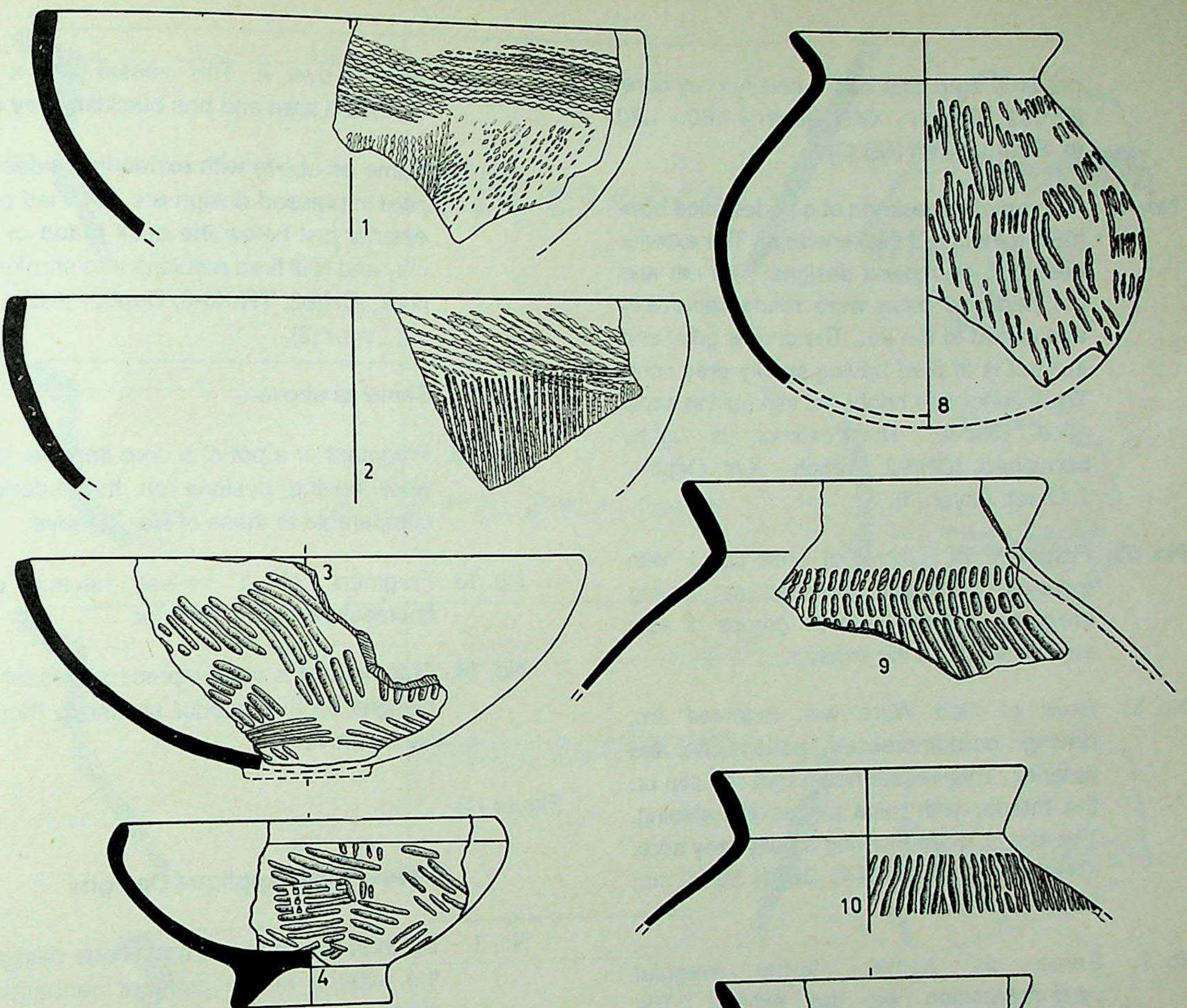
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Fig. 1. Corded ware from Period I.

pot is ill fired and has a smoky grey core. IDH/92, Trench - XK6, Depth - 1.60 - 1.70 m; Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

No. 4. A complete specimen of a pedestalled bowl having incurved thickened rim. The exterior has cord-impressed designs. The rim and the pedestal base were made separately and joined to the pot. The core is gritty and the pot is ill fired having smoky grey core. The interior has bright red slip having small mica pieces. The exterior is lightly burnished. IDH/92, Trench - XJ7, Depth - 1.15 mt. Layer (3).

No. 5. Fragment of a bowl of red colour with incurved internally thickened rim having irregular strokes in three groups of four strokes each on the exterior.

No. 6. Bowl of Red Ware with indented rim, having cord-impressed pattern on the exterior. This vessel has bright red slip on the interior with mica pieces still shining. The pot is ill fired having smoky grey core. IDH/92, Trench - XK-7, Depth 50-50 cm; Layer (2).

No. 7. Same as above, having irregular cord-impression on the exterior. The interior has bright red micacious slip and is burnished. The vessel has a gritty core and is ill fired. IDH/92, TR-XK-6, Depth - 1.00 - 1.10 mt; Layer - Pit ISB (2).

No. 8. An almost complete vase with globular body, narrow small neck and flaring rim, having cord-impressions on the exterior below the neck. The micacious slip in this case has been applied on the exterior (i.e., that portion of the vessel which will be visible to the eye) while the interior has been left plain. The pot is ill fired having greyish black core. IDH/92, TR-XJ-6, Depth - 1.45 - 1.50 mt; Layer - Pit ISB (3).

No. 9. Same as above but with expanding slides. The vessel has regular cord-impressions on the exterior having micacious red slip applied over it. This vessel has a gritty core, is ill fired and has blackish grey core.

No. 10. Same as above with expanding sides. The cord impressed design are confined on the exterior just below the neck made of gritty clay and is ill fired resulting into smoky grey core. IDH/92, TR-XJ-6, Depth - 1.25 - 1.30 mt; Layer (3).

No. 11. Same as above.

No. 12. Fragment of a pot of a cord-impressed red ware having designs on the exterior is comparable to those of No. 3 above.

No. 13. Fragment of a vessel having cord-impressions on the exterior.

No. 14. Fragment of a cord-impressed vessel with designs on the exterior similar to those of No. 4 above.

Figure - 2

Vessels with Applique Designs

No. 1. Basin of Red Ware with applique design on the exterior at the point of carination. A chain pattern has been carved on the added strip of clay by indentation. A bright red, thick micacious slip has been applied on the upper portion of the vessel. The slip is confined to the area over the chain pattern and going upto the carinated neck of the interior. On a close examination it was found that the thickened neck was prepared separated and was luted to the body of the vessel. The exterior below the chain pattern and the interior of the vessel below the neck is devoid of any slip. The core is gritty and the vessel is ill fired resulting into greyish black core. IDH/92, TR.XJ-6, Depth - 60 - 65 cm; Stratum - Pit ISB (1).

No. 2. Same as above having a thin band of clay applied on the exterior at the point of carination and a chain pattern has been

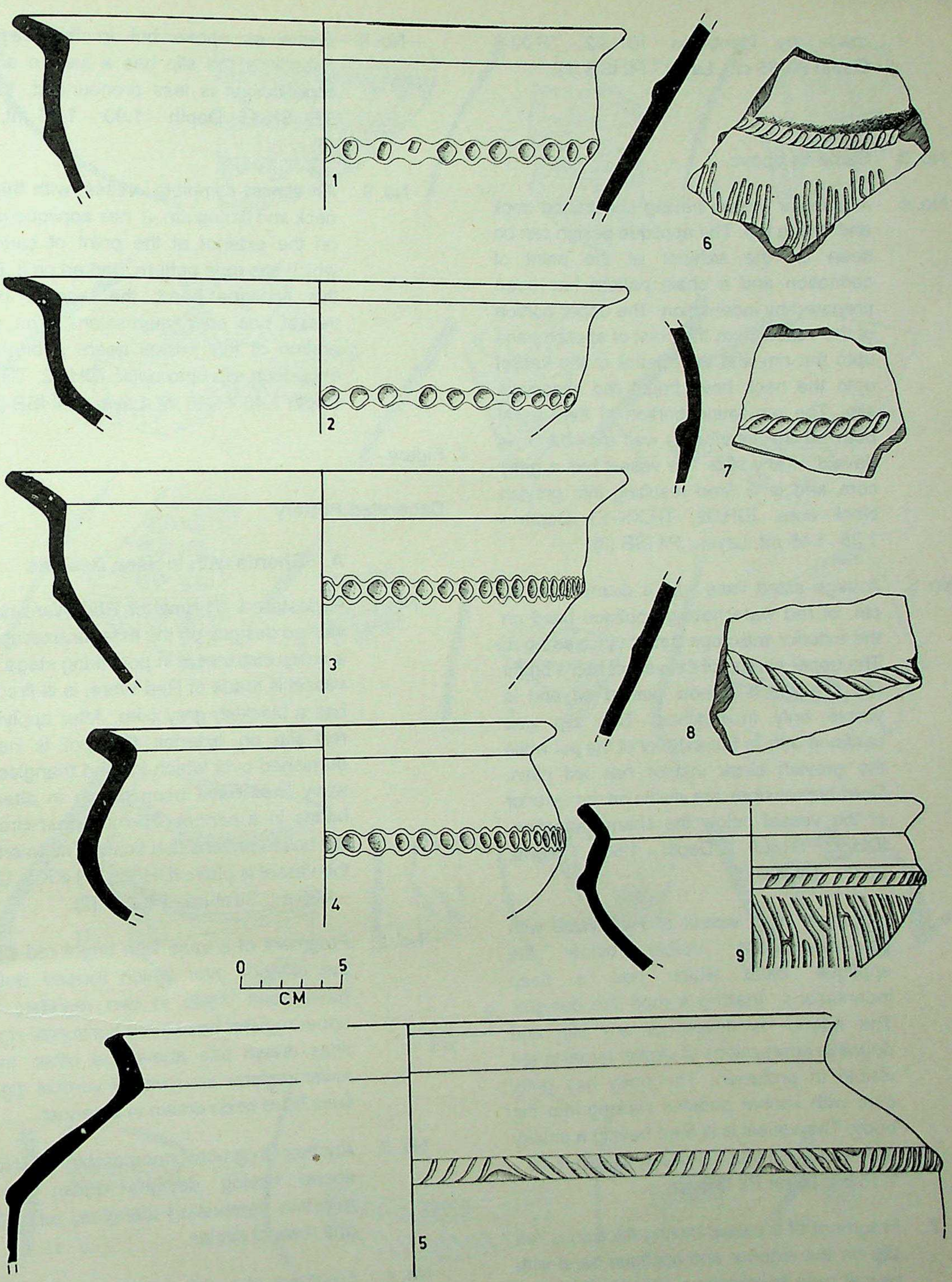
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Fig. 2. Corded ware with applique designs, Period I.

made by identation. IDH/92, TR-XI-6, Depth 60-65 cm, Layer - Pit ISB (1).

No. 3. Same as above.

No. 4. A globular vessel having constricted neck and flaring rim. The applique design can be seen on the exterior at the point of carination and a chain pattern has been prepared by indentation. The upper portion of the vessel from the point of applied band upto the rim and the interior of the vessel upto the neck have bright red micacious slip. The remaining portion of the vessel both on the interior as well as exterior is devoid of any slip. The vessel has a gritty core and is ill fired resulting into greyish black core. IDH/92, TR.XK-15, Depth - 1.38- 1.45 mt, Layer - Pit ISB (3).

No. 5. A large sized vase with a diameter of 43 cm. of red ware having applique band on the exterior with rope pattern incised on it. The upper portion of the vessel had a bright red slip which is now peeled off and is visible only in patches. This slip was confined only to the exterior of the pot while the greyish black interior has left plain. Cord-impressions are visible on the exterior of the vessel below the sharp carination. IDH/92, TR-XJ- 7, Depth - 1.55 - 1.60 mt; Layer - Pit ISB (2).

No. 6. Fragment of a vessel of Red Ware with cord-impressions visible below the applique band which has a deep indentations making a rope like designs. The interior is devoid of any slip and negative impressions of vegital remains are visible in profusion. The body has gritty core with kankar nodules sticking into the body. The vessel is ill fired having a smoky grey core. IDH/92, TR.XJ-8, Depth 1.10 - 1.15 mt; Layer Pit ISB (2).

No. 7. Fragment of a vessel having micacious red slip on the exterior and applique band with typical rope impressions. IDH/92, TR-XJ-8, Depth - 15 - 18 cm; Layer (1).

No. 8. Same as above but in this case the micacious red slip has a lusture and the rope design is less pronounced. IDH/92, TR- SK-15, Depth - 1.90 - 1.95 mt, layer (3).

No. 9. An almost complete vessel with thickned neck and flaring rim. It has applique design on the exterior at the point of carination which has rope pattern marked on it. Below this applique band; the exterior of the vessel has cord impressions. The upper portion of this vessel bears a bright red micacious slip upto neck. IDH/92, TR-XI-6, Depth 1.40 - 1.45 mt, Layer - Pit ISB (3).

Figure - 3

Decorated Pottery

A. Sherds with Incised Designs

No. 1. Pedestalled (?) bowl of Red Ware having incised designs on the exterior executed by a sharp instrument in post firing stage. This vessel is made of Red Ware, is ill-fired and has a blackish grey core. After applying a red slip on exterior, this pot is heavily burnished over which incised triangles and wavy lines have been drawn in alternate bands in a pannel. The smallest circle at the base contains fish scale. The interior of the vessel is plain. IDH/92, TR-XK-8, Depth - 1.35 mt; Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

No. 2. Fragment of a vase with bright red slip on the exterior over which incised designs have been made in two registers. The upper register has seven horizontal zig-zag lines drawn one above the other. In the lower register six rows of vertical zig-zag lines have been drawn in a pannel.

No. 3. Another fragment comparable to No. 2 above having designs drawn in two registers comprising triangles, wavy lines and rows of circles.

No. 4. Fragment of a globular vessel with incised designs comprising hatched triangles and vertical wavy lines executed in post firing

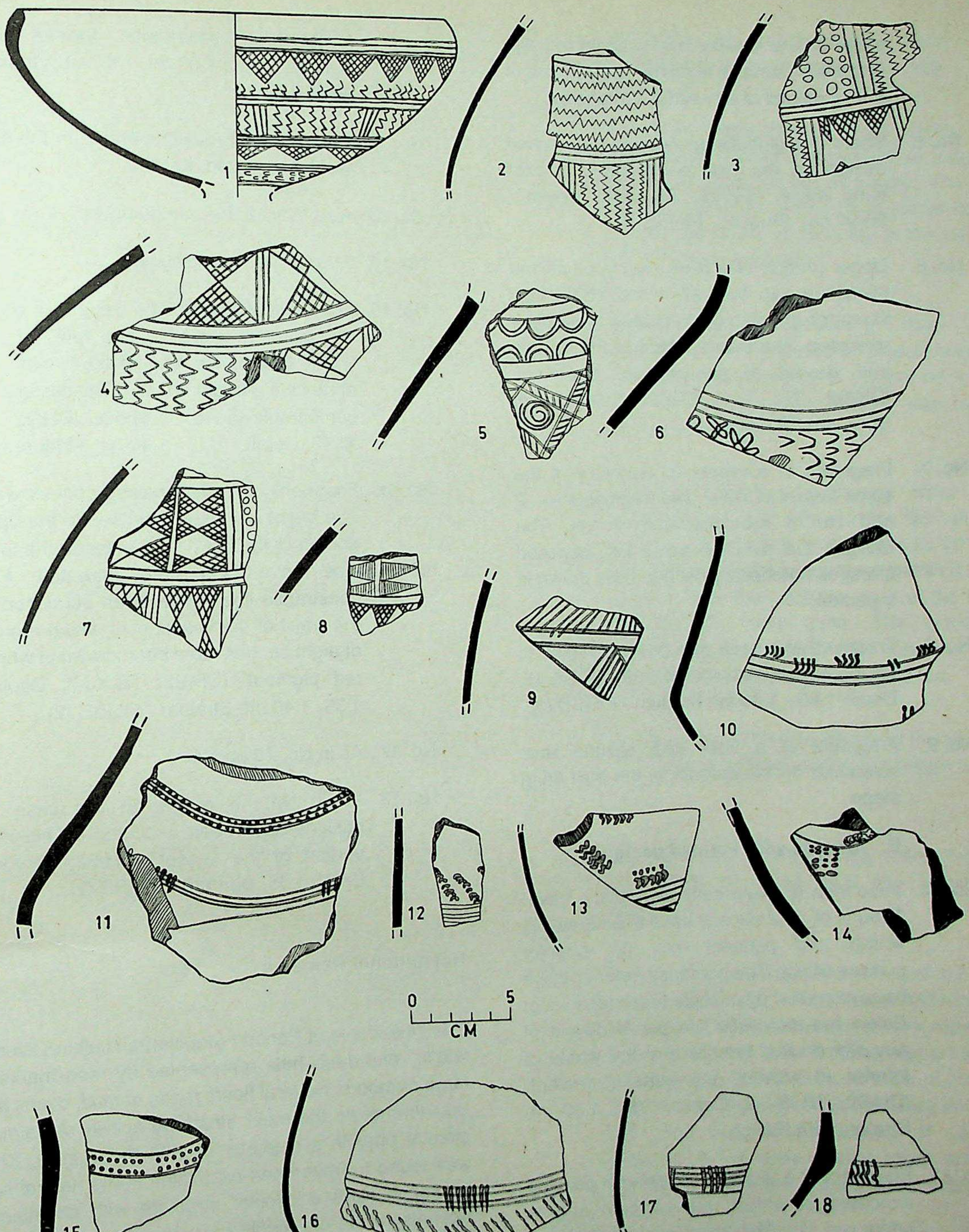
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Fig. 3. Post firing scratching and painted designs on the polttery of Period I.

stage on the exterior over a bright red slip. The inner surface is smoky grey in colour and is devoid of any surface treatment.

No. 5. Sherd of a globular vessel with a scratched design on the exterior executed in post firing stage. IDH/92, TR. XJ-8, Depth - 85-90 cm; Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

No. 6. Upper portion of a vase having bright red micacious slip over which incised designs like trifsil and fish scale pattern have been executed. The inner surface is smoky grey and devoid of any surface treatment. IDH/92, TR. XI-8, Depth 175-180 mt; Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

No. 7. Fragment of a vessel (presumably of the same vessel of which two fragments No. 2 and No. 3 are illustrated above). The designs are also the same i.e., opposed triangles hatched by oblique lines drawn in a pannel.

No. 8. Fragment of a vase with designs similar to No. 3, 4 and 7 above. IDH/92, TR.SK-15, Depth 1.85 - 1.90 mt; Stratum - Pit ISB (3).

No. 9. Fragment of a vase with oblique lines scratched on the exterior in the post firing stage

B. Sherds with Painted designs

No. 10. Vase with a sharp carination at the base. Groups of four strokes have been drawn in whitish red pigment over the brighter surface of pot. The paintings seem to have been executed by multiple brush technique. Below the carination the pot is devoid of any slip on the exterior and the whole of interior is without any surface treatent. IDH/92, TR.XI 8, Depth 1.75 - 1.80 mt; Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

No. 11. Fragment of a globular vessel with painting executed in whitish red pigment over a bright red slip. The painting comprises two rows of dots given the appearance of a necklace. Over the shoulder of the vessel two groups of strokes have been drawn over three constrantic incised lines. IDH/92, Depth 1.30 mt.-1.35 mt.; Stratum - Pit ISB (1).

No. 12. Fragment with designs drawn in the same fashion as noted above.

No. 13. As in No. 12 described above.

No. 14. As in No. 13 noted above.

No. 15. Fragment of a vase. The designs in whitish red pigment comprise two rows of dots within two bands of incised circles - all done over a bright red slip. The designs are comparable to No. 11 above. IDH/92, TR. XI-13, Depth - 1.35 - 1.40 mt; Stratum - (3).

No. 16. Fragment of a vase having convex waist. The bright red slip is confined to the upper portion of the pot on the exterior, the lower side have been left untreated. Four constrantic lines have been scratched on the waist of the vessel over which a group of eight strokes have been drawn in whitish red pigment. IDH/92, TR-XJ-7, Depth - 1.35- 1.40 mt; Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

No. 17. As in No. 16 above.

No. 18. As in No. 16 above. In this case the designs have been executed on the neck portion of the vessel. IDH/92, TR-XK.8, Depth 1.35, Stratum - Pit ISB (2).

Habitational Remains

The inhabitants of Period I (pre-Narhan culture) lived in wattle- and-daub huts represented by reed marks in large numbers. Several floors made of mud, ovens and *chulah* marked the other structural activity. An almost circular pit with a diameter of 1.95 metre in Tr. XK-8 was found to have been excavated in the natural soil. In trench XJ-8 a circular structure with an internal diameter of 85 cm. could have been used as a grain silo or bin. The thickness of its walls was approximately7 cm. Remains of a mud floor, with an average thickness of 25-30 cm. was found in trench XI-6. The small finds comprise several micro beads of steatite, other beads of terracotta, agate and faience, bone points and pottery discs (Pl. 16, 17).

The Faunal Remains

A good quantity of animal bones was collected in the process of excavation, particularly from the large refuge pits cut into the natural soil. A tentative taxonomic classification of these bones was carried out by U.C. Chattopadhyaya of the Allahabad University at the site itself. His preliminary studies show that cattle, sheep/goat and presumably pig had already been domesticated in period I. Among these, cattle remains predominate and often bear characteristic butchery marks. The wild ungulates comprise hog deer and a large canid, possibly wolf. The aquatic resources comprise two species of fresh water turtle, fish of small and medium size and fresh water mollusca. A good quantity of archaeobotanical remains have been collected and is under study by K.S. Saraswat of Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow.

PERIOD II

(Narhan Culture C. 1300 B.C. - 800 B.C.)

This period was marked by intense structural activity comprising of at least two successive mud floors having several post-holes and ovens. The characteristic pottery of this period is the white painted black-and-red ware, so well-documented at the type-site, located about 30 km. east-south-east of Imlidih.

As stated above, white painted black-and-red ware, the principal ceramic industry of Narhan culture is numerically dominant ceramic industry at Imlidih also, but it differs from that of Narhan in the following ways :

(i) Only coarse and medium fabrics are present here.

(ii) In the mediumm fabric of black-and-red ware pots are generally thicker as compared to Narhan and the pottery has an antique look. It also has more of degraissant in the body clay which generally includes paddy husk and grains etc. and these have burnt off in the firing process leaving a pours core.

(iii) Burnished black-and-red ware which was very rare at Narhan (not more than a dozen sherds) is more prolific at Imlidih. The slip which is generally peeled off at places has a smooth burnishing particularly in the interior of bowls/pedestal bowls.

(iv) Pedestal bowls generally have two perforations at the pedestal presumably for the suspension/hanging of the pot on a peg when not in use. This feature was totally absent at Narhan.

(v) Paintings in black and red ware are comparatively rare. Whereas at Narhan the painted pots account for as much as 20% of black-and-red ware vessels, at Imlidih it may be even less than one per cent of the total black-and-red ware pots. The paintings include only linear motifs and very few pots have paintings executed on both sides.

(vi) Typologically in the dish-on-stand the stem is little more elongated raising the height of the pot.

(vii) The bowls are comparatively more shallow and some of these look like plates or saucers.

(viii) Basin with averted rim and corrugation below the rim/shoulders, which was a hall-mark of red slipped ware at Narhan is now repeated in black-and-red ware lending support to the hypothesis that Red-Slipped ware of Narhan may not be an independent industry and it is the firing condition/application of organic material on the body of clay which resulted into different surface colours of the pots.

Coarse Black-and-Red Ware

The vases of various thickness of the rim are present here also in large numbers.

In addition to the Black-and-Red Ware, the following other ceramic industries are also present in Period II in varying quantities :

(a) Black-Slipped ware; and
(b) Plain Red Ware.

The Red-Slipped ware which was present at the type-site in limited quantities, is totally absent at Imlidih.

Black-Slipped Ware

Although comparatively less in number as compared to Narhan, such characteristic shapes as long beakers with external grooves at the waist are present here also. Some vessels of this shape have thick fabric as compared to Narhan.

Besides, a compltely new shape recorded at Imlidih is the Lota in Black Slipped ware of which about a dozen specimens have been found. They have a globular body, constricted neck and flaring rim with shining black slip on the exterior. Some of these specimens have vertical linear paintings originating from the rim and going downards.

Plain Red Ware

In the Red ware an important shape is the perforated vessel having four legs. These occur at the type-site of Narhan as well. These vessels seem to be essentially bowls with 9 to 12 perforations in the bottom and they stand on four legs. The fabric is thick, and sturdy and the vessels bear a bright red slip on the interior. (Fig. 4).

Objects of Indeterminate/Ritualistic Use

The excavation yielded a class of curious looking terracotta objects which are presumably legs or pedestals of some indeterminate/ritualistic use. These vary from 17 cm. to 24 cm. in height and sharply taper towards the base. At the top they have a circumference ranging from 28 cm. to 32 cm. but because of the acute taper this circumference is reduced to 12.5 cm. to 18 cm. at the base. They are generally ill-fired having a black core but bear a thick coating of clay which has burnt red. On the exterior they have a slip or wash which is still preserved to a great extent. These legs have a flat top and are generally incurved in the inner side. One such piece found in surface exploration from the neighbouring site of Sikridih was found to be leg of a rectangular bench/*chowki.* Here, it may be noted that the nearest parallels came from the Late Harappan levels at Hulas in district Saharnpur. These objects have been described differently and look like standing bricks. They are usually about 10 cm high and have two bifurcated curved terminals at the top with a gap in the middle[7]. The specimens from Hulas mostly come from pits along with Harappan pots[8] and seven such specimens have been recorded. It is suggested that in a group of three or more of these objects could have been used as stands for pots as similar such stands were found in the Neolithic levels in Anatolia[9]. Dikshit[10] infores that similar objects were reported earlier from Bara, Sanghol, Chandigarh, Bhagwanpura and Baragaon. However, the Imlidih specimens do not have any bifurcation at the terminals and they are also taller than the Hulas specimens.

The Small Finds

The small finds from Period II comprise bone points, pottery discs, terracotta beads, a copper arrowhead and two copper beads. Typologically the arrowhead is similar to the copper arrowheads of Ganeshwar (Rajasthan) datable to the third millennium B.C.[11]. Like those of Ganeshwar the present specimen is also made by cutting from a thin copper sheet. An important addition in the artistic reportoire is the small beads of steatite, some of them exhibiting fine workmanship.

The faunal remains of Period II comprise domesticated cattle, goat/sheep, horse and dog. The wild fauna comprises boar, hog deer, *chital* or spotted deer and *barasingha* or swamp deer. As in Period I, the assemblage here is dominated by the cattle remains. The horse remains comprise a mandible with first and second premolars and an isolated molar/premolar. This animal, medium to large in size, is of domestic type and similar to those

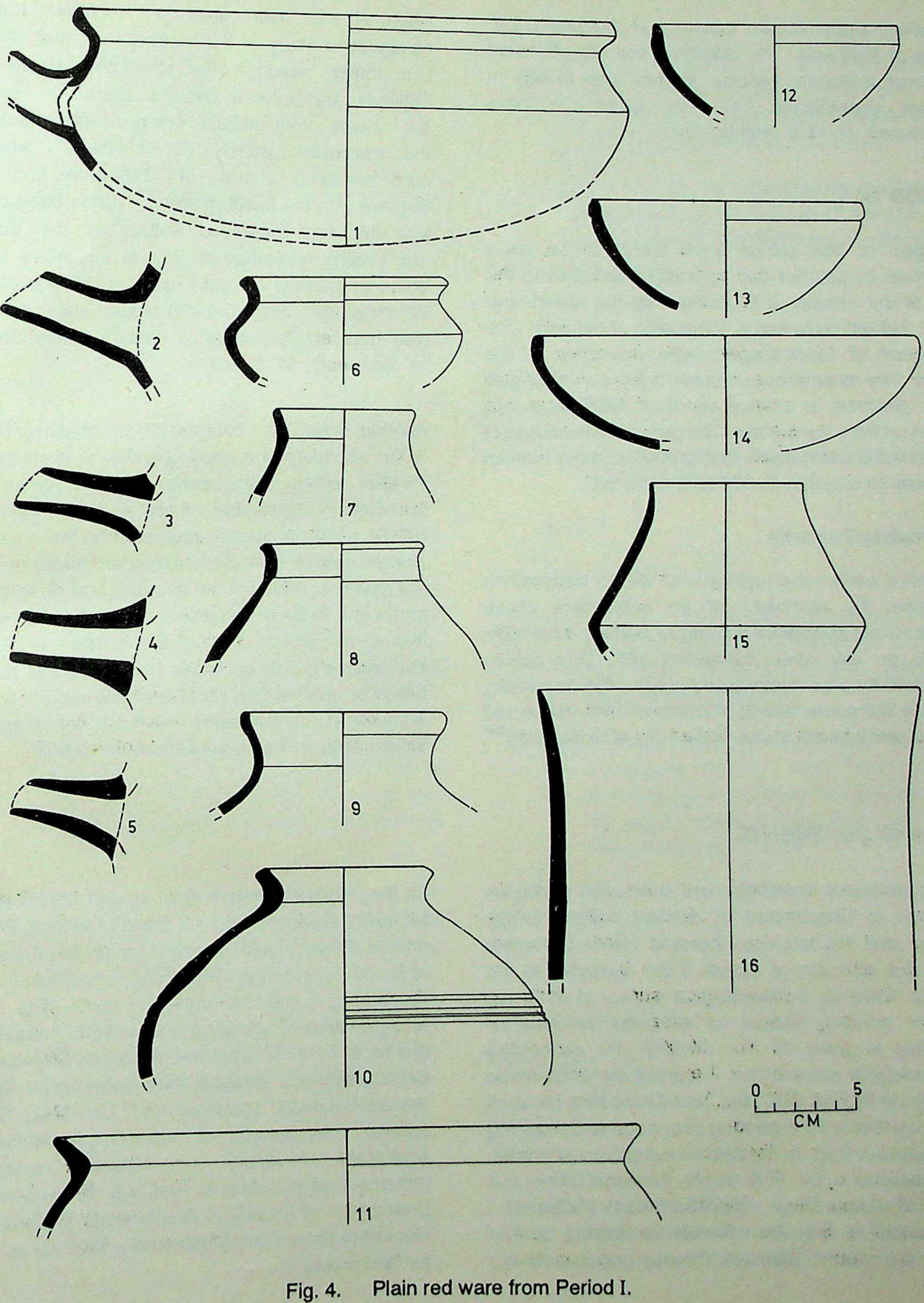
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Fig. 4. Plain red ware from Period I.

presented from Narhan culture and the chalcolithic levels of Koldihwa. The aquatic resources of Period I except mollusca, reoccur in this level though in smaller concentratin., Chicken seems to have contributed to the human diet.

PERIOD III

Vestiges of this period were found to be badly disturbed by present day agricultural activities in this part of the mound. It is marked by the absence of black-and-red ware and a dominance of red ware. The frequency of black-slipped ware increases in this period. The other wares comprise a few sherds of grey ware. Besides, a solitary sherd of NBP ware was picked up from the surface. The cultural assemblage of this period is comparable to that of Period II of Narhan and may be dated to C. 800 B.C. - 400 B.C.

Concluding Remarks

As stated earlier, the highlights of Imlidih excavations comprise the discovery of an antecedent phase of culture not recovered hitherto at Narhan, Khairadih, Manjhi or any other excavated site. This culture is marked by a cord-impressed pottery. It is interesting to recall that some sherds of a kind of cord- impressed pottery were found in the limited dig at Sohagaura[12], where it has been given a 'Neolithic' status. A comparative study of this pottery with that of Period I at Imlidih needs to be attempted. Besides, the applique and incised designs found on some of the sherds from Imlidih compare favourably with the chalcolithic pottery of Koldihwa[13], while the cord-impressed sherds of Mahagara find family likeness with the Imlidh pottery[14]. It has been claimed that the cord-impressed pottery of the Vindhyas has striking resemblance to that of Deojali Hasing, although it differs to some extent in surface colour[15]. Whether the new cord-impressed ware of Imlidih also has any resemblance outside Sarayupar plain is too early to predict.

Another noteworthy contribution of Imlidih excavation is the discovery of a good quantity of micro beads of steatite, along with beads of other stones and terracotta. The steatite beads found in Period I at Imlidih occur in greater profusion in the succeeding Narhan culture as well while they are totally missing at the type-site; although the geographical distance is not much and there is no natural obstruction between the two sites. Further, whether the inhabitants of Imlidih had attained high proficiency in producing such tiny beads or whether they received them in trade and if so, from whom, are questions which can not be answered satisfactorily in the present state of research.

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13. *Ibid,* Pls. V A & V B.

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Seed & Fruit Remains at Ancient Imlidih-Khurd, Gorakhpur : A Preliminary Report

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From the outset of a recent excavation carried out in 1992 by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, B.H.U., Varanasi at Imlidih-Khurd (2603^{0}'30" N; 83^{0}12'5" E) in Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh it was planned to seek information on the ancient plant economy by washing the soil deposits and in this way isolating carbonized plant remains by means of their buoyancy. The excavation revealed the Black & Red Ware culture similar to already unearthed in this region at Narhan, within the time-bracket of Ca. 1300-800 B.C. Amazingiy, this culture at Imlidih-Khurd has been found preceded by an earlier phase of culture, characterized by Cord-impressed Red Wares and the use of copper. Hitherto we had known no earlier culture to that of Black & Red Wares in the Middle Ganga Valley. Now, for the first time the excavations at this site have demonstrated the derivation of Black & Red Wares from the Cord - impressed Red Ware traditions. The excavator of the site Professor P. Singh, has concluded the beginning of Cord - impressed Red Ware phase in the period before 1,300 B.C. Carbon^{-14} date determination would solve the problem.

The first season's excavation work at Imlidih-Khurd was only a small affair as excavations go; nevertheless, thanks are due to the excavators interest that 27 samples of organic remains from the Cord-impressed Red Ware phase (Period I) and 7 samples from Black & Red Ware phase (Period II) could be successfully recovered from different horizons of the habitational deposits. We cannot say for certain how the grains got carbonized, nor how they came to be in the deposits. However, it can be supposed that the small quantities of food grains only occupying a negligible fraction in some of the samples, are the accidentally scorched portion of larger amount. The circumstances that the density of grains in the pit contents increased downwardly towards the bottom, indicates that they were shovelled with other waste products and mud and reflect the riddance of a heap of refuse. From the little volume of food grains retrieved from within a fairly restricted area of excavation it has, however, been possible to obtain a good deal of information on the vegetable food available to the settlers in this region and even a glimpse of import, from beyond this region. By far the majority of grains are found in mutilated and highly distorted condition as a consequence of heat and wear, but a small fraction of the finds have permitted safe identification. In this preliminary report the state of plant economy will have to pass without botanical elaboration. A brief note on the nature of the material and the description of ecological and cultural situation in the region, however, seem to be relevant. The seeds and fruits identified are listed in Table 1 and their material evidences are summarized under the categories given below :

A. FOOD GRAINS

It appears that the agriculture was a stable and rewarding economy in both periods, as illustrated by the finds. The universal and abundant occurrence of the remains of cereals and pulses as compared with the other finds suggests their major role in the subsistence economy.

1. Cereals :

By far the majority of cereal grains have lost their pales or husk by heat and wear, but the impress of pales is usually still in evidence. Maximum representation is of rice kernels. The variation in their shape renders no help in determining the species, although they appear to be of cultivated form of *Oryza sativa.* Husk imprints in the potsherds and plaster- pieces collected from both the periods, however, confirm that rice was major crop cultivated throughout the occupational period of Imlidih-Khurd.

Next to rice the grains of wheat and barley from both the periods give clear indication of their relative importance. Thirty-two grains were found and their general features conform with those of bread wheat *(Triticum aestivum)* and dwarf wheat *(T.sphaerococcum).* Whole or fragmentary grains of hulled and six- row barley *(Hordeum vulgare)* in the mixed samples, are frequently met with. Fortuitously, two grains of jowar-millet *(Sorghum bicolor)* and one grain of pearl-millet *(Pennisetum typhoides)* are found admixed in the samples from period I. Kodon-millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) is represented in period II by a single grain.

2. Pulses :

The remains of pulses constituted a conspicuous proportion of vegetable food. This may in part be due to their comparatively high content of proteins which enables them to serve as a cheaper substitute for meat.

All the grain samples from both the periods contained the complete and broken seeds of lentil *(Lens culinaris)* and cotyledons of green-gram *(Vigna radiata).* Two seeds of field-pea *(Pisum arvense)* and one of grass-pea *(Lathyrus Sativus)* are sifted in the samples of Cord - impressed Red Ware culture. Presence of chick-pea of gram *(Cicer arietinum)* is marked by a fragmented seed in Black & Red Ware culture, while in the period I there was no trace of this legume.

In most of the material remains of pulses the distortion due to carbonization is comparatively lesser than cereals. The cereal remains suffered higher damage and in many cases it amounted to complete effacement of the kernels.

B. OIL SEEDS

Three seeds of field-brassica *(Brassica juncea)* and single seed of sesame or til *(Sesamum indicum)* witness testimony to the cultivation of oleiferous crops in the Cord-impressed Red Ware culture.

C. FRUITS

A few pieces of highly burnt and decomposed stones of wild jujube *(Ziziphus nummularia)* and the endocarp fragments of anwala *(Emblica officinalis)* in the samples from both cultural periods, betoken the common exploitation of these local fruits. However, a seed of *Vitis vinifera,* which seems to be of raisin, is an unique find from the earlier phase of Cord-impressed Red Ware culture. Its presence testifies that the early migrants in this region obtained raisins through vocation from the contemporaneous communities in the north-western regions.

D. WEEDS & WILD TAXA

Among the weed remains admixed in the grain samples from Imlidih - Khurd some species may be regarded to have been obtrusively growing in the cultivated fields, while others came from the follow or grasslands or waste places. *Chenopodium*

Table 1. FINDS OF SEEDS AND FRUITS FROM IMLIDIH-KHURD EXCAVATION . (1992)

	PERIOD I : CORD-IMPRESSED RED WARE CULTURE (Pre 1,300 B.C.)	PERIOD II : BLACK & RED WARE CULTURE (1,300 to 800 B.C.)
A. CROP PLANTS :		
Rice (*Oryza sativa* L.)	*	*
Barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L. emmend Bowden.)	*	*
Wheat (*Triticum aestivum L.)*	*	*
Wheat (*Triticum sphaerococcum* Perc.)	*	*
Jowar-millet (*Sorghum bicolor* (L.) Moench.)	*	-
Pearl-millet or Bajra (*Pennisetum typhoides* (Burm.)Stapf & Hubb.)	*	-
Kodon-millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum* L.)	-	*
Lentil (*Lens culinaris* Medik.)	*	*
Field-pea (*Pisum arvense* (L.) Poir)	*	-
Chick-pea or gram (*Cicer arietinum* L.)	-	*
Grass-pea or Khesari (*lathyrus sativus* L.)	*	-
Green-gram or Mung. (*Vigna radiata* (L.) Wilczek)	*	*
Field-brassica (*Brassica juncea* (L.) Czern. & Coss.)	*	-
Sesame or Til (*Sesamum indicum* L.)	*	-
B. FRUITS :		
Jujube (*ziziphus nummularia* (Burm.f.) Wt. *et* Arn.)	*	-
Anwala (*Emblica officianalis* Gaertn.)	*	*
Grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.)	*	-
C. WEEDS & WILD TAXA :		
Amaranthus sp.	-	*
Brachiaria sp.	*	-
Chenopodium album L. (Bathuwa)	*	*
Eleusine indica Gaertn.	*	*
Indigofera sp.	-	*
Poa sp.	*	-
Setaria (cf. *S. glauca* (Linn.) P.Beauv.)	*	*

* = Present

album and *Setaria* (*cf. S. glauca)* are common weeds of cultivation and in all likelihood were used for food, because of their large nutritious seeds. They are found in the samples from both the cultural phases. A grass *Eleusine indica* having minute seeds is not profitable for gathering. It is common grassland element and its seeds are also included in the samples from both the cultural deposits. Seeds of *Brachiaria* and *Poa* species, both common grasses, have also come in the grains from period I. Seeds of *Indigofera* and *Amaranthus* species are represented in period II. The leaves of some of the Amaranthus species (locally known as chaulai) are eaten as vegetable. *Indigofera* plants are herbs or shrubs and have several species in the region, occurring in overgrazed pastures, grasslands, banks and waste places.

The enumeration of several other species of weeds is dfficult as their grains are damaged and badly preserved to determine their specific identification.

Conclusion

The collection of plant material from the Imlidih-Khurd excavations is quite unique to have demonstrated that approximately in the mid-second millennium B.C. wheat-and barley agriculture became a firmly established economy in the Middle Ganga Valley. The finds depict the traditional composition of the vegetable food available to the people. The main ingradients were cereals and legumes, flavoured with fruits. It is warrantable to reckon with archaeologically excavated food grains to have been grown more or less locally. It is a question how much plant husbandry could at all be performed in the immediate surroundings. A certain volume of internal grain trade may also have existed.

The culmination of a settled farming community of Black & Red Ware culture has already been unearthed at a neighbouring site of Narhan in the same region.[1] The excavations at Narhan yielded one of the largest finds of plant remains from this culture in the region.[2] The cultures at Imlidih-Khurd and Narhan, both in the same region of Gorakhpur District, seem to have shared much the same kind of crop economy and enjoyed mutual contacts or with some other cultures. Imlidih-Khurd excavations are of particular significance to have brought to light the transmission of agricultural traits from the earlier Cord-impressed Ware culture, flourishing in the region with copper metallurgy for a considerable interval before the appearance of Black & Red Ware communities.

Further, it is well established fact that wheat, barley, lentil, chick-pea, etc. of Mediterranean nutritional trait as well as jowar-millet and pearl-millet of African origin, were first of all introduced by the Harappans in the north-western part of India, during almost the mid-third millennium B.C. Cultivation of the Harappan crops as early as the Ochre Coloured Ware culture at Atranjikhera (Ca.2,000-1,500 B.C.) in Etah District, Uttar Pradesh[3] and even in the Neolithic cultures at Chirand and Senuwar (Ca.2,000- 1, 400 B.C.) in the far eastern region of Bihar,[4] suggests the spread of Harappan agricultural products within a short span of period over the vast areas of Gangetic plain. Grain trade acquired dietary preferances of diverse cultural groups as early as the beginning of second millennium B.C. It was presupposed since long to search earlier sites in the Middle Ganga Valley region for availability of botanical material to trace the introduction of Harappan type agricultural traits. The grain finds from the earlier phase of Cord-impressed Ware culture at Imlidih-Khurd have for the first time pushed back the introduction of crops of the Harappan nutritional trait in the Middle Gangetic plain, as early as to mid-second millennium B.C. The discovery is, therefore, to be reckoned with.

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कुमाऊं में महापाषाणीय शवागारों का उत्खनन

कान्ति प्रसाद नौटियाल, बृजमोहन खण्डूड़ी, विनोद नौटियाल, राकेश भट्ट,
दर्शन लाल राजपूत तथा यशवन्त सिंह फर्शवान

महापाषाणीय शवागारों के अवशेष मध्य हिमालय में अनेक स्थानों से प्राप्त हुए हैं । इस संस्कृति के लोगों ने अपने मृतकों को दफनाने अथवा उनकी अन्त्येष्टि क्रिया के लिये विशिष्ट परम्परा अपनायी, जिसमें इन्होंने बड़े–बड़े पत्थरों का उपयोग अपने शवागारों के लिये किया । इसीलिए पुरातत्व की शब्दावली में इसे महापाषाणीय शवागार संस्कृति के नाम से जाना जाता है । इस संस्कृति को प्रमुख रूप से दक्षिण भारतीय संस्कृति के रूप में जाना जाता रहा है क्योंकि इससे सम्बद्ध अधिकांश स्थल कर्नाटक, आन्ध्र प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु, केरल आदि दक्षिणी राज्यों से ही प्राप्त हुए हैं । लेकिन वर्तमान में किये गये अनुसंधानों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि मृतकों को दफनाने की यह परम्परा न केवल दक्षिणी भारत तक सीमित थी बल्कि इसका प्रसार उत्तरी भारत में हिमालय के आन्तरिक अंचलों तक हुआ था ।

मध्य हिमालय में महापाषाणीय शवागार संस्कृति से सम्बन्धित सर्वप्रथम जानकारी हेनवुड[1] ने 1858 ई० में पिथौरागढ़ जिले में स्थित देवीधुरा नामक स्थान से दी । इसके बाद कारनेक[2] ने 1877 ई० में अल्मोड़ा के द्वाराहाट नामक स्थान से इस संस्कृति के अवशेष होने का उल्लेख किया । प्रसिद्ध पुरातत्ववेत्ता सर मार्टीमर ह्वीलर[3] ने अल्मोड़ा से लेह तक इस संस्कृति का विस्तार बताया । इसके बाद 1968 ई० में डबराल[4] ने गढ़वाल के चमोली जिले में स्थित मलारी नामक स्थान से इन शवागारों का उल्लेख किया । 1985–86 में हेमवती नन्दन बहुगुणा, गढ़वाल विश्वविद्यालय के इतिहास तथा पुरातत्व विभाग ने इस स्थल का वृहत् सर्वेक्षण[5] तथा उत्खनन[6] किया जिससे स्पष्ट हुआ कि यहां पर चूने के पहाड़ों को गहरा खोदकर मृतक के शरीर को दफनाने की प्रथा प्रचलित थी । एक शवागार में घोड़े के शव के अवशेष (सम्पूर्ण कंकाल विभिन्न स्वरूप के मृद्भाण्डों सहित) एक नवीन तथ्य प्रस्तुत करते हैं । घोड़े के शव को घुटने मोड़कर लिटाया गया था । घुटने मोड़कर मृतक को दफनाने की प्रथा ईरान में सियाल्क, गियान, हिस्सार तथा अन्य स्थानों से भी प्राप्त हुई है[7]। मलारी में शव के साथ जो अन्य वस्तुएं प्राप्त हुईं हैं उनमें लाल व काले रंग के मृद्भाण्ड प्रमुख हैं, जिन पर विभिन्न प्रकार से अलंकरण किया गया है । शवागार से प्राप्त टोंटीदार चित्रित लोटे स्पष्ट रूप से मध्य–एशिया स्वरूप के हैं । अन्य पुरातात्विक अवशेषों में लौह के बाण–फलक तथा चाकू उल्लेखनीय हैं । 1986 ई० में जोशी ने भी कुमांऊं में इस शवागार संस्कृति के होने के संकेत दिये[8] । इसी वर्ष मठपाल ने कुमाऊं में ही रामगंगा घाटी के जैनल–नौला नामक स्थानों से इस संस्कृति के शवागारों की प्राप्ति की सूचनी दी[9] । अभी हाल ही में अग्रवाल तथा उनके साथियों को गणाई–जौरासी मार्ग पर कौरवी नदी के किनारे कूमणि नामक स्थान के शवागार प्राप्त हुए हैं[10] । भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण के शर्मा ने भी अल्मोड़ा के लदयूड़ा तथा रामगंगा – कौरागाड नदियों के संगम पर स्थित कूर्मन्द तथा बेवनधार नामक स्थानों से महाश्म शवागारों की सूचना दी है । इन शवागारों में मानव अस्थियां, लोहे के टुकड़े, लाल तथा धूसर रंग के मृद्भाण्ड प्राप्त हुए हैं[11] ।

हमारे विभाग द्वारा पिछले चार वर्षों में (1988–92) रामगंगा घाटी में किये गये सर्वेक्षणों तथा उत्खननों से इस क्षेत्र में इस संस्कृति के सम्बन्ध में महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी प्राप्त हुई है[12] ।

गणाई–चौखुटिया से भिकियासैन के मध्य लगभग 32 कि.मी. के क्षेत्र में दिगोध, सनणा, बसेड़ी, नौला, जैनल इत्यादि स्थानों से महाश्म शवागारों के अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं । इनके अतिरिक्त अभी हाल ही में मासी–रानीखेत मार्ग पर मासी से 26 कि.मी. दूर जालली नामक स्थान पर भी सर्वेक्षण के दौरान इसी प्रकार के शवागार प्रकाश में आये हैं । उपर्युक्त सर्वेक्षित स्थलों में सनणा तथा बसेड़ी के महत्व को देखते हुए विभाग ने उत्खनन के लिए इन्हीं दो स्थानों को चयनित किया । विभाग द्वारा किये गये सनणा तथा बसेड़ी नामक स्थानों के उत्खननों से दो प्रकार के शवागार प्राप्त हुए हैं -1 पाषाण शव पेटिका.(फलक 18, 19) (2) पात्र–शवागार, (फलक 20, 21) सनणा के उत्खनन में दो पाषाण शव पेटिका शवागार प्राप्त हुए हैं जबकि बसेड़ी में इनके अलावा पात्र शवागार भी प्राप्त हुए हैं ।

पाषाण शव पेटिका शवागार आयताकार प्राप्त हुए हैं जिनकी माप 2.32 x .50 मीटर से लेकर 1.28 x .46 मीटर तक प्राप्त होता है । इनके अन्दर मानव अस्थि–अवशेष तथा विभिन्न प्रकार के मृद्भाण्ड प्राप्त हुए हैं । शवागारों में अस्थि–अवशेषों के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट होता है कि शव को पहले खुले आकाश के नीचे छोड़ दिया जाता था तथा बाद में उसके अस्थि–अवशेषों को इकट्ठा कर शवागार में रख दिया जाता था जैसा कि शवागार बी.एस.आर.–5 के उत्खनन से स्पष्ट होता है। 1.34 मीटर x 0.58 मीटर के इस शवागार में मानव–कपाल, अन्य अस्थि–अवशेष जबड़ा तथा दांत अलग–अलग रखे गये हैं । इसके साथ–साथ एक लाल रंग का कटोरा भी प्राप्त हुआ है । इसी प्रकार बी.एस.आर. 3 के शवागार 2.10 मीटर x .57 मीटर में अनेक मृद्भाण्ड जैसे तश्तरियां, कटोरे तथा छोटे कटोरे प्राप्त हुए हैं । इनमें से एक तश्तरी में 11.3 सेमी. लम्बी मानव–अस्थि तथा दांत के अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं । इसी प्रकार के अवशेष अन्य पाषाण शव पेटिका शवागारों के उत्खनन से प्राप्त हुए हैं ।

इस प्रकार इन पाषाण शव पेटिका शवागारों के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट होता है कि ये आयताकार हैं तथा इनके निर्माण में विभिन्न प्रकार की प्रस्तर–पट्टिकाओं (पठालों) का प्रयोग किया गया था । शवागारों में जो अस्थि–अवशेष तथा मृद्भाण्ड प्राप्त हुए हैं उन्हें भी सतह पर पठाल बिछा कर रखा गया था । इसके बाद इन महाश्मीय शवागारों को कई पठालों से ऊपर से ढक दिया गया था । सामान्य रूप से अधिकतर शवागार पूर्व–पश्चिम दिशा में बनाये गये थे, लेकिन कुछ शवागार उत्तर–उत्तर पूर्व, दक्षिण–दक्षिण पश्चिम भी प्राप्त हुए हैं । इन शवागारों में विभिन्न प्रकार के लगभग 24 मृद्भाण्ड प्राप्त हुए हैं ।

यहां पर दूसरे प्रकार के पात्र–शवागार प्राप्त हुए हैं । पात्र–शवागार बसेड़ी से प्राप्त हुए हैं । इनमें बड़े–बड़े घड़ों के अन्दर अस्थि–अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं । ये घड़े हाथ से बनाये गये थे तथा इनका व्यास 50 सेमी. तक प्राप्त हुआ है । उत्खनन से स्पष्ट होता है कि पात्र–शवागारों की सुरक्षा के लिये चारों ओर से इन लोगों ने गोल तथा तराशे हुये पत्थर लगा रखे थे । बी.एस.आर.–2 तथा बी.एस.आर.–4 के उत्खनन से इस बात की पुष्टि होती है । उत्खनन् में प्राप्त अन्य पुरा – वस्तुओं में केवल लोहे की वस्तुयें प्राप्त हुई हैं। इनमें लौह की पिन, कील तथा दरांती उल्लेखनीय है, जिससे स्पष्ट होता है कि ये लोग लोहे से परिचित थे ।

उत्खनन की सबसे महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि इन शवागारों के अन्दर से प्राप्त मृद्भाण्ड हैं जो कि दक्षिण तथा मध्य दक्षिण भारत से प्राप्त महापाषाणीय शवागारों से भिन्न हैं । यहां से प्राप्त मृद्भाण्ड उत्तर भारत में गंगा–यमुना दोआब–क्षेत्र की चित्रित धूसर मृद्भाण्ड संस्कृति की परम्परा से समता रखते हैं । ये मृद्भाण्ड धूसर या लाल रंग के हैं जिन पर काले रंग से चित्रण किया गया है । इन चित्रणों में क्षैतिज रेखाएं, खड़ी रेखाएं तथा आड़ी–तिरछी रेखाएं प्राप्त हुई हैं । इस प्रकार का चित्रण चित्रित धूसर मृद्भाण्ड संस्कृति के स्थानों–हस्तिनापुर[13], अहिच्छत्रा[14]. जखेडा[15] तथा अन्य स्थानों में देखने को मिलता है । इन स्थानों में धूसर रंग के अलावा लाल रंग के मृद्भाण्डों में भी इसी प्रकार का चित्रण पाया गया है । बसेड़ी तथा सनणा में भी लाल रंग के मृद्भाण्डों पर यही प्रक्रिया अपनायी गयी है । इन मृद्भाण्डों में प्रमुख रूप से तश्तरियां, कटोरे, छोटे कटोरे, लोटा, घड़ा इत्यादि प्राप्त हुए हैं ।

सनणा तथा बसेड़ी के शवागारों से प्राप्त मृदा (मिट्टी) का रासायनिक विश्लेषण विभाग की ही पुरातत्व प्रयोगशाला में किया गया । इस प्रकार के वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन से स्पष्ट हुआ कि शवागारों की मृदा में अकार्बनिक फास्फोरस की मात्रा कार्बनिक फास्फोरस से अधिक है । इसके साथ–साथ शवागारों के बाहर की परिधि से प्राप्त मृदा का रासायनिक विश्लेषण करने पर यहां पर भी अकार्बनिक फास्फोरस की मात्रा शवागारों के अनुरूप ही प्राप्त हुई । इस अध्ययन से स्पष्ट होता है कि इस स्थान पर शवागारों तथा उसके बाहरी क्षेत्र में भी अस्थि अवशेष अधिक संख्या में रहे होंगे । इस स्थान की वर्तमान मृदा की अम्लीयता के कारण ये अस्थि अवशेष मिट्टी में मिल गये जिसके फलस्वरूप मृदा में अकार्बनिक फासफोरस की मात्रा अधिक पायी गयी है । इससे यह भी स्पष्ट होता है कि शव–विसर्जन की प्रक्रिया में न केवल पाषाण शव पेटिका तथा पात्र–शवागार में अस्थि–अवशेष रखे गये बल्कि इन्हें शवागार के बाहरी परिधि में भी रखने की प्रथा रही होगी ।

इस प्रकार ये शवागार भारतीय पुरातत्व में एक नया आयाम प्रस्तुत करते हैं । रामगंगा की विस्तृत घाटी में फैले हुए इन महापाषाणीय शवागारों के प्रमाणों से स्पष्ट होता है कि इस संस्कृति का अस्तित्व न केवल दक्षिणी भारत तक सीमित था अपितु उत्तरी भारत में मध्य हिमालय में गढ़वाल तथा कुमाऊं तक इसका प्रसार हुआ था । लेकिन मध्य हिमालयी क्षेत्र में महाश्म शवागार संस्कृति का उद्भव और प्रसार किस समय और किन लोगों के द्वारा किया गया, इस सम्बन्ध में

निश्चित रूप से अभी कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता । लेकिन उत्खनन में इन शवागारों से जो प्रमाण मिले हैं वे पुरातात्विक दृष्टिकोण से महत्वपूर्ण हैं । इन शवागारों की तुलना पाकिस्तान से प्राप्त गन्धार शवागार संस्कृति[16] तथा खेराई[17] शवागारों से की जा सकती है जहां पर इसी प्रकार के महापाषाणीय शवागार प्राप्त हुए हैं ।

मध्य हिमालयी क्षेत्र में लगभग द्वितीय सहस्त्राब्दी ई०पू० में विभिन्न समुदायों तथा प्रजातियों से सम्बद्ध लोगों का निरन्तर आगमन प्रारम्भ हो गया था । जिसके फलस्वरूप इस काल में खस, दरद, तंगण, परतंगण, अभिसार, किरात, राजकिरात, तुषार इत्यादि प्रजातियों के दल अपने पैतृक निवास से प्रव्रजन की दीर्घकालीन प्रक्रिया से गुजरने के बाद हिमालय के विभिन्न भागों में पहुंचे । महाभारत, रामायण तथा पुराणों में हिमालय के इस क्षेत्र में बसने वाली जातियों के बारे में उल्लेख हुआ है । इनके अलावा वराह मिहिर की वृहत्संहिता, मनुस्मृति, बौद्ध ग्रन्थ दिव्यावदान, काव्यमीमांसा तथा राजतरंगिणी में भी इन जातियों के बारे में सूचना मिलती है ।

मध्य हिमालय के संदर्भ में टूसी[18] का यह मत महत्वपूर्ण है कि यह क्षेत्र लगभग द्वितीय सहस्त्राब्दी ई०पू० में विभिन्न जातीय समूह के आगमन का केंद्र बन गया था । प्रव्रजन की यह प्रक्रिया लगभग प्रथम सहस्त्राब्दी ई०पू० तक लगातार चलती रही । यहां आने वाली जातियों में सर्वप्रथम जाति खस थी जिसके बारे में अब यह विश्वास किया जाता है कि ये आर्यों की ही एक शाखा थी जो मध्य एशिया एवं उत्तरी–पश्चिमी सीमान्त के दर्रों से आगे बढ़ते हुए कश्मीर व कांगड़ा की पहाड़ियों को पार करते हुए गढ़वाल और कुमाऊं के क्षेत्र में प्रविष्ट हुई थीं। हाना[19] के अनुसार लगभग 1500 ई०पू० में खसों का बेबीलोनिया, काकेशस तथा अनातोलिया प्रदेश पर एक छत्र राज्य था । मध्य एशिया से लेकर भारत के प्रवास में इस जाति ने जहां–जहां वे गये, वहां अपने अस्तित्व सूचक नाम दिये । इन नामों में कैस्पियन, अश्क्सी, कस्पोर्ट, काकेशस, काशगर, कश्मीर आदि उल्लेखनीय हैं । ई०टी० एटकिन्सन[20], जी०ए० ग्रियसन[21], कैप्टन जे० एबट[22], एच०जी०बाल्टन[23], ओकले[24], बी०डी० पाण्डे[25], एल०डी०जोशी[26], राहुल सांकृत्यायन[27], हरिकृष्ण रतूड़ी[28] तथा शिवप्रसाद डबराल[29] इत्यादि सभी विद्वानों का मत है कि खस जाति के लोग आर्यों से ही संबंधित थे तथा ये लोग मध्य एशिया से हिमालय के इस क्षेत्र में आर्यों से पूर्व आ चुके थे । मजूमदार[30] के अनुसार खसों का भारत में आगमन आर्य जाति से पूर्व ही हो चुका था ।

इस प्रकार निष्कर्ष के रूप में कहा जा सकता है कि मध्य हिमालय के क्षेत्र से प्राप्त महापाषाणीय शवागार संस्कृति आर्यों से ही सम्बद्ध प्रतीत होती है अथवा इस क्षेत्र में आने वाली विभिन्न प्रजातियों ने आर्यों के सम्पर्क में रहकर उनकी सांस्कृतिक विरासत को आदान- प्रदान के माध्यम से अपनाया होगा । लगभग प्रथम सहस्त्राब्दी ई०पू० में अनेक प्रजातियों का आर्यों से पूर्व यहां पर आगमन हो चुका था । इनमें खस, दरद, तंगण, परतंगण, अभिसार, किरात, राजकिरात, तुषार इत्यादि उल्लेखनीय हैं । ये सभी प्रजातियां या तो आर्यों से सम्बद्ध थीं या फिर उनके समकालीन, जो भी हो इतना निश्चित है कि इन्हीं प्रजातियों के अवशेष इस क्षेत्र में महापाषाणीय शवागार संस्कृति के रूप में प्राप्त होते हैं । उत्खनित प्रमाणों से यह भी स्पष्ट होता है कि इस संस्कृति के लोगों के सम्बन्ध उन लोगों के साथ भी रहे होंगे जिन्होंने यहां पर चित्रित धूसर मृद्भाण्ड संस्कृति का प्रसार किया । इन उपलब्धियों से स्पष्ट होता है कि द्वितीय एवं प्रथम सहस्त्राब्दी ई०पू० में मध्य हिमालय का यह क्षेत्र सांस्कृतिक संगम का एक महत्वपूर्ण केंद्र बन चुका था ।

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Iron Age in Uttar Pradesh - Technological Innovation and Social Adaptation

Vibha Tripathi

"Iron as an innovation represented a new line of development, a recombination of previously existing knowledge which resulted in an entirely new technological configuration",[1] The role of technology has thus been recognised in culture change in civilizations the world over. In India, the situation could not be different. Present paper seeks to focus attention on this phenomenon in a narrow and specific context of middle and lower Gangetic plain which roughly corresponds to present day Uttar Pradesh.

The early centuries of the first millennium B.C. heralded an era of innovation in pyrotechnology - highly evolved ceramics, glass and most significant of all iron technology , which was an outcome of greater control and manipulation of furnace temperature. The iron technology itself undergoes innovative changes with experimentation and experience, producing better, more efficient and larger number of tools, implements and weapons. In the area under observation the adaptation of the new technology is neither spontaneous nor widespread, but gradual though persistent. What we need to examine at length here is whether the new technology was concomitant for the culture change and economic productivity in first millennium B.C. and whether there is an inter - relationship between cultural upsergence and adaptation of new technology.

There are two significant features noticeable in the first half of the millennium B.C. in Gangetic valley. First as noted above is the emergence of iron technology and second is the process of rise of Janapadas (rather small scale habitations) to the status of Mahajanapadas by sixth-fifth century B.C. It is only too natural to wonder whether there is any inter-relationship between the above two factors. Several questions crop up in this context; first and foremost, are we justified in attributing technology for bringing about changes in socio-economic milieu? Why was the new technology adopted in the first place? What is the level of adaptation of iron technology at different cultural levels ? Does it reflect any change in material culture? Is the degree of technological innovation concurrent with proficiency of technological knowhow and production skill? There are other smaller queries, namely, why was iron adopted very slowly? Is it due to (a) non availability of ore? (b) restricted level of expertise at early levels? (c) limited social demand? To be able to answer satisfactorily the issues raised above, we need to study the settlement system of the region under study and the level of technological skill at each stage of growth. To achieve this we need to -

I define 'Iron Age'

II measure the economic and social growth at every stage.

Chart 1

SAKYA	Piprahwa 2, 3, 4.	Ganwaria	Tilaurakot	
MALLA	Sohgaura 1,2,3,4	Khairadih 1,2,3,4		
VATSA	Kaushambi 1,2,3,4	Sringaverpur 1,2,3,4	Bhita	Jhusi
KASI	Rajghat 2,3,4	Prahaladpur 2,3,4	Takiaper 2,4	Masoan 2,3,4
KOSAL	Ayodhya & Nandigram 2,3,4	Sravasti 2,3,4	Hulaskhera 2,3,4	
KURU	Hastinapur 2,3,4	Alamgirpur 2,3	Allahpur 2,3	Tilpat
PANCHAL	Atranjikhera 1,2,3,4	Jakhera 1,2	Ahichchhatra 2,3,4	Kampil 2
SURSENA	Mathura 2,3,4	Sonkh 2,3,4	Khalaua 2	Bateshwara 2,3
MATSYA	Noh 1,2,3,4	Jodhpura 1,2	Bairat	

INDEX : 1, BRW(CHAL) 2. PGW. 3. N.B.P. 4. Post N.B.P.

III adjudge the level of technological advancement at each stage of Iron age.

A - In neighbouring Iran, a situation more or less comparable to India prevailed. Young[2] studied the major cultural changes in Western Iran and emergence of new complex of traits which continued for several centuries. This is associated with emergence of iron alongwith other features. The new traits included appearance of grey pottery over a large area impinging as a uniform culture over the local bronze age cultures. This phenomenon has been explained by Young in terms of migration of tribes to this region which brought with them advance skills in ceramics (grey pottery) and metallurgy and introduced them among the native population. This period, labelled iron age in Iran, has been subdivided as Iron I, Iron II and Iron III by Young[3] distinguished by "changes in configuration of complex defining artefacts. This takes into account the cultural changes witnessed in each assemblage. It has been assumed that a close observation of one aspect of culture, namely the *metallurgical tradition can offer insight into the nature of changes taking place across a cultural level.*"

In Iran the earliest metallic iron, at Iron I is almost non-existent. They are confined to a few ornaments at cemeteries "... Iron I sites offer scant evidences for the pre-1000 B.C. presence of Iron in western Iran"[4]. In iron II (1000-800 B.C.) iron appears for the first time in settlements alongwith graveyards. Iron III (800-550 B.C.) experiences a change, the grey pottery of previous period falls into disuse. It is a transition rather than a radical change, though there is also an expansion and homogeneity in ceramics and material culture in general.

AGE OF IRON IN INDIA

Iron I (12/1100 B.C. - 1000 B.C.)

A situation quite similar to Iran is discernible in India. Cases of tiny bits of iron have come from Noh, Jodhpura and Kaushambi from pre-Painted Grey Ware levels. Regular use of iron has been reported from the succeeding phase. Pandu Rajar Dhibi, Hatigra (Burdwan) and Mangalkot etc. in Bengal have yielded objects of Iron from Chalcolithic levels, followed by a gap and then a NBP culture deposit with iron[5]. Case of iron from Ahar has been brought by Sahi[6]. These cases may not be recognised as beginning of regular use of iron in India but they do suggest a beginning of recognition of iron as a separate metal.

Iron II (10/900 B.C. - 6/500 B.C.)

An uninterrupted use of iron starts with PGW and at some more easterly sites in mid and lower Gangetic basin with BRW. Grey ware association of iron like Iran is found here in India too.

Iron at this stage is not prolific, and seems to be serving a specific purpose, mostly for weaponry as in Hasanlu IV. "The balance of iron artifacts from Hasanlu leans heavily in the direction of weaponry in terms of sheer number. Arrow points, spear points and dagger/swords are the largest overall categories, with sickle blades, knives, studs and bosses also numerous"[7].

Iron III (6/500 B.C. - 3/200 B.C.)

There is a diversification in tool typology at this stage. The grey ware discontinues in favour of Northern Black Polished Ware, though the grey pottery continuous for sometime. There is an expansion of sites and NBP culture occupies more than double area than PGW (Graph 1).

There are thus three distinct stages of Early, Mid and Late Iron Age in India. An age of iron is that stage of growth of iron technology when regular use of the metal for various purposes is attested to. When social adaptation of the new technology reaches a certain level, changes are reflected in cultural milieu. In India such a situation appears, though to a very limited degree, only with iron II above. It is with PGW/BRW that iron age begins in Uttar Pradesh and the term Early Iron age may be given to this stage of iron II. A regular habilitation of U.P. begins with PGW/BRW culture. As the culture matures, its economy reaches the threshold of urbanisation. The succeeding iron age should belong to Middle Iron Age of the present classification. Though technologically there is an improvisation - cases of carburization and steeling have been found in number of samples from this period[8]. It appears that experiments had been underway during this period to improve the efffectiveness of tools and weapons. Late Iron age goes beyond the iron III stage. Late phase of NBP culture at times continue upto 50 B.C.[9]. It may be incorporated in late Iron Age, alongwith Sunga - Kushana levels when iron is profusely used in every sphere of life to serve utilitarian purposes.

B- When did iron technology reach a level so as to play a contributory role in the process of cultural change? It may be observed by closely examining the cultural material at the three levels vis'a vis the tool typology. The discussion will centre around the sites of Mahajanapada association. It would be followed by observations on resource zones regarding the availability of good ores in the proximity of the cultural centres. This would provide an added insight in evaluating the situation and explaining why iron is more abundant at some places and vice-versa (see map).

The face of upper and middle Ganga valley (coinciding roughly with U.P.) is dotted with a large number of flimsy settlements at Early Iron Age. These 'Janapadas' grew into Mahajanapadas in due course of time, they find mention in contemporary Brahamanas and Buddhist texts. Although large scale excavations have not been conducted at all the sites of various janapadas, but quite a few have been exposed and a general sequence is available. In absence of detailed reports, it is not possible to present a comparative statistical data but a closer look at the cultural material is enough to throw light on socio-economic life at these centres at different stages and hint at the technology exploitation and its impact in ushering in urbanism.

The Settlement Pattern

The material culture at three iron ages is being discussed below. It has been worked out at length by the present author in detail else where[10]. For the sake of cohesion it is being reproduced here.

Early Iron Age

Early Iron Age settlements in U.P. are of a simple nature with moderate sized habilitations. The house plans are rarely available but post holes and plastered reeds indicate the common use of thatched roofed wattle and daub structure. Mud brick houses must have been used by some people, at Kaushambi and Hastinapur mud - brick walls have been traced to some distance. Towards the end of this period roads have been located; ar Rajghat, 'Kaccha' street from early NBP[11] and a few baked bricks have also been noticed towards the end of the period. Protective bunds or moats have been noted at Ataranjikhera and Kaushambi respectively.

Economy

Hunting and agricultural activity, cultivation and animal husbandry were the props of economy at this stage. Ataranjikhera has shown the use of wheat and barley alongwith rice. Lack of agricultural implements suggest a low priority and low yield in agricultural production. It was heavily substantiated by hunting and animal husbandry; the domesticated animals include cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, pig and dog the last reported from Ataranjikhera. Cattle must have been of great significance to these people as animal figurines of bulls are the most common type. It may be suggestive of a ritualistic importance of the animal due to its indispensability to the economy. The toy carts found in excavations point to its use as draft animal. In the absence of ploughshare we do not know whether bull was used for ploughing fields unless we assume that wooden ploughshare must have been used. The later Vedic texts mention such plough being in vogue. The soil being silty, with clayey soil on river banks must have been easily ploughable with wooden plough. In many areas even today no ploughshares are used to cultivate the fields on river banks. The cracks which appear following a flood are filled with seeds with the help of brooms. These areas yield single crop but the produce is exceedingly rich. Since the sites under study are situated on river banks, there is every possibility that the above mode of agriculture was being adopted even at the earliest stage of settlement.

We do not come across coinage of any kind in Early Iron Age. Exchange must have been possible by simple barter system. Small weights of chert and jasper have been found at Hastinapur which implies some sort of commerce but what merchandise required such weights is not clear [12].

Minor antiquities of this stage are beads of terracotta and objects like points, styli, beads and bangles, stone balls, ivory shell and horn objects. Glass is used for the first time at this level, beads and bangles are fashioned with glass.

Both copper and iron technology were in practice albeit on a restricted scale. Copper was still used for fashioning weapons like arrow heads but more commonly for toiletries. Iron was used primarily for manufacturing hunting tools like arrow-heads and spear-heads found at each and every site enumerated above. Leaf shaped points, socketed tang (Noh) and blades are reported from a few sites suggesting a supremacy of war weapons at these sites. Elephant goad was found at Sravasti at early NBP level. Agricultural implements are absent except for stray occurrence of cutting tools like sickle and axe.

Objects classified as building material like rods, pins, nails etc. could as well be used in chariots and carts which were the mode of transport as well as part of war machinery of the period as frequently referred to in Vedic literature.

Iron was being smelted locally at most of Early Iron Age sites in U.P. is proved by presence of slags, furnaces and forges at sites like Ataranjikhera, Noh, Jodhpura (both the later in Rajasthan but at the U.P. Rajasthan border and belong to PGW culture). Comparatively richer sites of township are located at frequent regular spatial intervals in the Ganga Valley, at least from NBP level onwards.

Middle Iron Age

The habitations are even now mostly close to river banks, though NBP settlements have been located near lakes and tanks. NBP sites are also found outside the river plains, closer to raw material locations in Madhya Pradesh and Deccan.

Comparatively larger area of occupation during this stage suggests a growth in population, an intensification of building activity and a comparative sophistication in settlement scheme. Although at early level of NBP culture, mud houses or structures of mud-brick are normally found, use of baked bricks make a start (Ataranjikhera). Earlier structures of plastered reeds and clay floors continue to be used[13] but mud bricks are used alongwith it. At states of greater size and significance like Hastinapur and Kaushambi remains of large houses have been unearthed. Kaushambi had a double storied house measuring 28'x 15' and 16 steps, while in Hastinapur, a long wall has been traced. Lined and unlined drainage system and ring wells have been introduced. Protective embankments and bunds were constructed encircling the settlements. Where they were already in existence in previous period as at Ataranjikhera and Kaushambi, they were reinforced further. Rajghat excavations also revealed a road made by rammed potsherds, gravel and mud clods which had a thickness of 33.10 cm. at late NBP level[14].

Economy

As compared to the single crop cultivation in Early Iron Age we are now getting double crop arrangement. Pulses like black gram appear for the first time in this age (Ataranjikhera). Narhan excavation[15] brought forth kodon millet, black gram, green gram, peas, khesari, seasem. Ber and anwala are also recovered. Agricultural implements like ploughshare, spades, hoe etc. along with the sickle and axes of the previous period are positive pointers to improved agricultural activity. The granaries (Ataranjikhera) and large size storage jars in large number again lead to the same deduction. Rajghat has yielded evidence of animal husbandry of both variety- draft and milch animals.

The sophistication in pyrotechnology reached a high standard - the ceramic art specially evloved in form of NBP with its typical surface treatment. Terracotta figures of large variety and beautiful subject treatment again hint at a specialist class involved in their manufacture. Glass objects are used more freely now though terracotta beads continue to be in use. The art of figurine making has also improved a lot with a richer variety and a larger number.

Beads of semiprecious stones occur in large quantity. At Ataranjikhera, twelve beads were reported in previous period (stage I) and forty three in the next stage. The occurrence of Topaz and crystal beads suggest long distance trade. Ivory working shows sophistication, a beautiful dice with marks suggests use of fine implements in its fashioning.

Copper was continued to be used for hunting tools, even though in small number, as copper arrowheads at sites like Hastinapur etc. indicate. Other objects are hooks, chisels, boarers, antimomy rods, toiletries like nails, pliers, ornaments, pins, pendants, bangles, rings and rarely ear ornaments are found. Though the number of copper objects is also very small and hints at a very limited use of this metal suggesting a scarcity of use of metal either because of non availability of ore in the vicinity or a low demand.

Coins appear for the first time at this age. Both punch marked and uninscribed cast coins were in use. Silver and copper coins are reported from its later phases. Sealings also appear for the first time.

Weaponry during iron III undergoes a comparative improvisation. In addition to the earlier arrowheads and spearheads, double or single tang, javelins, spears, lances, dagger blades, elephant goad etc. are in use. Iron chisels have been reported from almost every site indicating thereby a proficiency in carpentry and masonry. Iron objects are more profuse and of better quality at stage two. The building material also appears in greater variety. Objects like door hooks, clamps, a large number of nails, sockets, ring fashioners are frequently found.

Late Iron Age

Iron was commonly used now in every walk of life. The technological levels had attained a higher standard now. The typology proliferation is noticeable.

The settlement pattern shows the emergence of full fledged towns at Taxila, Kaushambi, Hastinapur, Ataranjikhera etc. Building activity attains a boost at most of the sites, many of them must have been capitals of Mahajanapadas and of later imperials powers. Stone sculptures of exquisite beauty have been carved at this age. Specially noteworthy are Mathura specimens, the Kushana capital of this age. Such intricate carving not only speaks of mastery in sculptures but also sharp and hard iron tools used in their carving.

Large number and variety of agricultural implements indicate the shift of emphasis on technology-exploitation. Spade, ploughshare, hoe etc. are commonly found at most of the sites mentioned above. The crops must have been the same as today as the Gangetic valley is not supposed to have had any major climatic changes since then.

Potters' art at this level tends towards standardisation. Moulded terracottas are fashioned beautifully. Luxury goods like beads of semiprecious stones are found in large number. Rajghat was the centre of manufacture of such beads where unfinished beads have been found. Glass objects in different colours were fashioned. Gold and ivory were also in use. Inscribed coins of local rulers have been found. Copper utensils, toiletries and ornaments are more common. A beautiful copper chariot with spoked wheels has been unearthed from Khairadih.

C - Technology of iron manufacturing gradually evolved itself with time16. It is apt to briefly point out the state of technology at diverse stages defined above. At iron I we come across objects of wrought iron only. Although the number of objects analysed is quite small but not a single object with evidence of steeling is forthcoming from this period. The main emphasis is on simple weapons like spearheads, arrowheads and occasionally knives, nails, hooks and chisels (found at PGW level), all made of wrought iron. But from subsequent NBP ware cultural phase, we come across occasionally low carbon iron which comes in the perview of mild steel[17]. Only a few samples analysed so far reveal carburisation. It may be because of

a) The process was still at its experimental stage.

b) Corrosion has destroyed the evidence, as thick crusts come off leaving only the core of iron objects particularity, from the Gangetic valley due to its humid climatic conditions.

Although the same condition prevails in the iron III level but whenever a good specimen has been analysed they have supported the contention of improvisation in technique. Specimen from Taxila contained 1.3% to 1.5% carbon with high brinnel hardness. Literary

TOOL TYPE	NAME OF TOOLS	E.	M.	L.
HUNTING TOOLS	Spear heads	⊙	⊙	⊙
	Arrow heads	⊙	⊙	⊙
	Points	⊙	●	●
	Socketed tangs	⊙	●	●
	Blades	⊙	⊙	●
	Spear lances	●	⊙	●
	Dagger	●	⊙	⊙
	Sword	●	⊙	⊙
	Elephant goad	×	⊙	⊙
	Lances	×	×	⊙
	Armour	×	×	⊙
	Helmet	×	×	⊙
	Horse bits	×	×	⊙
	Caltrop	×	×	⊙
AGRICULTURE TOOLS	Axes	⊙	⊙	⊙
	Sickles	⊙	⊙	⊙
	Spade	×	⊙	●
	Ploughshare	×	⊙	●
	Hoe	×	⊙	⊙
	Chisel	×	⊙	⊙
	Pick	×	●	⊙
HOUSE HOLD OBJECTS	Knives	⊙	○	⊙
	Tongs	⊙	●	●
	Discs	×	○	●
	Rings	×	○	●
	Spoons	×	○	⊙
	Sieve	×	×	⊙
	Cauldron	×	×	⊙
	Bowls	×	×	⊙
	Disches	×	×	⊙
BUILDING MATERIAL	Rods	⊙	●	●
	Pins	⊙	●	●
	Nails	⊙	○	⊙
	Clamps	⊙	○	⊙
	Pipes	×	○	●
	Sockets	×	○	●
	Plumb bob	×	○	●
	Chains	×	○	⊙
	Door hooks	×	○	●
	Hinges	×	×	⊙
	Spikes	×	×	⊙
	Tweezers	×	×	⊙
	Anvils	×	×	⊙
	Hammers	×	×	⊙
	Scissors	×	×	⊙
	Saw		×	⊙

INDEX

⊙ DEFINITE EXISTANCE
● CONFIRMED DATA NOT AVAILABLE
× NON EXISTANCE

CHART :2: DISTRIBUTION OF TOOL TYPOLOGY

evidence (Buddhist texts of second third century B.C.) suggest knowledge of quenching. It may be suggested on this basis that iron technology improved with time, raising the efficiency of tools, weapons and implements and making them more useful for society which must have exerted pressure on smiths for better and larger production.

This answers the question raised earlier regarding the concurrence of advancement in technical knowhow and the demand for metal objects. There is a relative proliferation in cutting implements used by carpenters and masons and even agricultural tools like ploughshare which was non existent in early levels. (For a complete typological data at each stage, see chart II)

Discussion

With this we come to the stage of evaluating the social changes and causes thereof. The role which technology and other factors play in culture change may be adjudged now. 'The sociological approach to the study of settlement pattern was a product of interaction between environment and technology as reflected in the adaptation of a society and its technology to its environment'[18].

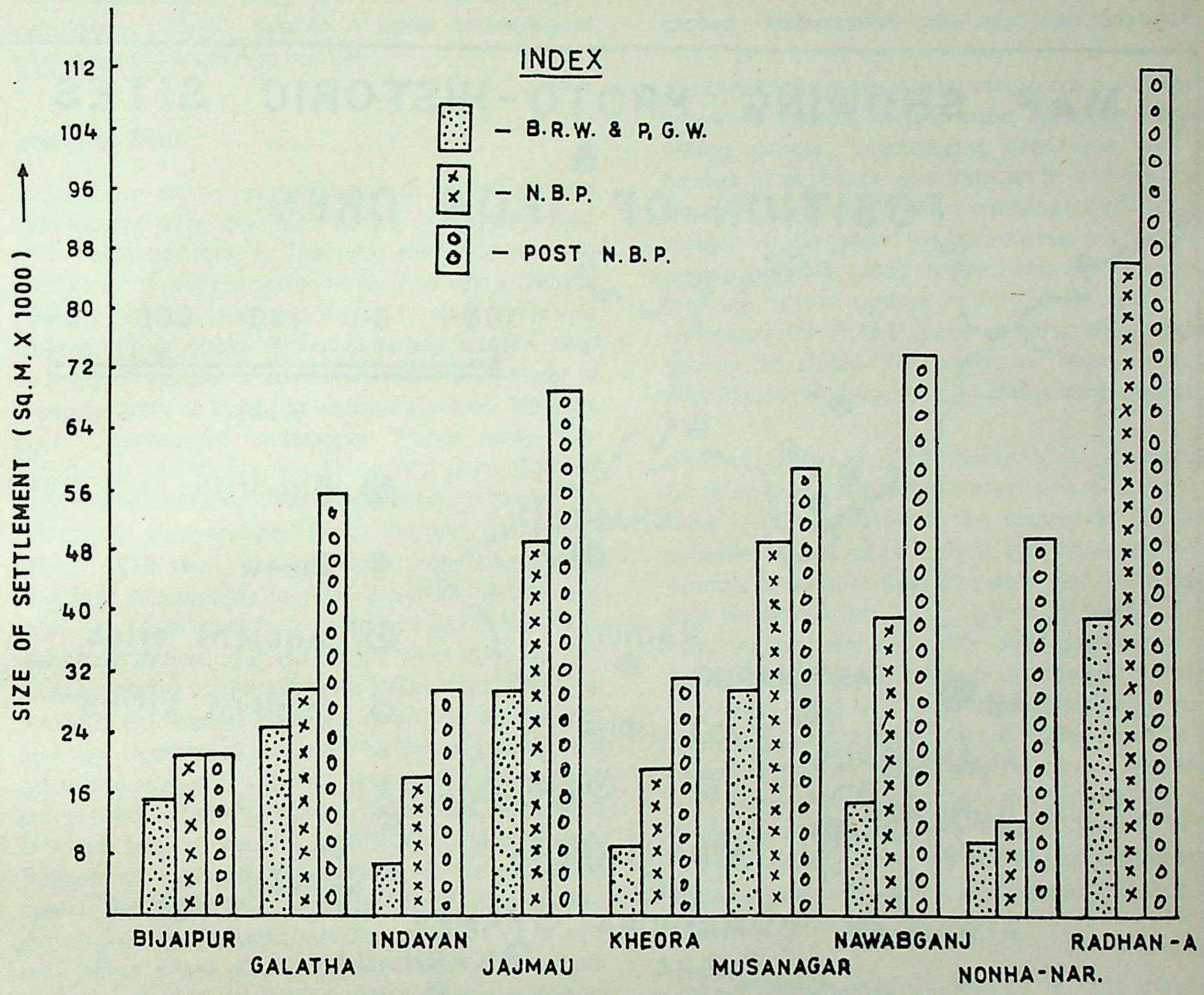
Settlement Pattern

A macrolevel observation reveals settled life in the Gangetic valley with BRW culture at the Janapadas which were subsequently incorporated in the Mahajanapadas (see chart I). At settlements in the Malla, Vatsa, Panchal and Matsya Mahajanapadas habitation started with BRW around circa 1100 B.C., with very small area under occupation. They were primarily chalcolithic in nature. At most of the sites, habitation started in full force with PGW or later still with NBP culture. In the Gangetic valley a detailed study of settlement system has not yet been undertaken. Nevertheless, some data may be scraped out to throw light on the issues raised above.

Makkhan Lal's exploration of Kanpur district may be utilised for deductions in the present context. He has reported (out of total 150 sites) ten sites with black and red ware, forty four with PGW, nintey eight with NBP and one hundred and forty sites with post NBP cultures. It shows the pattern of expansion in this selected area which may be quite representative (see table 1 below and graph 1). The area covered under each culture level above also undergoes expansion, which is well demonstrated

Table - 1

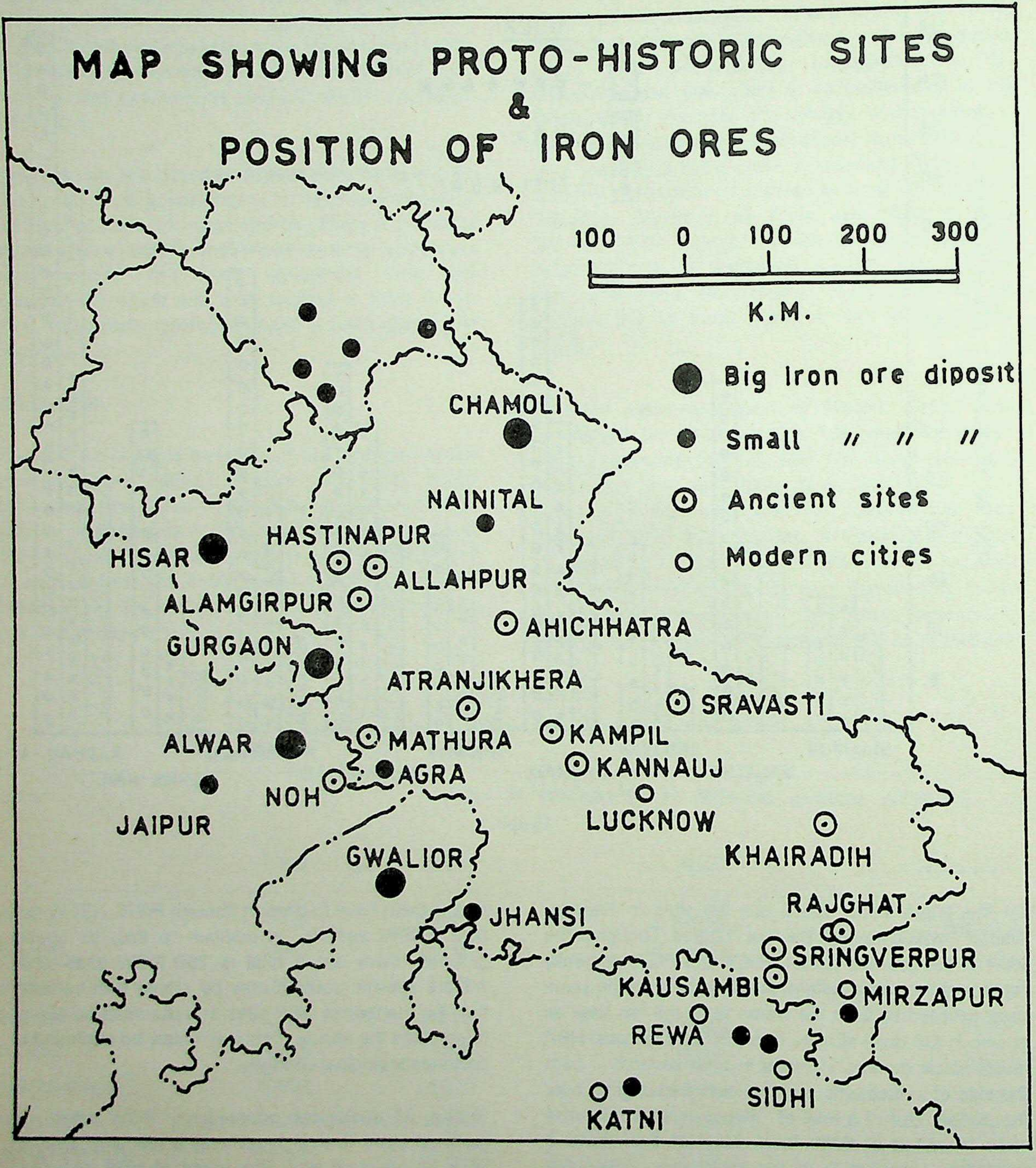
Sites	**Size of settlements at different periods (in sq.m.)**			
	BRW &	**PGW**	**NBP**	**Post NBP**
Bijaipur	15000	15000	22000	22000
Galatha	26250	26250	30000	56000
Indyan	7500	7500	17500	30000
Jajmau	30000	30000	50000	70000
Kheora	9000	9000	18750	32000
Musanagar	30000	30000	50000	60000
Nawabganj	15000	15000	40000	75000
Nonha Narsigh	10000	10000	12800	52000
Radhan-A	40000	40000	87500	112500



Graph 1.

by the graph here. There are ten sites in Kanpur district[19] which have all the four cultures. Though in the view of the present author, BRW and PGW generally represent the same culture, is also proved by the same area covered by both the wares at all the ten sites as shown in the table above . The NBP and the post NBP levels show marked increase in area covered - both the size of settlements and number of sites grow over the period. Out of a total of *thirty one* sites only *nine* were inhabited at BRW level. Most of them have a continuous occupation in the succeeding PGW and NBPW periods. Some of the sites were occupied for a single period only, may be for some special reason, rest of them have habitation through PGW, NBPW and post NBPW periods. In addition to this, on spatial grounds, there are a total of 700 PGW sites while without specific count it may be stated with certainty that the number of NBP sites in India must be two or three times the above. This may safely be attributed to socio-technological changes.

Talking of ecological adaptations, PGW sites sre confined close to river beds, only a few stay away to lakes or tanks, if any. The users of NBP hazarded inhabiting are away from rivers, near lakes or tanks etc.[20]. Wells have been found in house complexes.


MAP SHOWING PROTO-HISTORIC SITES
&
POSITION OF IRON ORES
100 0 100 200 300
K.M.
Big Iron ore diposit
Small " " "
Ancient sites
Modern cities
CHAMOLI
NAINITAL
HISAR
HASTINAPUR
ALLAHPUR
ALAMGIRPUR
AHICHHATRA
GURGAON
ATRANJIKHERA
SRAVASTI
ALWAR
MATHURA
KAMPIL
KANNAUJ
NOH
AGRA
JAIPUR
LUCKNOW
KHAIRADIH
GWALIOR
JHANSI
RAJGHAT
SRINGVERPUR
KAUSAMBI
MIRZAPUR
REWA
SIDHI
KATNI

Map 1.

and irrigation canals have also been dug. This again was made possible due to a better technological adaptation of Middle Age cultures.

Resource Zone

A close look at the habitation pattern reveals several sites located away from the plathora of sites belonging to a particular culture. The very existence of such centres is of great importance as it serves a specific purpose of production and export to other consumer centres. They ought to be generally located near sources of stones, ores or minerals etc. A study of resource zone at individual cultural level will highlight such a pattern of settlements. Places away from hub-center of cultures like Thapli and other Garhwal sites at Painted Grey Ware level must have been there for specific purpose, like stones and ores found in its vicinity. The site of Takiyaper was intermitently inhabited presumably to fulfill a similar ojective. Its proximity to Mirzapur iron ore belt of Sidhi (Map 1) is significant indeed. It could supply other minerals and stones needed by the Gangetic Valley sites. The map provides the relative positions of known ores of iron and sites during proto and early historic period. While a more intensive study of this nature will bring out the corresponding position of such habitations, it is bound to throw light on several other connected problems. Support of such satellite centres in sustaining big centres is vital to the overall growth of cities. It also explains away the unknown phenomenon as to why only some cities grew to big centres while others remain confined to their minor status. *Such a settlement system must have taken centuries to develop and explains again why there is no visible impact of adaptation of technology. The resource management production and distribution naturally required an organisation which can not be expected at an early level of development of a society.* But the wheel must have been set in motion which led to rise of bigger centres - the janapadas growing to Mahajanapadas.

Socio-religious factors must also have contributed to growth of centres. Religion plays an important role in uniting people, encouraging pilgrimage and thus centres of exchange and then trade and commerce. Sopher[21] suggested that the presence of shrines in the vicinity of exchange centres serves as a passive reinforcement of urban centres. Not all of them grow into big urban centres but in India and more conspicuously in U.P. such centres are numerous, gaining in status from antiquity, Kashi, Ayodhya, Mathura and Kaushambi are some such examples.

Political machinery is a product of social requirements. Once an organised centre comes on scene it enforces order and systemetises the society in general. It provides incentive for growth and facilitates smooth running of socio-economic system. But it is a need of that society which has reached a state where it requires an administration and governance. Self governance is rule of self sufficent societies. In view of Toyenbee even in this process metallurgy was an improtant contributory factor. "The invention of metallurgy sowed the seeds of class differentiation ..."[22] These social changes must have led to the formation of a political framework. This is apparent from the simultaneous rise of Mahajanapadas and the technological innovations at archaeological sites in the region as shown above.

The contribution of technology in this process is therefore, extremely significant and can not be underplayed. Though the other factors pointed above did contribute considerably to the growth of cities and imperial powers but which outways the other is not easy to pinpoint. From the above data, the scale seems to be tilting in fovour of technology.

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Cultural Formations In Datia Region : An Overview

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Datia is a district town in northern Madhya Pradesh. Regarded as a part of Bundelkhand, it is situated between Gwalior and Jhansi on the Delhi-Bombay line of Central Railway.

The rise of Datia as a settlement of some consequence coincided with the rise of the Bundella chiefs. And, to certain extent, such a perception of Datia's history has proved to be both restrictive and reductionistic specially in reference to the hinterland. The significant status of sites in the hinterland requires a careful study because in doing this one may eventually find a key to understanding the personality of this region and its heritage. For this search one has to resort to alternative hypothesis because evidence on social and political formations in this region is sketchy.

First about the region and its people. If the ancient Chedi *Janapada* is taken to represent Bundelkhand including the parts of Datia region, one may trace its mythical history right from the Vedic times. The *Rigveda* referse to its chief named Chaidya who is praised in the *dānastutis* . Pargitar identified the Chedi territory with the area along the south bank of the Yamuna from Chambal in the northwest extending as far as Karwi on the northeast. Its limits southwards may have been formed by Malwa plateau and the hills of Bundelkhand. The *Jātakas,* the Epics and Purāṇas refer to the land of the Chedis and their chiefs e.g., Vasu, his five sons (who founded Ḥastipura, Aśvapura Siṃhapura etc.), Damaghosha, Śiśupāla, Dṛishṭiketu and Śarabha. Of these, Śiśupāla along with Dantavaktṛa of Kārusha *janapada* had formed an alliance with Jarāsamdha of Magadha against the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛishṇa. They were eventually eliminated by or with help of Kṛishṇa which indicates their subjugation by the Yadus and the Pāṇḍavas. The Nalopākhyāna of the *Mahābhārata* refers to the Chedi chief Subāhu in whose territory Damayanti saught refuge travelling all the way with a *sārtha* (caravan) from north. This caravan had to cross the river Betwa to be able to arrive in the Chedi country. This description of the route raises doubt about Datia region being the core territory in the Chedi *janapada*. But it does help in indicating that from somewhere near Kāntipurī (Kutwar, District Morena) the trade routes extended towards Vidarbha, Dakshiṇa Kosala and Dakshiṇāpatha. Nala's territory of Narwar was also approachable from there and may have stood contiguous to the Datia region with which it was linked by the river Sindhu. However, the probability of ancient Datia region lying in the core territory of Chedideśa remains unanswered in these details and therefore we may attempt its identification in keeping with its Sindhu connections which also brings out its linkages with the Vindhyas.

Datia region lies between the two major rivers namely, the Sindhu and the Betwa. The latter is known for the Stone Age settlements on its banks and in vicinity while the Sindhu valley contains early historical settlements which are fairly pervasive. The Purāṇas perhaps describe this region as part of the *Paripatra* (*or Pāriyātra*) mountain ranges which joined with the Vindhya system. This entire conglomeration is supposed to be the western part of the Vindhyas according to the Puranic geography. The earliest mention of the *Pariyatra* is found in the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhyana (I.i.25) where it is taken as forming the boundary between the land of the Aryans and the land of the un-initiated. The Nishadas inhabited this region according to the *Mahābhārata.* The Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasarman refers to the people of the *Pāriyātra* region as the *Pāriyātrikas.* Interestingly the Chinese traveller, Hsuan Hsuang says that the *Pariyātra* country was ruled by a *Vaiśya* King. In any case if Datiya region is taken to be a segment of the *Pariyātra* country its ancient population would then appear as a demographic segment outside the pale of the Aryan fold atleast upto the early part of the Christian era. This postulate seems to be confirmed from the mention of the Āṭavikas in the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka and later from the Prayag *praśasti* of Samudragupta. The Edict of Aśoka assures the *Āṭavikas* of their well-being but it also warns them that despite his remorse born out of the battle of Kalinga he was still not lacking in power to punish them if the need ever arose. Later, in the same manner, the Prayag *praśasti* speaks of the *'Āṭavikas* subservience to the imperial power. Such references confirm *Āṭavikas'* trubulent character and one may posit that both an alliance and a war against them must have been difficult for the imperial powers though peace with them was much saught after. The *Āṭavikas,* on their own, seem to have fascinated the rulers and the others alike. Varāhamihira and Bānabhaṭṭa mention some of them as *Vindhyatavī,* and Kālidāsa mentions *Vindhyapada* as the region of their abode.

It thus appears plausible to explain the physical and demographic profile of the Datia region and its vicinity in terms of its Atvika identity rather than in terms of its affilation with the Chedi territory. The latter seems to be a vast umbrella territory in which the individuality of datia region seems unduly blurred. The *Pāriyātrika* connections of this region seem to be further confirmed by the river Sindhu which skirts it; forms its boundary and also seems to define its links with the well established contiguous settlements like Padmāvatī (Pawaya), Nalapura (Narwar), Gopachala (Gwalior), Kāntipurī (Kutwar), Tumbavana (Tumain) and Vidiśā. Sindhu relates also to the river system of the Pāriyātra which included chambal besides Betwạ and other rivers. A similar connection of Datia with Vidisa is indicated by its link with Betwa. And, of all the early settlements in the vicinity of Datia, Padmāvatī seems to have exercised greater bond with Datia through its river system consisting of Sindhu and its tributaries like Lavaṇa (Lun or Nun), Madhumatī (Mahuvar) and Pārā (Parvati). In such a scheme of things Datia seems to doubly connect with Vidisa (and finally with Avanti) via Sindhu and its tributaries through Padmāvatī, Narwar, Tumbavana and Gonarda route on one hand, and via Betwa through Daśārna to Vidisa, on the other. In any case, this physical profile of the land, mountain, river and people of the extended Datia region may afford perhaps a better perception of its interface with the surrounding region.

Keeping these details in view we may now attempt a brief survey of cultural development within the parameters of archaeological cultures in the hinterland of Datia. This brief account of cultures is based on a village-to-village survey report of archaeological sites by R.K. Chaturvedi in Datia districts, so kindly made available to the author by the former Collector of Datia, Ms. Amita Sharma.

The Stone Age cultures including the Lower, Middle and Upper are reported from Keolari and Seondha, while Mesolithic-microliths have been recorded at Dohar. The latter has also yielded the Painted-Grey Ware and the Black-and-Red Ware. In terms of a chronology the Stone age may be dated roughly from 1,30,000 years Before Present to about 10,000 B.C. While there is no information in the Datia hinterland about the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures so far, the Iron Age culture there are known to be sparsely distributed. They are represented by the PGW, B & RW and the Northern Black Polished Ware which chronologically seem to cover the period from about eighth century B.C. to early first century A.D., thereby accounting within for the Mauryan and Śunga periods of history, but leaving out other gaps nonetheless. In this survey, the NBP Ware has been reported from nine sites in the Datia District namely, Unao, Dohar, Hindor, Binetia, Kua Khor, Basai, Veekar, Berachha and Uchad. The above mentioned survey report refers to evidence of "early historical pottery" from no less than 34 sites, namely Baroni Khurd, Kurtara, Durgapur, Agora, Unao, Chopara, Hatlab, Joharia, Dhirapur, Ratai Khera, Rarua, Rai, Dohar, Seondha, Hinetia, Hindor, Kua Khera, Madara, Satlab, Baswaha, Veekar, Kasali, Bahora Ka Bag, Basai, Berachha, Cheema, Mehroli, Tharot, Lanch, Uchad, Bharoli, Dhanoli, Badhawali, Barkhera, Kherona Ghat and Kai Khera. Among these, the Mauryan - Kushana structures in bricks have been noticed at eight sites, e.g., Baroni Khurd, Durgapur Chopara, Joharia, Rarua Rai, Basai, Bohara Ka Bag and Lanch. A coin hoard consisting of 1082 Naga coins was discovered at Cheema which is of significance as an indicator of monetized economy (based on coins as a medium of exchange).

These discoveries still remain to be properly studied and assimilated with a more substantive appraisal which might require a critical evaluation of the size of the settlements, the nature and quantum of their occurance etc. But *prima facie* there is sufficient indication in these finds to underline the likely matrices of cultural formation determind by archaeological evidence. The clearly reveal the beginnings of the Stone Age settlements sparsely some of which burgeoned into a complex of Iron Age cultures. The Iron Age cultures, on their turn; seem to have started indifferently with the PGW and B & R W at Dohar but soon burst forth into the more pervasive NBP and Early historical cultures respectively at eight and 35 sites. This pattern is quite revealing. It tends to show that what is now the hinterland of Datia came on its own in the early historical periods. Datia has not looked back since. By permitting extrapolations in these developments one may easily comprehend the role of plough agriculture, double cropping-pattern, wide trade network, role of the Buddhist monasteries, merchant guilds and monetized economy which all may have contributed to a settled life in the region. These are significant indicators of cultural development. As regards the metallic currency it is most marked during the rule of the Nagas. In any case, all these developments altogether must have brought about a revolution in the life style of the people in Datia district in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In these details based on two different courses-literary and archaeological-we are pereforce bound up with two alternate models of the early historical cultural formations in the region. Of these the literary sources refer to the *janpada* formations in circa sixth centuray B.C., and if the events are to be dated in terms of the *Mahābhārata* chronology, the antiquity of the rise of state in the region may go back to the times before the *Bharata* war. In this situation, the alliance of the Chedis with the Magadha kingdom of Jarsandha is clearly underscored. It is also seen that the Chedis' interests were not in line with those of the Pāṇḍavas and the Yadus. To them Kṛishṇa was more of an adversary. But we may repeat here that we have not depended solely on these clues and considering their inadequacy the alternative is now to examine evidence with special reference to Āṭavikas, who seem to be relevant in this context.

The references to the *Āṭavikas* and their "eighteen" kingdoms find mention in the Khoh plates of Samkshobha. These indicate that even in the Gupta times the region was a loosely organised political unit in which confederacy factor was particularly important. Depending upon the references to the Nishadas (the *Mahābhārata* ascribes them to this region), one may perhaps hazard a guess that the cultural formations in this region may have started as a result of a series of transformations whereby the "primitive isolates" like the Nishādas and their kindred group eventually turned into a civil society through the historical process of assimilation and development. The earliest stage in this reckoning seems to be represented by the Stone Age man of Keolari and Seondha. In the evolutionary process, the peoples of this region might have formed tribal confederations of a "predatory" nature but linked reciprocally by kinship ties. These might have developed into tribal chiefdoms based on lineages. The *Āṭavika* complexion of such political system or sub-systems lends credence to the formation of this kind of political structure in which a hegemony was perhaps difficult to establish owing to the restricted perceptions of power and allegiance. No wonder, Asoka found it necessary to keep them under threat, and much later we see Samudragupta too claiming to have made them servile (*parichārikīkṛita*), for they were perhaps down now but not yet out; not fully subjugated but only rendered subservient !

The mention of the *Vaiśyas* as the rulers in the Pariyatra territory signifies their dominant status in the contemporary situation. In that case the statement of Baudhyāna about this region being outside the pale of Aryan society might assume a special meaning. Specially so, because it would appear that the fourfold social hierarchy had still not penetrated in this area. One can perhaps find other reasons to support this suggestion. If the NBP culture is assumed to represent the eastern Indian mode of life which was universalised by the traders and Buddhists of itinerant nature it may also follow that social formation in this region, in the wake of such dissemination, followed the liberal *varna* patterns of eastern India and not the Panjab-Haryana region's stringent system. Secondly, the primacy of the merchants and the traders and their guilds remained intact in the areas from Gwalior to Jhansi (including Datia) upto 8th-9th century A.D. This is indicated by the Gurjara Pratihara inscriptions from Gwalior and the siyadoni inscription. The bits and pieces of information, thus gathered, seem to indicate a kind of social and political system in this region where tribal chiefdoms exrcised political control. The suggestion needs being substantially defined and developed.

The cultural changes with the introduction of NBP and the "early historical pottery" may indicate that the local tribes might have asserted themselves into new roles as a result of assimilation. It may well be speculated that all the segments of the hinterland in Datia region could not have imbibed the changing patterns of culture uniformly. And therefore one may assume a-symmetrical political and social formations in this region during the early historical times. During the period, the sites with the traces of Iron Age cultures seem to represent the pockets of new developments based on the prusuit of agriculture which generated sufficient surplus for trade. This activity may have been particularly responsible for new developments, laying the foundations of an economy based on coinage eventually. Ivory was perhaps the most important product of this region. Narwar- Gwalior-Datia region remained well supplied with elephant hordes till the times of the Mughals. Much earlier, during the Maurya-Śunga times and then in the times of Kushāṇas, this area perhaps met the needs of the imperial army and also the needs of the ivory carvers of Vidisa who find mention in a Sanchi epigraph. In such transactions the NBP settlements in the Datia district might have played an important role. This brought prosperity to the region which is proved by the Maurya-Kushana structures from the different sites mentioned above and also from the rise in settlements in the early historical period.

These developments seem to indicate there functional groups in the the early historical times in the demographic structure of the core and peripheral areas of the Datia district. Of these the first might have consisted of the primary gatherers of the forest wealth specially, the ivory. The second of these population segments perhaps consisted of the intermediary-traders who settled in this region for the purpose of buying the raw-material (ivory) and provisioning the tuskers for supply to the appropriate buyers. This segment must have been the most prosperous and flourishing. And the third group, small in number, might have consisted of the officers who performed the role of overseeing the administration and other operations. The Buddhist texts refer to such officers appointed to look after the interests of the population. Such officer might have been stationed in the region to take care of the turbulent *Āṭavikas.* In any case the larger sections of the population in this region were fully endowed with the agricultural products which find mention as means of subsistance in the *Harshacharita* in connection with the *Vindhyāṭavi* people. It referes to the commodities which abounded in the households; and the list includes *rājamāsha, trapusha,* cucumber, gourd, cotton, linseed, senai, honey, wax, catachue etc beside castor, *vangaka, śingu,* and the corns tied in knots and collected in bundles. In the Sagar plates of Trailokyavarman the product of the Batuari *Vishaya* (Jhansi district) are listed as consisting as *Asana, Ikshu, Kārpaśa, Sana, Āmra,* and *Madhuka.* This list may be extrapolated to fit in with the Datia region too. But it may be necessary to indicate here that while subsistance on such produce might have regulated the daily life, the prosperity of the region depended on the ivory trade. This trade was perhaps conducted through the routes which passed from Mathura to Ujjain or from Pataliputra and Kausambi to Ujjain in which Datia region participated either through the Betwa connections towards Daśārna and Vidisa or through the Sindhu connection via Padmavati, Narwar, Vanasāhvaya, Tumbavana and Vidisa. In any case, these modes of communication connnected the region to the entrepots of Ujjain, Kausambi, Mathura and Pataliputra. But it must also be emphasised that in such transactions the region was perhaps involved mainly as primary-producer in which trade was regulated by merchants and perhaps their guilds. These guilds might have been already in command in the Maurya-Śunga-Kushāna period at the sites which have yielded such contemporary pottery besides the brick structrues. Mention has already been made above of the spots yielding such archaeological material in the Datia District.

Guilds perhaps also exercised their role in establishing the Buddhist monastery and a *stupa* complex (?) at Baroni Khurd. The traders' guilds continued to exercise influence on the trade activities and administration of this region upto the early Middle Ages as seems indicated in the epigraphs from Gwalior and Siyadoni. Both these epigraphs belong to the early Middle Ages and what is mentioned in these epigraphs may be taken as equally true of the Datia region because of its geographical propinquity with these two localities.

A point of some controversy about the region's Greek connnection may also be mentioned here. The *Malavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa mentions Vasumitra's fight with the army of Menander on the banks of the Sindhu river. The late Professor Sant Lal Katare regarded this battle to have taken place on the banks of the Sindhu river of the Gwalior-Datia region. But others, R.C. Majumdar in particular, have indicated that this battle took place on the Sindhu of Panjab near Sialkot. The presenece of the Greeks in the region contiguous to Datia is however proved by the occurance of a relief of a Bactrian camel with the double hump on a pillar capital from Vidisa now in the Gwalior Museum. Such double-humped camel is reported elsewhere only from a pillar capital of Manhai (near Kausambi in Allahabbad district) and from the coins of Menander, the Indo-Greek ruler. While it will be difficult to establish the Sindhu of Datia region as the venue of the battle between the forces of Menander and Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra Sunga, the connection of the Mālva-Deśārṇa tract with the Greeks in India cannot be ignored.

Let us now recapitulate the main points that have been extrapolated in the foregoing discussion. Of these, the first relates to tracing the *Āṭavika* connections of Datia region in place of its Chedi association and thereby, in the light of the literary reference, to seek out the Pāriyātra links of the region and its river system. The second hypothesis concerns the archaeological evidence on the basis of which it has been postulated that the region burgeoned into prominance during Iron Age with introduction of the N.B.P. The third hypothesis concerns the political formations in the region. It has been suggested here that it came about as a result of a series of transformations through which the local tribes perhaps of "segmented lineages" based on kinship ties may have eventually developed into chiefdoms, thus forming a confederacy of the *Āṭavika rajyas.* We cannot ignore the fact that in literary usages the term *āṭavika* is used for people as well state. Similarly, it is not necessary to assume that such state-formation followed the classical matrix of states with *Kṣatriyas* alone being the chiefs. The *Vaiśyas* are mentioned as the rulers in the Pāriyātrika country and the *āṭavikas* too in the early stages might have been free from the strict *varṇa* hierarchies. This may have been facilitated by close contact between the ruling class and the ruled class which admitted of the primacy of the resourceful alone in political leadership.

The model of the *varṇa* system did not perhaps take roots here atleast till the early Middle ages. The inscriptions in the vicinity continue to underscore until the early Middle Ages the primacy of the traders, merchants and their guilds. Alternatively, if the *varṇa* divisions were percieved their intensity was very much lacking as the society here was primarily a *Vaiśyas*-dominated society. Yet another postulate suggested in this brief discussion concerns the trade and commerce which brought prosperity to this region. It appears that ivory and the elephant of the region were much in demand. Ivory in particular was much sought after in India's external trade both through the northern land routes and through the sea route involving Broach. As regards the Vedic tradition, Bajpai, as reported by Sharma refers to some terracotta seals with the Vedic *mantras* inscribed on it. We are not aware of the presence of any such terracotta seals in the Datia region. On the other hand, evidence from Baroni Khurd from where such seals have been reported point only to a Buddhist settlement, as the seals are inscribed with the Buddhist formulae "*ye dharma hetu prabhava* -----" etc. The name of the Vedic sage Santkumara came to be associated with Sankua but that is the part of a local legend. All told, there is little evidence of the percolation of Vedic tradition in the region in early period.

The Middle Ages in Datia afford volumes of information in the form of sculpture reported from 82 different sites in the Datia district. The deities like Vishnu, Śiva, Chamuṇḍā, Durgā, Matṛikas, Gaṇesha, Vāmana, Krishṇa in his *lilā, Lingas* including the *mukhalingas* and Tirthaṅkara images are known from those places. Evidence on civil architecture, fortresses, tanks, *baolis,* and temples are also reported from some of these sites. This material needs a proper study. Among these sites one cannot but mention Sonagir which stands out as a place of Jain pilgrimage and stands studded with a chain of temples. Amongst the images here the earliest is dated in the V.S. 1233. Information about some other sites and the nature of antiquities known there has been listed by Sharma in his work.

Having said all this we must also give a word of caution. The hypothesis offered here in interpreting ancient history and society of Datia region particularly its hinterland are at best tentative. They have been spelled out by us here for the simple reason that the suggestions may evoke some seriouus thinking on the problems.

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Archaeology and Tradition

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In India Archaeology has a long history and a glorious tradition. A legacy of British rule, archaeology has acquired a prestigious form and dimension both in the Governmental set-up and the Universities and institutions of higher learning and research. The public interest in archaeological findings has been whetted by the media on account of its objectivity and visual effects.

Archaeology has been instrumental in promoting Indian national consciousness. The cultural heritage, unearthed by the painstaking efforts of a long line of devoted archaeologists, contributed to the birth of Indian renaissance. The confidence generated by it sustained the ardent will for winning freedom.

From its very beginning Indian archaeology has been respectful to Indian literary tradition. In the Cunningham phase, when exploration formed the main archaeological activity, the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions were religiously relied upon for identifying archaeological remains. Even for the historical period the travel accounts of Fa-hsien and Hsuan Tsang were minutely analysed. When John Marshall brought to light the Indus Valley civilization an immediate but prolonged dialogue between the archaeological and literary evidence was initiated for determining the nature of the civilization and identifying its authors. It is significant that the topmost positions in the Archaeological Survey of India were manned by a successive line of eminent archaeologists who had not a mere acquaintance with the rich literary tradition but had a commanding mastery over it. This tradition has been happily maintained in the post- Independence period.

The tendencies in recent decades are a cause of concern on account of their forbidding features. One notices a great emphasis being laid upon those aspects of archaeological research for which the literary tradition is not of much consequence. The second tendency is to create a divide between the two classes of archaeologists and historians. No doubt the functions of the two can be distinctly demarcated, but, for happier results, the two are to coexist and, better still, the two may at times essay into the domains of the other.

The present trend for specialisation is beneficial and rewarding. It promotes a thorough and exhaustive in-depth study of smaller units of topics in any broad area of subject and helps the adoption of newer techniques and methods. Any activity that leads to the growth of knowledge is welcome. But, no part of knowledge can have an abstract isolated existence. It has a greater relevance in its correlation with other aspects of knowledge. The archaeological evidence is not an end in itself. It is a means, an aid for the understanding of the past. At times the archaeological evidence cannot be very vocal. From it we can draw inferences with the help of scientific tools and techniques. It is in the light of the tradition that the archaeological evidence acquires meaning. Naturally, for periods, for which we do not have the literary tradition to throw light, the archaeological evidence by itself, does not take us much out of the dark. For such periods a lop-sided emphasis on over-specialization leads to a positon, when, in counting the trees, we tend to lose sight of the forest. The archaeological evidence for the prehistoric period has a unique significance in being our only clue to the past when other sources of information do not offer any help. In this way prehistoric archaeology has an unrivalled importance. But this part of archaeology is not to become all-consuming. It should not usurp the place of the other periods. The promotion of prehistoric archaeology is to be accompanied by a proportionate concern for other periods of archaeology. It should emanate from a conscious realisation of its importance. It is not to result from an escapist attitude for which the requirements of other phases of archaeology are exacting. Archaeology acquires its fullness only when it does proper justice to other sources of information.

Recent decades have witnessed a decline in the Western interest in classical branches of Indological scholarship. There has been a shift of emphasis. The study of classical languages and texts has declined. Instead areas and topics, which do not require a deep knowledge of texts, are gaining currency and prestige. This can be expected to cast its shadow on the patterns of study becoming fashionable in India.

The archaeological situation in India, specially its relationship with tradition, differs from what we find in the West. American history has a very recent beginning, going back roughly to five hundred years. Archaeology has little to contribute to the reconstruction of this history which is fully documented. Modern history of America is not rooted in its archaeological past. The early history of America is known only through archaeology. Tradition has no role to play in it. This history has no relevance to the cultural consciousness of modern America, hence the debate about the connection between archaeology and tradition evokes only an academic curiosity in American scholarship. The situation in Europe, though considerably different, does not offer much helpful precedence either. The transition from prehistory to history is sharply marked. Tradition naturally is not available for the prehistoric period. The historic period does not have a very remote antiquity. Tradition is also characteristically reticent in recording specific facts of history and objective details about life and society. Tradition and archaeology do not clash; they can be admirably harmonised. Biblical archaeology and early Greeco-Roman archaeology offer confirmation of tradition in all important details.

In India we have not been able to work out such a happy correlation between archaeology and tradition. Here the historical period does not follow the pre-historic one immediately or closely. The two are separated by a phase of protohistory. Proto-history has something common with both prehistory and history, but has also its differences with the two. It knows writing and has written records, but they cannot be used for historical reconstruction. For this period we do have evidence in the literary tradition. But there are difficulties when a correlation between archaeology and tradition is attempted. The period is surprisingly very long. There are two main streams of tradition bearing on it; the Vedic and Itihāsa - Purānic. The problem of establishing correlation between the two is one of the major problems of Indian historiography and is even now debated. The Vedic tradition belongs to the period of protohistory. The Itihāsa-Purāṇa texts have a long chronological span. Their memory goes back to very early times, though, in their present form, they cannot be pushed back to any date before the beginning of the Christian era. The chronological stratification of these texts has not been firmly established. It is still more difficult to fix the chronology of the events and developments recorded in them. Naturally the archaeologist and the historian alike face a highly puzzling task when they try to match archaeology with tradition.

The apparent incompatability of the two streams of evidence is further blown up by the fact that the two do not refer to identical spheres of information. Presently we are not concerned with the limitations of the two sources, Archaeology, however, deals with things which have a visible, concrete reality and have a surviving quality. The element of thought motivating or shaping them is not directly available and can only be inferred. Many aspects, which have an important existence in the texts, may not have the possibility of surviving in a visible form. In this connection we have to answer the pertinent question as to what we expect in archaeology as a survival confirming the tradition. We cannot reasonably expect to find all the details of tradition to be confirmed by archaeology. We can get confirmation of only a few of the details. Our expectations are adequately fulfilled if we find a general confirmation of the cultural associations in the relevant chronological framework.

For the present we address ourselves to the problem of correlation with reference to the issues which should engage our attention in Uttar Pradesh. We must remember that this is only a modern administrative unit with no parallel existence in the history and archaeology of earlier times. The problems to engage our attention will naturally cross the geographical boundaries of Uttar Pradesh. We cannot restrict ourselves to problems concerning neighbouring areas; the problems have to be studied in their wider perspective. Some problems, which have significance for Indian history as a whole, have their connecting links and fall-outs in this province.

To begin with the Harappan culture, the new information made availale in recent decades has opened up new dimensions of its study. No doubt on many issues the final judgment has to wait for a general agreement about the reading of the legends. The reasonable certainty about its chronology, the new evidence about its geographical extension, its origins and final diffusion require a new evaluation of the evidence. Now we have a fuller picture which requires us to modify our opinion about its nature, specially its correlation with the Vedic culture. Our task is to find out the eastward expansion of the Harappan culture and its gradual diffusion. The nature of the cultures, junior contemporaries of the Harappan, and their connections and contacts with it are to be explored.

One premise, which has conditioned research in protohistoric India, is the axiomatic assumption that the Aryans came from outside around 1500 B.C. Besides the linguistic argument, disputed from time to times, there is no archaeological evidence to confirm it. The date, tentative from the very beginning, requires retesting. There have been attempts to trace archaeological survival of the Aryans on move to and move with in India. Likewise, some archaeologists have suggested non-Aryan lebels for the culture of some sites. Another line of study associated with it is to trace archaeological identification of non-Aryan ethno-linguistic groups, such as Kirāta, Niṣāda and Draviḍa.

So far as the Vedic tradition is concerned it will not be easy to fix the chronology of a Vedic period. It has a long span. With the help of the internal evidence of society and culture we may present the evidence of the Vedic literature in terms of several phases and then seek their archaeological confirmation. From the other end we may proceed by determining the concomitants of the cultural personality of the different Wares. This, along with their geographical and chronological extension, can help us equate them with the sub phases of the Vedic literature. There has been no systematic effort at equation of the periods of the Wares and the phases of Vedic literature. One such attempt is to describe the period of the Painted Grey Ware as the Later Vedic period. But, here the other Wares have not been taken into consideration. Moreover, we will have to define the Later Vedic Period more definitely. The periodisation of the Vedic cultures and their equation with the archaeological evidence is a desideratum, even though the task has its own hazards.

The Epics are another important source of tradition. As compared with the Vedic texts, they contain a more detailed and direct account of history. The Epic archaeology has its greatest champion and expert in Prof B.B. Lal. His pioneering attempt was to identify the Painted Grey Ware at Hastinapur as the characteristic Ware of the Mahābhārata period. There have been only marginal modification in the chronological position and cultural personality of the P.G. Ware. For over a decade Prof. Lal has been testing the archaeological expression of the Rāmāyana tradition. His researches throw up a strange problem about the relative chronology of the themes of the two Epics. While dealing with the Epics one has to realise that the Epics in their present form had received layers of embellishment. By seeking archaeological confirmation of all the cultural details of the two one has to face a historical dilema of the wide chronological gap between the dates of the original events and their present textual occurrence. One may be disappointed and misled if he seeks objects associated with the Epic events and personalities. For checking the core of the two Epics one may attach importance to the geography and the cultural uniformity at different sites. An interesting confirmation of the Epic tradition has been made available by S.R. Rao through marine archaeological work at Dwarka. This shows that the doubt cast by earlier excavations by H.D. Sankalia stands refuted and requires a more careful effort for locating proper sites.

This raises the nee˙ for a concerted effort to combine archaeology with Vedic and Itihāsa-Purāṇa traditions. The Later Vedic literature and the early period of the evidence of the Epics and the Puranas relate to one and the same period. They concern the geographical area which is the subject of our present study. In the Later Vedic period the emphasis gradually shifted from the Kuru region to the Pañchāla region and from there moved on to Kosala, Vatsa and Kāśī, finally to reach Videha, Aṅga and Magadha. The Epic stories seem to provide a general confirmation of this pattern of history. There are variations in details, but that is to be underlined as an evidence of the authenticity of the traditions. The excavator at Dwaraka finds indications of the co-existence of the later Harappan material with the Epic tradition. Archaeology has to come to the help of tradition and verify its authenticity. In this connection we have to work through the units of the tribes and dynasties. We have to locate them geographically and also chart their chronological graph. Then we have to find out if the geographical and chronological position of the cultural complex revealed by archaeology answers to it.

The period witnessed significant changes in religious life and the emergence of various centres of cultural contributions. Even though archaeology cannot testify to the philosophical speculations and debates, it can certainly throw up indications of the centres being culturally active. In the early period the role of Pañchāla, Kāśī and Mithilā deserve planned probings.

Archaeology can be of great help in filling up the gaps in our knowledge of a material culture as reflected in tradition. The development of arts and crafts and the application of science and technology can best be known through actual objects produced through them. Likewise, tradition has interesting information about trade-routes and trade. An analysis of the finished products and their possible centres of manufacture as determined by archaeology will place on a firm basis our knowledge of the economic life causally revealed by tradition.

There can be several other minor and major points in which we can seek the mutual correlation between archaeology and tradition. This requires a sympathetic vision and an intelligent planning. To illustrate we may refer to the traditional account about the conflict between Kośala and Magadha over the possession of Kāśī. It is interesting to note that the objects revealed by the excavations at Rajghat, Varanasi reveal phases of successive preponderance of objects from Kośala and Magadha regions.

There is one aspect of Puranic tradition which has not been properly recognised on account of the almost exclusive concern for its testimony for the early periods of Indian history. The Puranas gradually emerged as the repository of the cultural transformation which Indian society underwent from the post- Mauryan period onward. This metamorphosis projects itself in both religious and social spheres. The Puranic tradition emphasises the role of Naimishāraṇya as the centre of the Puranic formulations. The type of evidence at a sylvan site may not be archaeologically very rich. But it will be worth its while to find out the period when cultural activity was at its peak in the Naimishāraṇya region and its important features preserved by the material remains.

Coming to the historical period, the mutual co-operation between archaeology and tradition can be equally rewarding. The nature of the problems and our approach to them will undoubtedly be of a slightly different nature. Now we no longer function under the mist of vagueness and uncertainty characteristic of the proto- historic period. We are sure of the chronology and the broad outlines of historical development. Beginning with the Mauryan period we have texts describing the contemporary life and culture. We do not know how far these accounts are idealised versions or conventionally fixed narratives. The realities are to be confirmed only through archaeological evidence. The need for horizontal excavations at sites, which promise to be prominent representative centres in different periods, may not require a long pleading. The realities are to be confirmed only through archaeological evidence. The need for horizontal excavations at sites, which promise to be prominent representative centres in differnt periods, may not require a long pleading. Thus we would like to know the extent to which uniformity was introduced through the Mauryan policy of centralised regulation and control. Likewise, the nature of the Brahmanical revival and cultural reformulation and their expression in archaeology will be an interesting enquiry. Though we have a Hillenised town complex at Taxila, we would like to know the nature of Greek impact on Indian society in the interior country. We have narratives in the Madra-Kutsana section in the Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata and in the Milinadapañho. It will be of great cultural significance to know if archaeology testifies any significant change in material culture and way of life under the foreign impact.

In the last decade an important thesis has been pronounced which forces us to consider seriously the problem of correlation between archaeology and literary evidence. It has been said, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that the Gupta period witnessed urban decline on a large scale, casting doubt on its claim to be the golden age of prosperity. The literary tradition creates the impression that it was an age of peace, prosperity and leisure, when art, literature and other cultural activities reached an unprecedented bloom and crowning glory. The reconciliation between the two is a taxing problem. Are we to dismiss the literary tradition ? Watchful excavations at representative sites and careful analysis of the archaeological data are expected to give a convincing result.

A similar dichotomy exists in relation to the early medieval period. Land-grants and some texts are taken to indicate a feudal period. The feudal economy has a local, natural and rural emphasis. Some other literary evidence points to the appearance of a large number of towns in this period. Some scholars try to explain this apparent contradiction in the literary sources. We expect a systematic effort to reconstruct the picture on the basis of the archaeological evidence. This requires emphasising because the post-Gupta phases and problems tend to be slighted when compared with earlier periods with challenging problems and rewarding results.

It is difficult to be exhaustive in mentioning all the diverse problems of the present theme. We are also conscious that the leads may at times take us to disheartening blind alleys. But persistence and perseverance are to be our Watch Words. An awareness of the nature of the problem and of the limitations of the two sources may help us reconstruct the pattern of the past by piecing together the available fragments of facts.

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Discoveries Following Kapilavastu and Future Work

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> *"For he will give up the Kingdom in his indifference to worldly pleasures, and through bitter struggle grasping the final truth, he will shine forth as a son of knowledge in the world to dispel the darkness of delusion".* [1]

These prophetic words of the great saint Asita, at the birth of Siddhartha, popularly known as Gautam Budddha, recall the crucial event of his Great Departure from Kapilavastu, where he spent the first twenty-nine years of his life. Paradoxical though it may appear, with the extinction of Buddhist religion from India, over eight hundred years ago, most of the places associated with it did not only loose their significance, but were completely lost into oblivion. One amongst those places lost to posterity was Kapilavastu, capital of the Sakays, the precise location of which was a standing challenge to the archaeologists for a very long time. Hence, the identification of the place, in Siddharthanagar district of Uttar Pradesh in the year 1973, will always be treated in the annals of history and archaeology as an epoch- making discovery.

Engulfed in complete darkness, the attempts made by the scholars in the beginning to locate Kapilavastu was nothing more than a wild goose chase. Armed with one clue or the other they enjoyed the liberty of declaring any place as Kapilavastu. Instead of keeping the doors open for the final identification of the site, they preferred to justify their claims in a subjective manner, sometimes taking the aid of wild imaginations as Carlleyle did. The identification, however, became the subject of avid discussion in the closing years of the nineteenth century, when the inscribed Asokan pillar at Lumbini and the inscribed casket at Piprahwa were brought to light by A. Fuhrer,a German scholar and W.C. Peppe, an English land lord in the years 1896 and 1898 respectively. The Lumbini pillar settled the place where Lord Buddha was born, whereas the inscription on the casket from Piprahwa was a tangible clue to the ultimate identification of Kapilavastu.

The text of the inscription on the casket from Piprahawa was as follows :

sukiti bhatinam sabhaginikanam saputa-dalanam iyam salila-nidhane Budhasa bhagavate Sakiy-anam

The three widely accepted interpretations of the inscription were by G. Buhler, Rhys Davids and J.F. Fleet.

According to the interpretation by the first two scholars the relics found inside the stupa by Peppe were those of Lord Buddha enshrined by the Sakays, whereas the third meant that they were of the kinsmen of Buddha, their sisters, wives and children (massacred by young prince Vidudabha of Kosala). [2 & 3]

When the long standing controversy regarding the idendification of Kapilavastu continue to be unresolved, excavations were undertaken at Piprahwa in Basti district (present Siddharth Nagar Distt.) of Uttar Pradesh in 1971. There were number of indications in favour of Piprahwa being the ancient site of Kapilavastu. One of the most important indication was the inscribed casket found by W.C. Peppe in the stupa in 1898.

Nestled in sylvan surroundings Piprahwa (lat. $27^0$26'30" N; long $83^0$7'50" E) is not very far from the foot of the Himalayas. It is twenty one kilometres north of Naugarh railway station on the Gorakhpur - Gonda loop line of North-eastern Railway. The town around Naugarh railway station, which was earlier well known as Tetri Bazar, is the headquarters of the recently established district of Siddharthnagar. Naugarh is connected with Gorakhpur, a Division of Uttar Pradesh, besides headquarters of North-eastern Railway, both by rail and road, the distance being a little more than seventy kilometres. With Basti, a district headquarters, Naugarh is connected only by road, the distance being about eighty kilometers. Basti is a Railway station of Gorakhpur-Lucknow line of North-eastern Railway. Buses ply to Naugarh both Gorakhpur and Basti, but more frequently from the latter. Most of the buses go upto Kakrahwa on the Nepal border near Lumbini. The ancient site of Piprahwa is now connected by a beautiful road under an ambitious development project. Auto-rickshaws and cycle rickshaws are available any time during the day at Naugarh and Birdpur to approach the site. There is no halting place at Piprahwa and as such any visitor must return back before the fall of the day. The nearest place to stay is Birdpur where facilities of a rest-house provided by Irrigation Department are available. Birdpur is nine kilometers south of the site.

At a depth of six metres from the extant top of the burnt brick stupa, two burnt brick chambers were observed in the trench sunk in the centre in 1972. The specific purpose of the chambers to keep certain sacred objects was quite evident from the nature of their construction. The chambers yielded relic caskets and dishes. The caskets contained charred bones.

Further exacavations in the area established that the fresh relic caskets were contemporaneous to the period of the earlier phase of Northern Black Polished Ware, which could be dated to fifth- fourth century B.C. i.e. earlier in date than the inscribed relic casket discovered by Peppe at a higher level in 1898. The finding of earlier caskets proved that the stupa, in which they were found, was built in the initial stages by the Sakyas over the corporeal relics of Lord Buddha, which they received as their share at Kushinara after cremation. This indication was already available in the inscription on the casket found by Peppe, which mentioned both Lord Buddha and his community Sakya. Hence, the fresh caskets were a step further towards the final identification of the site as Kapilavastu.

The earlier caskets were, no doubt, and adequate evidence to establish that Piprahwa was ancient Kapilavastu, the scholars were not prepared to accept the same in the absence of an inscription. The excavation was, therefore, resumed in the following season of 1972-73 with the primary objective of unearthing an inscriptional evidence.

While the cells and the central courtyard on the northern axis of the eastern monastery were being cleared, terracotta sealings with the legend Kapilavastu came to light. The first sealing was found on 18th March 1973. More than thirty sealings were collected in the season from depths ranging between 1.05 and 1.75 metres. It must be emphasised that the sealings were not found in a hoard but were picked up from different levels and spots. The sealings could be divided into three groups. One of them is inscribed in four lines, which were read as *'Om, Devaputra Vihare, Kapilavastu, Bhikhu Sanghas'.* The inscription on the second series is limited to three lines which are 'Maha kapilavastu, Bhikshu Sanghas'. The third group of sealings carried the name of monks. The letters on the sealings were in Brahmi characters of first-second century A.D. In the year 1974 the monastery yielded more sealings, but the most valuable find was a lid of a pot carrying the same inscription as the first group of sealings.

The terracotta sealings and above all the lid of the pot with the legend Kapilavastu, found during the course of excavations at Piprahwa, clinched the identification of Kapilavastu, which was a long standing controversy, conclusively. The inscription on the sealings and the lid of the pot also established that monastery in which they occurred was meant for the order of monks at Kapilavastu. Further, the word 'Devaputra' indicated that the monastery was built by the Kushana king, who extended great patronage to the religion of Buddhism.

Once the stupa consecrating the relics of Buddha was established on the basis of the inscribed relic casket followed by the terracotta sealings with the legend Kapilavastu from the eastern monastery at Piprahwa, the remains of the main township were easily located and exposed in an adjoining mound in the village jurisdiction of Ganwaria, about a kilometre south-west. The remains of the town complex could be divided into four periods, the earliest dated between 800 and 600 B.C. and the latest dated to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

The excavation at Ganwaria has yielded, besides other aniquities, a rich variety of terracottas. of them, beautiful heads of Buddha; Buddha seated on a double lotus throne in a contemplative mood holding the fingers of his left hand into the right; heads with a peculiar head-dress exhibiting foreign features; warriors; drummers; mother with a child in her lap; ornamented female figurines with elaborate coiffure and decorate anklets in their feet; dancing figures; three-eyed head (symbolising Saivism) with heavy *kundalas* in the ear; human figurines with elaborate drapery and various kinds of animal figurines are very attractive. A decorated sandstone disk depicting bull, elephant and lion interspersed by *chakra,* similar to those on the abacus of the capital of the Asokan pillars; a pair of heavy anklets (according to some door handles) in copper alloy; copper and silver coins; terracotta stamps, dabbers, beads, bangles, wheel and gamesmen; beads of glass and semi-precious stones; stone weights; chisels, sickles, arrow - and - dagger - heads, knives, razors and plough shares in iron; and a highly polished legged-quern with a pestle in stone were other important antiquities. In the last season of excavation, two hoards of coin were found, one of silver punch-marked, 64 in number, and the other of copper (Kushana), 37 in number. The other valuable find of the year was a sealing of Wima Kadphises. The sealing is inscribed with the following legend in Brahmi

Ka phu putra Vimasya.

The legend is surmounted by Siva seated cross-legged, matted hair, two handed, holding *trishul parasu* in the right hand and double pronged vajra in the left.

Piprahwa is not the first site where the location of an ancient place is settled finally, with the help of the legend on the sealings. There are numerous other places like Nalanda, Ratnagiri etc. where on the basis of sealings, the location of the ancient place was declared and accepted by the scholars. Though there is not a single site in India which has ultimately turned out to be any other place than the legend on the sealings which it has yielded, scholars are still making attempts to challenge the identification on one ground or the other and continue to cling to the views of Fuhrer in a steadfast manner. In this context an extract from the Presidential address of Dr. D.C. Sircar, an eminent epigraphist, before the august body of Indian History Congress at Bombay in 1980 may be reporduced.

"Similar has been the case with the location of the city of Kapilavastu, the capital of the Sakya people. Its name has, even from ancient times, been often wrongly written as *Kapilavastu'* due to wrong Sanskritisation of Pali-Prakrit *'Kapilavatthu',* Pali Prakrit *vatthu* standing for both the Sanskrit words vastu (an object) and *vaastu* (a habitation). Literary evidence was inadequate for the definite location of the Sakya city so that some scholars were of the opinion that it stood at the modern site of Tilaurakot in the Nepalese Terai while another group of them preferred to locate it at the village of Piprahwa lying in the same neighbourhood but falling in the Basti District of Uttar Pradesh in India, actually on the northern fringe of the District, immediately to the south of the Nepalese border. Excavations were recently carried out at both Tilaurakot in Nepal and Piprahwa in India by the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India; but Tilaurakot yielded no antiquity offering evidence on the point whereas more than forty seals belonging to the *Kapilava(vaa)stu bhikshu-sangh* (community of Buddhist monks of Kapilavastu) living in the *Devaputra vihara* which seems to have been a monastery named after the Kushana king Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.) often called Devaputra have been unearthed at Piprahwa. Thus the evidence in favour of Piprahwa as the site of Kapilvastu seems to be conclusive, but it has naturally failed to satisfy the Nepalese who feel that their country is deprived, by the Indian Archaeological excavators, of the honour of being the homeland of the Buddha, and a suggestion has even been offered that the matter may be put up to the UNESCO for decision whether Kapilavastu should be identified with Piprahwa in India or Tilaurakot in Nepal. A funny idea indeed !"[4]

The state of Uttar Pradesh was the stronghold of Buddhism in its earliest history, but the whereabouts of a large number of sites assoicated with it continue to remain in oblivion. Following the identification of Kapilavastu the scholars should now feel encouraged to undertake further exploration in the region to identify the sites. Sravasti and Kapilavastu can serve as two important fixed points in following the routes trekked by the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hein and Hiuen Tsang. A considerable variation is, of course, their in the distance and direction recorded by the two travellers, but the same can be reconciled by means of systematic archaeological exploration. The main towns from which the bearing and distance have been recorded by them are Sravasti, the capital of ancient Kosala, Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha and the natal towns of Krakuchchhanda and Kanakmuni, two of the *Manushi* - Buddhas, who lived earlier than Gautama Buddha. Hiuen Tsang places Krakuch- chhanda's birth-place ten miles south of Kapilavastu, while Fa-hien mentions it to have been about seven miles to the south-west of that city. Hiuen Tsang locates Kanakmuni's birth place to the south-east, while Fa-hein places it due west of Kapilavastu. On certain occasions the two routes followed by the two pilgrims did not happen to be one and the same. While Fa-hein went from Kapilvastu straight to lumbini, Hiuen Tsang adopted a circuitous route. He first went to *Sarakupa* from Kapilavastu and then from that place to Lumbini.

The piligrims did not move with a prismatic compass in their hands and as such assessing and recording of exact direction need not be expected from them. In such a situation, therefore, the best course will be to survey, during the course of exploration, reasonable additional areas on both sides of recorded direction in order to reach the destination. Similarly, a little more distance than the recorded one should be covered.

There were ten deserted towns in the territory of the Sakyas. Hiuen Tsang records the following details :

"From this point (i.e. Sravasti)going south-east 500 Li or so we come to the country of Kapilavastu. This country is about 4000 Li in circuit. There are some ten deserted cities in this country, wholly desolate and in ruins."[5] G.C. Pande also mentions almost a similar number of towns in the Sakya dominion. He said, "The Sakya territory was spread over the lower slopes of the Himalayas, and included, beside Kapilavatthu the towns of Catuma, Lamargama, Khomadussa, Silavati, Medalumpa, Nagaraka, Alumpa, Devadaha and Sakkara. Devadaha was the town next in importance to Kapilavatthu."[6]

In addition to the exploration of the route followed by the two pilgrims, the discovery of Kapilavastu can be helpful in spotting out the remains of a few other important towns, which are expected to fall within the present boundary of the State of Uttar Pradesh. Koliyas of Ramagrama, Mallas of Pawa and the Brahman of Vethdvipa were the other claimants of the corporeal relics of Buddha amongst eight communities, after his cremation at Kusinara.

All the three sites are likely to occur within the area of the state of Uttar Pradesh. The ancient site of Pawa is doubly important in history on account of its close association with the religion of Jainism as well. Lord Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara, breathed his last at Pawa. A section of the devotees of jain religio have treated the site of Chatiaon near Kusinara to be ancient Pawa on the basis of unfounded declaration by Carlleyle, but the archaeologists have yet to give any credence to it. Pawa was the last place where lord

Buddha halted before moving to Kusinara in an indisposed condition to attain *Mahaparinirvana*. It was at Pawa only where Chund invited him to a full meal, which is said to have rendered him ill. Like other communities the Mallas of Pawa, Koliyas of Ramagrama and the Brahamana of Vethdvipa also enshrined their share of corporeal relics in a stupa after holding a befitting ceremony. We should earnestly endeavour to identify these important stupas in which the relics were solemnised.

Devadaha happened to be the second important town in the vicinity of Kapilavastu. Lord Buddha was born at Lumbini when his mother was on way to her parents place at Devadaha for delivery. River Rohini perhaps was the dividing line between the area under the occupation of the Koliyans of Devadaha and the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. The water of the river was a source of regular strife between the two communities. Lord Buddha had to intervene a number of times to prevent war between the two, but ultimately he abbandoned any further attempt. Since Devadaha played an important role in the childhood of Lord Buddha and the life of his maternal ancestors, efforts should be made to locate the place, particularly when it must not be far away from Kapilavastu.

Besides the above-mentioned places, there is yet another place near about Kapilavastu which remains to be located. When prince Siddhartha finally decided to renounce the world in search of a way out of sufferings, he left the place quietly in the dead hours of the night after having a last glimpse of his newly born child Rahula. He departed from Kapilavastu on his favourite horse Kanathaka. In the dark hourse of the night he covered on the back of thhe horse in the company of the charioteer Channa, a distance of 12 yojanas. After crossinng the river Anoma the prince asked the charioteer to go back. The Bodhisattva changed his princely clothes into that of a recluse and cut off his hair with the help of the sword. On the other side of the river Anoma the Bodhisattva stayed for a week in the hermitage of a rishi, son of Bhrigu, whereas others state that he spent seven days alone in a forest of mango grove at Anupiya in the country of Mallas. The location of Anupiya is still not known. With Kapilavastuu as the base it may not be very difficult to locate thhe ancient site.

The entire work mentioned above is very challenging, but at the same time very interesting in view of the rewarding results. It is not the job of a single man, but a team consisting of experienced and enthusiastic archaeologists from various fields. Before undertaking the field work for exploration the team will have to study in detail the Buddhist texts and scientifically analyse the distance of the lost sites from some known places. The team should get gown to the field only when it is fally equipped with sufficient date or at least whatever is available. A project of exploration of such a nature can be organised only by any agency which has adequate fund and expertise. However, unnecessary time need not be wasted in establishing the Project. The statement of T. Watters that 'all the sites mentioned in the Asoka romance, and mainly all those described in the narrative of the pilgrims derive their existence from the romance and legend about the Buddha's birth and early life' should no longer be allowed to hold conviction.

Once the project is successful in locating at least some of the sites mentioned above, the dark period of early history of Buddhism would be automatically unfolded. The blanks of the early history of India will also be filled up. Besides bridging the gulf in Indian history the achievements of the Project work will also go a long way in unfolding the developments of stupa architecture. The stupa at Piprahwa has brought to light altogether new features of architecture. A majority of the sites, the identification of which will be the primary aim of the Project, are expected to have at least one stupa, since they were connected with the life of Lord Buddha. All these stupas will, beyond doubt, be the earliest in the country like the one at Piprahwa. A study of so many contemporary stupas will enable the scholars to determine the basic features of architectural developments in the earliest stages.

There has been a general consensus amongst the scholars that there were no burnt brick structures in the pre-Mauryan period. Being too rigid in their belief, they were not prepared to change their views. In the same strain of thought, it was accepted on all hands that the construction of the burnt brick stupa had its origin only during the time of Asoka who patronized Buddhism with a great zeal. The rigidity amongst the scholars was not without reason. Very little attention was paid to the excavation of the stupas with a view to understanding their architectural features and later development. The excavation happened to be more or less in the form of a shaft bored in the centre which, besides yielding reliquary, did not contribute to the knowledge of the date and the earliest burnt brick activity. It was also not helpful in revealing the style and development of the stupa architecture. The excavation conducted at Piprahwa stupa has established beyond doubt that the use of burnt brick started in pre-Mauryan times, particularly because of the two burnt brick chambers in which the casket containing the corporeal relics were kept in Phase I.

While arriviing at the general consensus of non-existence of burnt brick structures in pre-Mauryan times, two factors were mainly taken into account by the archaeologists. The first one was the occurrence of the Northern Black Polished Ware. Though N.B.P. has been dated between 600 and 200 B.C. in Northern India, particularly in the Gangetic basin, the archaeologists were somehow or the other inclined to assign the later phase to the burnt brick structure. It was never thought that the long span of the Northern Black Polished Ware could be divided into two Periods and the burnt brick activity started only in the earlier one. While doing so, they bore in their mind the illustrious rule of the Mauryas, specially of Asoka, during whose regime the limits of the Mauryan empire extended to the extreme south. Secondly, the archaeologists always worked under an impression that the revolutionary change to burnt bricks could be brought about only under the patronage of great rulers.

Denying the existence of burnt brick structure in pre-Mauryan times Ghosh emphatically said, "at most sites where evidence exists, burnt brick came into vogue either in the late phase of the Northern Black Polished Ware or more commonly, in a still later phase".[7] He said further, "evidence is thus complete that burnt brick became popular very well after the appearance of the Northern Black Polished Ware; it became common only in the second century B.C. and abundant even later on. The early cities were contented with mud and mud-brick structure where stone was not available, with the possibility of wooden structures, the remains of which have not survived."[8]

Though a large number of sites were subjected to excavations during the last three decades, the primary aim had been to ascertain the cultural sequence of the sites by digging a limited area vertically. Very little attention was paid to undertake horizontal excavation in order to expose the planning of a city or township. There was no justification in making a firm declaration only on the basis of a restricted area of excavation, particularly when the use of burnt-brick has been reported from pre-Mauryan levels. During the course of excavation at Hastinapura brickbats were encountered in Period II dated between 1100 and 800 B.C. The excavator said, "In period II although no regular house-plans excepting a few mud or mud-brick walls were met with, there is some evidence in the shape of brickbats to show the use of kilnburnt bricks. of Period III, only six structures were exposed, two of which were drains and one barn ?"[9] Period III, of Hastinapura has been dated between 600 and 200 B.C. and it must be pointed out that one of the drains mentioned above was laid in the earliest occupational layer of the period.

Notwithstanding the use of burnt bricks in the pre-Mauryan period at Hastinapura, the archaeologists never took into consideration progress and development as a natural process. Certain basic necessities called upon by nature and circumstances were completely ignored. The ancient site of Piprahwa is located in region where rainfalls is very heavy resulting in regular inundation. In such circumstances was it not necessary to switch over to the use of burnt-bricks ? The call of circumstances has been very well established at the adjoining site of Ganwaria, identified as the town site of Kapilavastu. Reference to heavy rainfall in and around Kapilavastu finds a place in the earliest Buddhist texts as well. In the earlier stages, the inhabitants of the township lived in houses of mud walls of which the roofs were supported on wooden posts. The occupation was a victim of regular inundation as a result of which the mud walls were badly damaged. In order to get rid of the constant scourge, the inhabitants built high platforms of compact clay for occupation which again was not free from destruction. The circumstances, therefore, forced the inhabitants to find a way out in making the use of burnt bricks in sturctures. Regular construction of burnt brick structures on a fairly large scale was initiated in layer (10) of period II which has been dated between 600 and 200 B.C. Layer (12) was the earliest occupational level of Period II characterized by the Northern Black Polished Ware at the site. It continued to occur till layer (6). The burnt-brick structures at the site cannot, therefore, be later than the second half of the sixth century B.C. In any case they are pre-Mauryan.

In the light of the recent findings at Piprahwa and Ganwaria, the archaeologists should reconsider the view helds so far that structures of burnt bricks were not known in pre-Mauryan times. Piprahwa and Ganwaria are part and parcel of the same complex of ancient Kapilavastu. The ocupation at Ganwaria, the main township, had much earlier beginning in the eighth century B.C. The occupation at Piprahwa started only after the corporeal relics of Buddha were enshrined in the *stupa* for worship, after his *mahaparinirvana.* Monasteries were also constructed to enable the monks to stay there. As a general practice, *stupas* are not clubbed together with the main township.

The capital of the sixteen republics held a much more significant position in the history of ancient India than Kapilavastu. Excavation on a large scale should, therefore, be undertaken at some of these sites with the primary aim of establishing the date of the beginning of burnt brick structures in North India. In this context, the use of burnt bricks in the revetment of the rampart belonging to the Structural Phase III of Period I and other burnt brick structures raised in pre-Mauryan times at Kausambi must be borne in mind.[10]

Valuable contributions have been made by Ganwaria, the town complex of ancient Kapilavastu, in the field of eramics. Formerly the archaeologists were under the impression that in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh the earliest ceramic in the early historical period was the Northern Black Polished Ware. In the western parts of the same state, Painted Grey Ware was said to have preceded the Northern Black Polished Ware. Though certain sites in eastern Uttar Pradesh did yield evidence of an earlier ceramic in the form of black-polished or black-slipped ware, it did not receive the attention of the archaeologists in manner it actually deserved. The ceramic was more or less ignored by them, particularly because of the extremely limited number of sites where it occurred along with the very restricted area of excavation in the lowest deposits of those sites. It was further so, on account of the fact that there was not much difference in the shine on the surface of both the wares. Now, with the information forthcoming from a number of sites excavated in eastern Uttar Pradesh in recent times, it has become evidently clear that the ceramic anterior to Northern Black Polished Ware in this part of the country was the black-slipped or black- polished ware. Though the pottery in use during those times was not restricted only to black-slipped or black-polished ware, it has been treated as the main cultural trait in the same fashion as the Northern Black Polished Ware - is that the former is much thinner in section. The latter is appreciably thicker on account of the application of a double slip, one above the other, the lower one generally brownish in colour. Further, the treatment and finish of the Northern Black Polished Ware are perfect. It is not so in the case of black-polished ware. There is a sharp difference in the metallic sound also produced by the two. The slip from the black-polished ware can be easily scratched out. The clay used is not so well levigated and the fusion of the clay also during the course of firing is not so complete.

Now a fresh study of the development of Northern Black Polished Ware in its earlier phases can be easily taken up along with the black-slipped ware.

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Epigraphic Wealth of Uttar Pradesh[1]

(A Survey upto the Maurya Period)

T.P. Verma

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Uttar Pradesh is considerably rich in epigraphic material as compared to the other states of northern India. Inscriptions are regarded as the most important source for writing or reconstructing India's history because they supply most valuable information regarding the kings and dynasties about whom we have otherwise no knowledge[2]. The credit to start the tradition of leaving epigraphs on durable material like stone goes to the Mauryan king Aśoka. Perhaps motivated with the inscriptions of the Achamenian emperors of Persia, Aśoka caused a large number of edicts engraved on rocks, slabs and pillars throughout his vast empire, from Afghanistan in the west to Dhauli in Orissa and from Kalsi (in U.P.) in the north to Mysore in the south. After Aśoka there was a short period of lull and the number of the epigraphs considerbly fell down. But very soon it was liberated from the imperial hands and gradually common people started taking interest in writing on harder material. This was the time when taking the advantage of the declining Mauryan empire the *yonas* (Yavanas) from Bactria were expanding their power in the south-eastern direction. At the same time Indian tribes in the north-west were also trying to throw off the imperial yoke of the Mauryas. Under the cultural influence of these Indo-Greeks these tribes also issued their inscribed coinage using Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmi scripts. These foreigners were adopting Buddhism and soon a sort of 'war of relic'started which led to a flood of epigraphs by royalty and the commoners in the second century B.C. There after Buddhist Brahmanical and Jain religions contributed vitally to our wealth of epigraphic material. The Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas and other indigenous dynasties also issued large number of epigraphs.

We very often lament for the brevity, incomplete informations, exaggeration and poetic imagination in the inscriptions; but forget that 'the purpose of these was not to provide historical data to the historians. They were primarily meant for registering gifts of land etc. But usually they contained some brilliant achievements of the donor and his predecessors. Generally these eulogies have nothing to do with the purpose of the charters. Therefore whatever has come to us in these records was by the way.' We should not expect much from these.

2.1. Aśokan Epigraphs

Aśokan inscriptions are spread all over the country and are found engraved on rocks, wherever available, pillars and slabs of stone. In his Panguṛariā (M.P.) Minor Rock Edict Aśoka orders that 'Wherever there are rocks and stone-pillars there this order shall be written. In Uttar Pradesh we find Aśokan edicts engraved on rocks and pillars at five places. These are as follows :

1. Kalsi Rock Edict : Here a set of fourteen edicts are found on a rock. Kalsi is about 15 miles from Mussoorie on the confluence of rivers Yamuna and Ṭons. An elephant in outline is also engraved on the rock with the caption *Gajatame.*

2. Ahraurā Minor Rock Edict : This edict was discovered in 1961. Ahraura is in the Mirzapur district of U.P.

3. Delhi-Meerut Pillar Edict : This pillar was transferred from Meerut to Delhi by Ferozshah Tughlaqu in late fourteenth century A.D. It contains six edicts of Aśoka.

4. Allahabad Pillar : This pillar is now in the Allahabad fort but originally it was at Kauśāmbī. This pillar contains many epigraphs ranging from Aśoka to Jahangir. These are as follows :

   A. Aśoka's epigraphs
      i) First six pillar edicts, same as above
      ii) Queen's edict
      iii) So-called Kauśāmbī edict.
   B. The famous pillar inscription of Samudragupta.
   C. An inscription of Jahangir.
   D. A Devanāgarī inscription in between some engraved lines.

5. Sarnath Minor Pillar Edict : It is near Varanasi. Now the pillar is broken. Baside the Aśoka's edict the pillar contains two more short inscriptions; one of king Aśvaghosha and the other a Buddhist inscription in early Gupta Characters

Beside these two other short epigraphs are known which belong to the Mauryan period.

6. The Sohgaurā Bronze plaque inscription which was found from the village Sohgaurā near Bansgaon, a tahsil place in the Gorakhpur district. This four line epigraph is an order of the Mahāmātras of Śrāvastī to create two store houses in two villages to be used during the time of calamities only.

7. The Piprahwa Vase inscription which records the donation of the Buddha's relics to the stūpa of Kapilavastu by the Śakya Sukiti and his family.

In addition to these we wish to include two more pillar inscriptions of Aśoka which, although geographically belong to the territory of Nepal, but are important for our discussion because of their proximity with the above mentioned Aśokan epigraphs. These are -

8. The Lumbinī Pillar inscription, which now stands behind the temple of Romindei at Lumbini in Nepalese tarai, and

9. The Nigālī Sāgar Pillar inscription which is now lying on the bank of a pond which locally known as *sāgara*. In the Tawlihawā district of Nepal this place is about 20 Kms. north-east of Lumbinī and about 11 Kms. north-east of Piprahwā (Kapila- vastu) in Siddharthanagar district (formerly Basti district) in Uttar Pradesh.

2.2. Chronology & Aśoka's long Dhamma-yātrā

From Aśokan epigraphs we do not get any connected or dated record of events and therefore it is difficult to fix any relative chronology of the events in reign period of Aśoka. He never mentions any era but simply says at some places that such an act was done by him in such year of his corronation. Some earlier scholars have thought that the numerals 256 given in his Minor Rock Edicts referred to an era connected with some event of the Buddha's life. Buhler and G.R. Sharma want to connect this numeral with the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha while G.R. Bhandarkar takes it to be connected with the *Sambodhi* year. Thus they try to fix the relative date of Aśoka. But such views have been rightly criticised. Now after coming to light the Ahraurā M.R.E. to light the discussion sets at rest and now there remains no doubt about these numbers being the nights spent by Aśoka during his *dharma- yātrā* giving religious discourses to his subjects.

In the Sahasaram M.R.E. the words *'duvē samapanā lāti satā vivuthā ti 256'* occur which clearly indicate that this edict was issued after the completion of a tour of two hundred and fifty six nights. But it was not clear why such a long tour was undertaken by the emperor which lasted for eight months and sixteen days, and, the emperor had to remain out of his capital for such a long period. The mystery was solved with the discovery of this epigraph in the vicinity of Sārnath near Varanasi. The Ahraurā epigraph discloses that the tour of 256 nights (days) was completed on the occasion of the "Establishment of the Buddha's relics on the Platform or raised mound."

The other alternative is that Aśoka started his tour after establishing the relics on the *mañcha.* The last sentence of the Ahraurā epigraph is as follows : *"Esa sāvane vivuthēna duve saṁpannā lāti sati aṁ mañche Budhasa salīle ālōdheti."* i.e. 'this lecture was delivered at the 256th night-halt (at the time) of the establishment of the Buddha's relics on the platform.' Thus our first alternative appears to be valid.

Now, before coming to the point we must look into the earlier days of Aśoka's life. In his Thirteenth R.E. Aśoka says that Kaliṅga was conquered in his eight regnal year. The ravages of war shook him to the core. At such mental state he heard of the Buddha's teachings which soothed his troubled heart. He got in touch with the Buddhist Saṁgha. In these M.R.Es. he says that 'I am an *Upāsaka* since last two and a half years but I could not do much. It is only since over a year when I went to the Saṁgha and am exerting much.' It indicates that after two and a half years (or so) after the conquest of Kaliṅga Aśoka finished this prolonged religious tour. In his Eighth R.E. he informs that he undertook the *dharma-yātrā* of Saṁbōdhi, i.e. Bodh-Gayā, in his tenth regnal year. Needless to say that his tour to Bodh-Gayā in his tenth regnal year was fruitful, and, perhaps he resolved to do something for the propagation of the path of the Buddha. And, perhaps, this resolution was in the form of the creation of *stūpas* in other parts of the country so that the other faithfuls need not travel long distances to worship their preceptor. As he says his territories were very wast, but he did not wish to confine the teachings of the Buddha to his wast empire only; he wanted to spread it beyond his boundaries *(saveṣu cha anteṣu).* At this stage he gathered that at least eight stūpas exist which were built on the relics of the Lord. Until before the time of the Buddha single stūpa was built on the relics of a saint or a *Chakravartī king.* This gave him an idea. If eight stupas could be built on the relics of the Buddha why not eight hundred, why not eighty thousand ? The tradition credits Aśoka of building eighty- four thousand stūpas. It is said that he got open some of the earlier stūpas and relics were distributed in small quantities to built stūpas throughout his empire.4 The Ahraura epigraph refers to this occasion when the relics of the Buddha were recovered and were placed on a platform.

Here we wish to indulge in some speculations regarding the place of the said *Mañcha* or platform where the relics (*salīla*) of the Buddha was placed (*āloḍhe*). The minor rock edicts of Aśoka have been found atleast from 15 places, the recent one coming from Pānguṛariā in Budhni tahsil of Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh. In almost all his minor rock edicts suitable changes have been done according to local needs and situations. In the South Indian M.R.Es. some didactic portions have been added. As we have referred the Sahasarāma and the Ahraurā edicts refer to the two hundred and fiftysix night halts. But the latter one contains one more phrase and that is *'aṁ mañche Budhasa salīlē āloḍhe.'* This is significant because the relics of the Buddha must have been ascended on the platform somewhere near this place. And the nearest important point is the Sārnāth where Buddha preached his first sermon. It seems that Aśoka selected Sārnāth for the exhibition of the recovered relics and built the Dharmarājikā stūpa at the place, which is now in ruins. Aśoka, perhaps, gave his last speech at Sārnāth on the completion of his 256 days *dharma-sāvana-yātrā.*

In his historical speech on this occasion Aśoka told the audience that although he was an upāsaka for the last two and half years but he could exert himself only since last over a year. As a result of his exertions unmixed tribes of men were encouraged to mix with the higher strata of the society (*amisā devā misā Kaṭa or amisam devā santo munisā misam deva kaṭa*[6] (i.e. the Buddha's teaching of universal brotherhood was preached). This was the result of his efforts (to propagate the *dhamma*). To follow the path of *dhamma* is not confined to the higher society people. Even the lower (or smaller) society people can follow the path of the *dhamma* and attain *svarga.*[7] This *sāvana* is only for this purpose. Higher and lower (all) people can follow the *dhamma* and attain *svarga*[8]. Border people should also know this. The results of the efforts will last long. This purpose will increase profusely; it will increase atleast one and a half fold.'

This was considered as the most important speech of Aśoka, although he must have delivered religious speeches almost every day during his 256 day long *dharma-yātrā*. Besides Sarnath one of his halts was at Upuṇithavihāra in the Māṇema *deśa* because in his Pānguṛariā M.R.E. addressing to Kumāra Śaṁiva he refers to this *yātrā*.[9] It is on this occasion he issued this edict and ordered that it should be engraved whereever rocks and stone pillars exist. But it should be noted here that in the Ahraurā M.R.E. in place of 'this order of engraving' he informs about the occasion of the speech. This is significant.

2.3. Campaign against Schism

Since the very beginning of his entrance in the Saṅgha Aśoka noticed some sort of schism developing in it. Perhaps this was not confined to the philosophical discourses only, but, it seems, organisational difference were also being felt. Buddhist Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra found in Aśoka a great personality in whom the sovereign authoirty and deep devotion to the Saṅgha was combined. The situation was brought to the notice of the devotee king, who might have opted to become a *bhikshu* also.[10] The king, acceding to the request of the Sangha of Pātaliputra, promulgated the decision of the said Sangha that 'anyone - *bhikshu* or *bhikhuṇī* - who indulges in spreading schism in the Sangha will be ousted and his right to wear safron colour robe will be confiscated; not only this, he will be sent to a place which is not fit for the residence of a *bhikshu.'* The Samath pillar inscription bears such aan order of Aśoka. The second pillar edict with this theme comes from Kauśāmbī (Allahabad). Both these places are in U.P. The third one was found at Sāñchī. Although all these three epigraphs are mutilated but the Sārnāth one is better preserved.

We venture to suggest that this proclaimation was done by Aśoka during his visit to Sarnath when he was on a long tour of 256 days. Our argument is as follows. In his 5th R.E. Aśoka says that he created the posts of the Dharma-mahā-mātras thirteeth years after his coronation. He specifically says that before this no Dharma-mahāmātras were appointed. The Allahabad pillar edict is addressed to the Mahāmātra of Kauśāmbī. The starting portion of the Sāñchī pillar edict is damaged but it is presumed that it must have been addressed to the Mahāmātra of Vidisha. Now the Sarnath pillar edict is also damaged in the beginning. But there is no harm in accepting that it was addressed to a Mahāmātra and not to a Dharama-Mahamatra. This officer again finds mention in the eighth line of the epigraph where he is asked to be present on every *anuposatha-day* to express his belief in this order. Since this order specifically concerns to Dhamma it should have been addressed to Dhamma-mahāmāta had that post been created by that time. Thus it appears that the proclaimation was issued before the thirteeth year of king's coronation. As we have seen the king himself was present at Sarnath on the 256th day of his tour.

D.C. Sircar suggests that "The edict was addressed primarily to the Mahāmātras possibly of Pātaliputra. ..... It is believed that the edict was addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī there was probbably a reference to the Buddhist council held at Pātaliputra."[11] Now we shall examine whether this edict was addressed to the Mahāmātras of Pātaliputra or of Varanasi. As we have already referred the first three lines of the Sarnath edict are damaged. In the first line the first two letters are preserved which are read as 'Deva ...' and rightly restored as *'Devānāṁpiye.... '* which was the common name of Aśoka in his edicts. In the second line also only first two letters, read as 'ela...', are preserved; but this has been ignored because nothing can be made out of these letters. The third line is a bit more encouraging. The first two letters are *'Pāta....'* which have been restored as 'Pātaliputra...' In the later half of this line 12 more letters are preserved. At an average about 32 or 33 letters are engraved in every line of this pillar edict, and, therefore, we can imagine that about sixtyfour letters must have been engraved in the first two lines. Thus there is enough scope to believe that this edict was addressed to the Mahāmātra of Varanasi and not to that of Pātaliputra, as suggested by Prof. Sircar. It can also be speculated that by referring to Pātaliputra in the third line the king wanted to refer to the decision of the Buddhist council held at Pātaliputra. The Sarnath edict is more elaborate than that of Kauśāmbī or Sāñchī. In this it is ordered that 'a copy of this order should be placed at the residence of the Mahāmātras and with the *Bhikhu-Saṅgha* and *Bhikhuni-Saṅgha,* with the college of the *Upāsakas,* who should come on the day of *Anuposatha* and reaffirm their faith in it.' 'Similarly all the Mahāmātras should come on the *Anuposatha*-day and reaffirm their faith. The officers are told to propogate it throughout their area of control.' These additional orders show that this was the original one, and, issued, most probably, from Sarnath. Thus we can say that Aśoka started his campaign against schism in the Buddhist Saṁgha from Sarnath. This was an occasion when he established the *dhātu* (relics) of the Preceptor in a stūpa at this place at the end of his 256 days long *dharma-yātrā.*

2.4. The Queen's Edict

In the Queen's Edict of Kauśāmbī Aśoka addressed to the Mahāmātras of everywhere (*savata mahāmata*) and directs as to how the donations and benefactions of his second queen (*dutiyaye deviye*) Kāluvāki, mother of Tīvala (Tīvara) should be recorded. This shows that Aśoka had atleast two wives at the time of this promulgation. Dr. Beni Madhab Barua observes that 'Although the king's orders were issued to the mahāmātras everywhere, it was engraved only on the pillar of Kauśāmbī, a fact which may lead us to think that her residence was at Kauśāmbī, an outlying town. But Aśoka speaks of outlying towns, and not of one town only. Are we to understand from this that his queens were not kept in one place, say, in his palace at Pataliputra, but at different towns, each having her separate establishment ?'[12] But such an speculation is unwanted because it may also be possible that his second queen made some donations and benefactions at Kauśāmbī while on tour with the king and on this occasion the king promulgated this order to all the Mahāmātras.

2.5. Aśoka's Pilgrimage to Lumbini & Kapilavastu

In his Lumbini Pillar Inscription Aśoka informs that twenty years after his coronation he visited this place and worshipped because Buddha, the Śākyamuni was born here. On this occasion a stone wall was made and a stone pillar was erected at the place. On this occasion he announced some tax relief to the residents of the village Lumbini because the Lord was born here. On the same occasion (i.e. in his twentieth year after coronation) he visited the place of the Buddha Konakamuni, worshipped and established a stone pillar on the site. But in the fourteeth year he ordered the renovation of the stūpa of Konakamuni Buddha the double of its size.

At present this pillar, recording the renvovation of the stūpa of the Buddha Konakamuni is lying on the bank of a small pond called Nigālī Sāgar in the Nepal terriotroy. According to the local people this pillar was the *nigālī* (smoke pipe) of Bhimasena, the famous hero of the Mahābhārata. It is on this account that the pond is called Nigālī Sāgara and the village as Niglihavā. But this is not at its original site. Perhaps it was removed from its original place by the Mallas in the medieval period whose inscription is engraved on this pillar. The removal of the Aśokan pillars from their original places is not unknown to history. In the medieval period Ferozeshah Tughlaqu removed two Aśokan pillars, one from Topra in Punjab and the other from Meerut in U.P. and, placed them in his capital Delhi. Similarly the Allahabad pillar also seems to have been shifted to its present site from Kauśāmbī. Therefore it is no wonder if the Niglivā pillar was shifted to its present place from its original site as we shall presently discuss the issue.

About this Konakamuni D.C. Sircar notes that "The Konakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, i.e. one who attained the knowledge necessary for Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. His stūpa was a Buddhist Tīrtha and was visited by Hiuen-tsang who also noticed the Aśokan pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C. Of the five Buddhas of the present Kalpa, called Buddha- Kappa, four (Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa and Gotama) have already appeared; the fifth (Metteyya) is still to appear."[13] Now out of these four Pratyeka-Buddhas atleast three had their birth place in the Siddharthnagar district (formerly Basti district) of Uttar Pradesh. Now it has firmly been established that the Kapilavastu, the birth place of the Gautama Buddha, was the present Piprahwa.[14]

As regards the birth place of Konakamuni Buddha I have identified it with the village Kanavā near Chilhiā, a railway station on the Gorakhpur - Gonda Loop-Line of N.E. Railway. This is an old site, to the south of it at a distance of about four kilometers the village Sirvant exists which I have identified with the village Silimāte mentioned in the Sohgaura Bronze Plaque of the Mauryan period. To the west of Chilhiā at a distance of six km. is the station Shohratagarh which is named after a jamindar of the place. But its ancient name was Chandapur as i have heard from the elderly people of the area. This Chāndāpūr I have identified with the place of Krakuchchhanda Buddha.[15] It is impossible to identify these places on the basis of the descriptions given by the Chinese pilgrims because they could not give the right direction from one place to another and also they gave some details of the sites which appears to have been based on the heresay.[16] Therefore it is necessary to depend on the archaeological excavations and other recent researches.

2.6. Pilgrimage to Kapilvastu (Piprahwa)

It seems that although Aśoka visited these places in his 20th regnal year the preparations for his visit had started six years earlier. He started the work of recovering the relics of the Buddha even earlier. But he decided for the development of the areas of the Buddha and the previous Buddhas a little later. He ordered to construct stone pillars for these sites and enlarge and/or renovate the existing stūpas. Naturally he must have thought of the stupa būilt by the śākyas at Kapilvastu also. Being one of the most sacred spots for the Buddhists this stūpa might have been frequently visited by the devotees. But during the course of centuries it must have been dilapidated and needed renovation. There seems every possibility that the Śākyas got every inspiration, encouragement and even help from Aśoka in this endeavour. They decided not to disturb the original deposits of the Lord's relics and to enlarge the stūpa to dignified dimensions. Centuries had passed away since the Śākya *gana* had built this stūpa on the relics of the Buddha which they got as their share after his cremation at Kuśinārā. This share was again divided among the kins. But on that occasion some families of the Śākyas refrained from depositing their shares into the stūpa and withheld these for family worship. Now when the second occasion for the renovation of the stūpa came the descendents of such families decided to part with their ancestral possesstions of the relics to be deposited in the enlarged stūpa. There were reasons behind this. During this long period the teachings of the Buddha reached far and wide and it took the shape of a vital religion of which even the rājā of Magadha had become a follower. Pilgrims from remote places used to come to Kapilvastu to pay their homage to the Buddha on which every śākya must have been feeling a profound sense of pride. But at the same time those whose ancestors had retained the relics for their personal or family adorations must have been feeling a sense of guilty. At the same time they heard that Devānāṁpriy Priyadarśī Rājā Aśoka intends to come to Lumbinī to pay his homage to the Buddha and also he might visit the stūpa of the Śākyas. For this purpose some construction work has already started at Lumbini, and also at the places of the Buddha Krakuchachhanda and the Buddha Konakamuni. This inspired the Śākyas and they also undertook the task of renovation of the stūpa of their own the Buddha Gautama. This time every individual of the Śākyas took part in it and contributed his mite to be deposited in the stūpa. A huge stone coffer of 1.30x0.86x0.71 was prepared which weighed about 676.28 Kg. It contained five caskets, one of them inscribed. Beside these five casket the 'coffer contained many wooden and silver vessels smashed to pieces. Inside the vessels or relic urns there were various valuable objects, number of which exceeded several hundred.'[17] This shows the enthusiam of the Śākyas at the time of second deposit. This indicates some special occasion.

Our narration above is not a flight of imagination but an archaeological truth. As it is usual in excavations the top deposit comes out earlier and the down deopsit is recovered later. But no body can imagine that there would be a delay of about seventy five years in recovering the first deposit. In 1898 Mr. Peppe, a local English jamindar of the area excavated the mound (stūpa) of Piprahwa on the suggestion of V.A. Smith, and, at the depth of 3.0 metres from the summit he recovered the stone coffer described above. Since then there was a debate about the real identity of the site. This was solved in 1972 when Mr. K.M. Srivastava of the Archaeological Survey of India, decided to go deep on the spot excavated by Peppe' about 75 years earlier. Fortunately he found another deposit of relics in two brick chambers which were smashed due to huge weight of the mound above. At the depth of about six metres from the extent top 'five vessels, two soapstone caskets and three dishes were observed to be embedded in the two burnt brick chambers.' Beside this he found some seals, sealings and a lid with the legend Kapilavastu, a fact which provided the firm proof that the site is that of ancient Kapilavastu. Srivastava claims that the relics recovered by him were 'the original relics' of the Buddha. He observes that 'Now, it is certain that the fresh relics are of Buddha and the inscribed casket found by Peppe' in 1897-98 simply recalled an earlier consecration and was engraved at the time of reconstruction of the *stūpa.'* Thus he throws doubts and writes that the 'question which can be mooted is why the inscription on the casket found by Peppe' in 1897-98 referred to the relics of Buddha, when actually it was not the original one.' And he answers that 'The inscription was engraved simply to record the relics of Buddha are kept inside the *stūpa.'* But he does not give any attention to the relics deposited in the caskets found by Peppe.' But, however, if we see the events in the light of the sequence described above there can be no difficulty in understanding that both the deposits were the original ones but deposited at two different occasions.[18]

The inscription on the casket recovered by Peppe' indicates that it was engraved during the time of Aśoka, about a few centuries after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. On this occasion Aśoka visited the place because he was on the pilgrimage of the birth place of the Buddha and also of the previous Buddhas.

Thus the Piprahwa Vase inscription can be assigned to the Maurya period and precisely be dated around 20th regnal year of Asoka, i.e. 249 B.C. alongwith his Lumbini and Nigālī Sāgar pillar inscriptions.

2.7. An Administrative Epigraph

The Sohgaura Bronze Plaque can be called an administrative epigraph of the Maurya period in which the Mahāmātras of Śrāvastī issued order that two store-houses be built in the villages Śrīmanta and Vanśagrāma. This proclamation was issued from a camp site called Mānavāsitikaṭa. As regards the identification of these places there is no doubt about Vanśagrāma which is modern Bānsagāon, a tahsil place in the Gorakhpur district of U.P. The find place of this epigraph is the village Sohgaurā[19] about six miles east of Bansgaon. There has been much speculation about the real meaning of the word *silimate.* This author has identified it with village named Siramata or Siravant in the Naugarh tehsil of the newly formed district of Siddharthanagar (old Basti district). It is in the vicinity of the village Kanavā, identified by us with the place of Konakamuni Buddha. I have identified the site of Mānavāsitikaṭa with modern Bansi, now a tahsil place in the Siddharthnagar district.[20] This place is now on the right bank of the river Rapti, ancient Achirāvati, and was knowon as Manasākaṭa in the Buddhist texts *Dīghanikāya* and *Aṭṭakathā*. It was "A brahmin village in Kosala on the banks of Acirvavati. It was a beautiful spot, and eminent brahmins would collect there from time to time in order to find rest and quiet and recite their mantras. The Buddha stayed in the mango-grove to the north of the village, and during one such stay, preached the Tevijja-Sutta."[21]

There should be no doubt about the Sohgaura epigraph belonging to the Maurya period because of its palaeography, language and the use of the word *mahāmātra.* As regards the Piprahawa inscription now the scholars do not be lieve in the opinions of the earlier scholars that it belongs to the pre-Maurya period.[22] During the reign of king Aśoka not only his edicts were engraved on rocks, pillars and on the walls of the caves but also some administrative (like Sohgaura) and private (like that of Piprahwa) records were also prepared. And Uttar Pradesh is fortunate in having these epigraphs which throw most important light on the religious and political history of the area.

REFERENCES

1. For detailed discussion on the topic refer to Verma T.P.1971. *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India,* (from c. 236 B.C. to 200 A.D.), Chapter 2 and 3, pp. 23 - 56.
2. Verma T.P. 1979, 'Sources of the History of Uttar Pradesh,' *Sources of the History of India,* Vol II, ed. S.P. Sen, Calcutta, p. 283.

3. *Sircar D.C. Aśokan Studies*, pp. 94 ff. *yatha cha pavata Yatha cha silāthabha (savata lekhape) tavā (vi) Yati.*

4. For a detailed discussion on the point see Verma T.P., 1987 'The Question of Originality of Inscribed Vase of Piprahwa', *Giridharaśrī, Essays on Indology,* Dr. G.S. Dikshit Felicitation Volume, Delhi, pp. 85-90.

5. *Uṭṭaṅkita Sanskrit Vidyā Aranya Epigraphs,* 1989 ed. K.G. Krishnan, Mysore, pp. 5-7.

6. The Brahmagiri MRE rephrases it to make the meaning more clear. It runs as follows : *'iminā chu Kālena amisā samānā munisā Jambudipasi misādevehi'* which means that 'by this time (men) who were like unmixed (untouchable like people ?)' were allowed to mix with the devas (i.e. upper class people) of Jambudvipa.'

7. Here men of higher society are called *devah.* It is no wonder men of higher people were called *devas* because of their luxurious life and no work. the conception of the *svarga* which still prevails in the Indian society is that there one has no work to do but he can enjoy all sort of luxurious life. One does not go to *svarga* but he attains it; and that is the result of his good works in life. Thus no wonder if the higher strata of the society, especially those of the northern India (or Āryāvarta) were considered as the *devas.* But the Buddha preached the equality of all men and told that the lower people can come to the fold of the Dhamma, Sangha and Buddha.

8. The Gijarra MRE, says that *'Khudake chā Uḍāre chā dhamaṁ charantu (sva) gaṁ yunjantū.'* In the Brahmagiri MRE also the phrase is remodelled as *'no hīyaṁ sakye mahātpneva pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudadena pi pakami .... ṇeṇa vipula savage ārādhetave.'*

9. Cf. Krishnan K.G., *op. cit,* pp. 5-6.

10. Verma T.P. 1990, *Purābhilekha Chayanikā,* Vol-I pp. 64-65. Smith had suggested that Aśoka became a *bhikshu* without leaving his position as a King. Chalukya king Kumarapala and some other kings in Burma and Tibbet lead the life of a *bhikshu* while enjoying the authority of kingship. The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela describes him as a *'bhikhu-rāja.'* I-tsing refers to have seen an image Aśoka as a *bhikshu.*

11. Sircar D.C., *Select Inscriptions,* Vol-I, p.73, fn.1.

12. Barua B.M., *Aśoka and His Inscriptions,* Pt-I, p. 53.

13. Sircar D.C., *op.cit.*, p. 68, fn. 5.

14. Srivastava K.M., New Light on the Piprahwa Vase Inscription, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.* Vol-II, pp. 100-110; and my article 'The Question of Originality of Inscribed Vase of Piprahwa', op.cit. p. 85 ff.

15. *Purābhileka Chayanikā,* op.cit:, pp 94-95.

16. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels In India* by Thomas Watters, Vol-II, pp. 16-19.

17. Srivastava K.M., *op.cit.* p. 101.

18. Cf. Verma T.P., *Giridharśrī,* op.cit. p. 88.

19. It is generally held that Mr. Hoey, the then Collector of Gorakhpur, discovered the Sohgaura Plate. But actually it was Pt. Sarbjit Prasad Ram Tripathi, a resident of Sohgaura village and a lover of Indian antiquities, who gave the Plate to Mr. Hoey. See Chandra Mauli Shukla, 1987. Sarayūpāra ke ēka Purātattava Anveshaka,' *Yugyugīna Sarayūpāra,* ed. T.P. Verma, *et.el.*, p. 15 ff.. and plates.

20. Refer to my paper 'Identification of Place Names

in Sohgaura Bronze Plaque', being published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical of India.* Vol. XVII.

21. Malalasekera G.P., *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol-II. p. 440.

22. For a detailed study of these epigraphs see Verma, T.P., *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India.* pp. 11-16.

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स्मृति साहित्य में मूर्ति विज्ञान

डा० नीलकण्ठ पुरुषोत्तम जोशी

भारतीय संस्कृति में श्रुति या वेदों के बाद स्मृति का प्रामाण्य है । जहां वेद 'अपौरुषेय' कहे गये हैं, वहां स्मृतियां ऋषियों के द्वारा समय-समय पर निर्मित की गयी हैं । वे मानव जीवन के अनेक पहलुओं पर विचार करती हैं तथा उसे सफल, सुखमय एवं सुस्थिर बनाने के लिए नीति निर्धारण भी करती हैं । दूसरे शब्दों में स्मृतियां ऐहलौकिक सुख और समृद्धि से अधिक सम्बद्ध हैं, दर्शन क्षेत्र से कम ! एतावता स्मृतियों का विचार-क्षेत्र बहुत व्यापक है । मनुष्य के सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक जीवन से लगी होने के कारण वे अंशतः उपासना से भी सम्बद्ध हैं । इसी कारण से हमें उपासना के प्रमुख माध्यम प्रतिमा से सम्बन्धित कई प्रकार की सामग्री इस साहित्य में प्राप्य है । देव प्रतिमा का महत्व, उसका निर्माण, स्थापना या प्रतिष्ठा, पूजनविधि, महत्ता, प्रतिमा विषयक आचार विचार आदि अनेक बातों की चर्चा स्मृतियों में है। किन्तु कहीं भी यह सारी सामग्री एक ही स्थान पर सुसम्बद्ध रूप से उपस्थापित नहीं मिलेगी । वह तो अन्यान्य प्रसंगों की चर्चा के बीच इधर-उधर छितरायी हुई है । फिर प्रत्येक स्मृति हमें प्रतिमा विज्ञान विषयक सामग्री अपरिहार्य रूप से देती ही हो, ऐसी भी बात नहीं है। तथापि स्मृति साहित्य में छितराये उल्लेखों को एक साथ मिलाकर क्रमबद्ध रूप में पढ़ा जाय, तो बड़ी अच्छी सामग्री हाथ लगती है, और प्रतिमा विज्ञान विषयक कई गुत्थियों पर स्वागतार्ह प्रकाश पड़ता है ।

विषय का आरंभ करने से पूर्व स्मृति साहित्य का संक्षिप्त परिचय प्राप्त करना उचित होगा । मानव धर्मशास्त्र के नाम से भी जाने जानी वाली मनुस्मृति प्रथम स्मृति मानी जाती है । उसके बाद याज्ञवल्क्य, गौतम, पराशर, वसिष्ठ, कपिल, देवल, वाधूल लौगाक्षि, शंख, शंख-लिखित, कात्यायन आदि अनेक ऋषियों ने अपनी-अपनी छोटी बड़ी स्मृतियां बनायीं । वेद के प्रामाण्य को स्वीकार करते हुए भी स्मृतियों की कहीं-कहीं मत भिन्नता भी है । वैसे सभी स्मृतियां आदर की दृष्टि से देखी जाती हैं, पर परम्परा कलियुग के लिये 'पराशर स्मृति' को अधिक प्रमाण मानती है, पर यह भी सर्वथैव स्वीकार्य मत नहीं है । विवाह, दायभाग आदि विषयों में 'याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति' एवं उसकी टीका को अधिक महत्व है । साथ ही सभी स्मृतियों में सभी विषयों की चर्चा भी अनिवार्य नहीं है । विभिन्न ऋषियों ने अपने-अपने देश और काल की आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखकर नीति निर्धारण किया है ।

स्मृति-साहित्य का विस्तार बहुत बड़ा है । इस समय हमें छप्पन स्मृतियां प्रकाशित रूप में उपलब्ध हैं[1] और लगभग साठ स्मृतियों के केवल नामों का हमें पता है, मूल ग्रन्थ सामने नहीं हैं । इसके अतिरिक्त और भी स्मृतियां हो सकती हैं, जिनके विषय में हम कुछ नहीं जानते। प्रस्तुत लेख कलकत्ते से प्रकाशित 56 स्मृतियों के आधार पर ही लिखा गया है । सन्दर्भ में हमने स्मृति का संक्षिप्त नाम तथा स्मृति सन्दर्भ की भाग एवं पृष्ठ संख्या अंकित की है ।

अब स्मृतियों के निर्माण की चर्चा भी कर लें । प्रसिद्ध विद्वान डा० पाण्डुरंग वामन काणे ने अपने ग्रन्थ में[2] स्मृतियों का काल ई० पू० 200ई० स०900 माना है, पर, जैसा कि हम आगे दिखलायेंगे, आन्तरिक साक्ष्यों को देखने पर कुछ स्मृतियों को तो इससे भी आगे का मानना होगा । पर यह भी सत्य है कि स्मृतियां स्वाभाविक रूप से अपने समय की बात कहते हुए पुरानी बातों को भी, समाविष्ट करती हैं, अतः

किसी स्मृति के किसी अंश का काल निर्धारण करना तो सरल है, पर पूरे ग्रन्थ को उस काल का मानना विवाद से परे नहीं है । इसी के साथ लेखन भ्रष्टता, क्षेपक, पाठभेद विलुप्त अंशों का नवीकरण आदि तथ्यों को भी किसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते समय ध्यान में रखना होगा ।

स्मृति ग्रन्थों में प्रतिमा विज्ञान सम्बन्धी उल्लेख अधिकता से पाये ज़ाने के स्थान हैं – उपासना से सम्बन्धित विषय, विविध प्रकार के दान द्वारा रोग–चिकित्सा, प्रायश्चित्त प्रकरण, चिकित्सा के लिए देवोपासना, रुद्र, नवग्रह,, विनायक आदि की शान्तियां, इत्यादि । यह भी उल्लेख करना उचित होगा कि सभी स्मृतियां मूर्ति विज्ञान के लिये उपयोगी नहीं हैं । उदाहरणार्थ देवल, औशनस, शंख लिखित, लघु शंख, कात्यायन आदि की तुलना में शातातप, लौगाक्षि, गौतम, वृद्ध हारीत, वसिष्ठ आदि हमारे लिए बड़ी उपयोगी हैं । वैष्णवमूर्ति विज्ञान के लिए तो अन्तिम दो में बहुत सामग्री है, कृषि से सम्बन्धित उत्सवों और देवताओं के विषय में 'पाराशर स्मृति' ही अधिक बतलाती है । शिव के लिये लौगाक्षि काम की है । स्मृति साहित्य से कुछ परिचित होने के बाद हम मुख्य विषय की ओर मुड़ते हैं । यहां हम प्रथम मन्दिर, प्रतिमा उसके निर्माण के माध्यम, प्रतिष्ठा, दान आदि बातों की चर्चा करेंगे, तत्पश्चात स्वतंत्र देवताओं पर विचार होगा ।

मन्दिर या देवायतन

जहां देवता की स्थापना की जाती थी, वह देवायतन, देवागार, मन्दिर आदि नामों से जाना जाता था । इसकी बड़ी प्रतिष्ठा थी । चलते समय प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को इस बात का ध्यान रखना होता था कि मन्दिर उसके दाहिने ही पड़े[3] अर्थात् मन्दिर की प्रदक्षिणा करते हुए वह आगे बढ़े । किसी अपराधी को उसके पाप का प्रायश्चित्त भी मन्दिर के सामने दिलाया जाता था[4] । अरुण स्मृति का कहना है कि 'प्रतिग्रह' या दान में प्राप्त धन शिव, विष्णु या मार्तण्ड/सूर्य के मन्दिर में छोड़ने से पाप नहीं लगता[5] । ब्रह्मा, ईश, हरि, सूर्य, स्कन्द, गजानन, अश्वनी, माताएं तथा ग्रहों के मन्दिर बताना अथवा मन्दिर निर्माण के लिए कम से कम दस ईंटों का दान पुण्य कार्य माना जाता था[6] । 'वृद्ध हारीत स्मृति'[7] नगरों और गांवों में 'विष्णु बिम्ब' से युक्त आयतनों के बनाये जाने की बात कही गयी है ।

प्रतिमा व उसके निर्माण के माध्यम

स्मृति साहित्य में अन्य साधनों की तुलना में 'प्रतिमा पूजन' का अधिक ऊंचा स्थान नहीं दिया गया है । भगवदर्चन के छै स्थान माने गये हैं – जल, अग्नि, हृदय, सूर्य, स्थण्डिल और प्रतिमा[8] । ये अलग–अलग प्रकार के आराधकों के लिए निर्धारित हैं, यथा कर्मकाण्डियों के लिये अग्नि, मनीषियों के लिये सूर्य, योगियों के लिये हृदय, विष्णु–पूजकों के लिये स्थण्डिल और जल और अल्पबुद्धि वालों के लिए प्रतिमा । लौगाक्षि अल्पबुद्धि वालों के लिए प्रतिमा की बात स्वीकार करते हुए सूर्य, सोना, रत्न, गाय, ब्राह्मण तथा वनस्पति को भी पूर्वोक्त सूची में जोड़ते हैं[9] । स्पष्टतः यह निर्गुण एवं सगुण उपासना की ओर संकेत है । प्रतिमा की उपासना सगुणोपासना है, जो सब को सुलभ है । इसीलिए निर्गुण की श्रेष्ठता स्वीकार करते हुए भी जनसाधारण के लिए उपासना का मुख्य माध्यम प्रतिमा ही बनी रही और अब भी है । वृद्ध गौतम[10] आराध्य की प्रतिकृतियों को 'अर्चा' रूप में प्रतिष्ठित करने के लिए माध्यमों के तर–तम भाव की बात करते हैं । तदनुसार मिट्टी, मणि–रत्न, तांबा, चांदी, सोना एक दूसरे से दस गुना अधिक फलदायी होता है । इस सूची में पाषाण की गणना नहीं है, पर मणि–रत्न में उसका समावेश अभीष्ट होगा । इनके अतिरिक्त कुछ देवताओं की मूर्तियों के लिए विशिष्ट प्रकार के माध्यम बताये गये हैं, जैसे हरि और शिव के लिए शालिग्राम शिला, गणेश के लिए श्रौण (यह शोण या सोन नदी में पाया जाने वाला लाल पत्थर होना चाहिये), सूर्य के लिए स्फटिक[11] आदि । शाण्डिल्य[12] का कथन है कि कुटुम्बी गृहस्थ अपने घरों में पाषाण, लकड़ी तथा मिट्टी की मूर्तियों का पूजन न करें । इसका यह भी विधान है कि 'मनुष्याकृति' देव उपास्य नहीं हो सकते, इनका पूजन न किया जाय[13] दोनों विधानों के अलग–अलग तात्पर्य प्रतीत होते हैं । मिट्टी की मूर्तियां तात्कालिक पूजा के लिए होती थीं । पूजनोपरान्त वे विसर्जित कर दी जाती थीं । मनुष्याकृति देव न बनाये जाने का अर्थ यह होगा कि प्रतिमाएं निर्दिष्ट ध्यानों एवं लक्षणों के अनुसार ही बनायी जांय, मनुष्य सुलभ विविध चेष्टाओं की प्रतिकृतियां न हों । विष्णु मूर्तियों के निर्माण के प्रसंग में वसिष्ठ,[14] बतलाते हैं कि काम में ली जाने वाली शिला काले रंग की 'स्निग्ध' और रम्य हो तथा विग्रह 'सर्वावयव सम्पन्न' अथ च सर्व लक्षणों से शोभित बनाया जाय । यहीं पर यह भी कहा गया है कि विष्णु प्रतिमा के लिए शालिग्राम शिला का उपयोग किया जाय । वसिष्ठ जिस मूर्ति का उल्लेख करते हैं, उसमें विष्णु के साथ श्री और भूमि–उनकी दोनों पत्नियों को भी बताने का उल्लेख है। वृहद्पराशर स्त्री प्रतिमाओं के निर्माण की चर्चा करते हुए कुछ संग्रहणीय शब्द भी देते हैं[15] । यथा सुकेशा, सुललाटा, बालचन्द्रोपम भ्रुवा, सुनासा, सुवर्ण गण्डा, पीनोत्तुंगस्तना, सुमध्योलनिलम्बा, सुश्रोणी, लक्ष्मी प्रतिमोपमा आदि ।

देव प्रतिमाएं दिखलाई पड़ने पर उन्हें नमस्कार न करना व्याघ्रपाद के मतानुसार प्रायश्चित्त योग्य अपराध है[16] । स्पष्ट ही यह नियम विधानतः प्रतिष्ठित मूर्तियों के लिए होगा, किन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में अन्स स्मृतिकारों का अभिनिवेश भी दर्शनीय है । वसिष्ठ बतलाते हैं कि जो वैष्णव नहीं हैं, ऐसे लोगों के द्वारा स्थापित वैष्णव मूर्तियों को वन्दन करने वाला मूर्ख एवं पापी है[17] । लौगाक्षि एक दूसरा मत प्रदर्शित करते हैं । उसके अनुसार शूद्र के द्वारा पूजित मूर्ति को विशेषतः शिव और विष्णु प्रतिमाओं को – केवल प्रदक्षिणा कर अंजलि बांधकर नमस्कार करना चाहिए, पर उनके लिए साष्टांग प्रणाम वर्जित है । पूर्णरूप से वन्दनीय प्रतिमाएं वे ही हैं, जो केवल ब्राह्मणों द्वारा देवालयों में प्रतिष्ठित की गई हों[18] । देव प्रतिमाओं का टूटना या भूमि पर गिरना, उन्हें पसीना छूटना भावी अशांति का एवं आपत्ति

का सूचक माना गया है[19] । जहां पूजन एवं दानादि के लिए देवताओं की सोने की मूर्ति बनाने की बात कही गयी है, वहां से सोने के तौल पर बड़ा स्वागतार्ह प्रकाश पड़ता है । बहुधा मूर्ति के लिए सोने की तौल 'निष्क' में गिनायी गयी है, यथा वासुदेव, ब्रह्मा, यम आदि की मूर्तियां एक निष्क भर की हों, अश्वनी कुमार दो निष्क, वरुण, इन्द्र, धनेश्वर या कुबेर आदि प्रत्येक छै छै के हों । कालशान्ति के लिये प्रेत रूप पुरुष भी एक निष्क का हो[20] । स्वाभाविक प्रश्न उठता है कि निष्क क्या है और इस शब्द का प्रयोग किस अर्थ में किया गया है । निष्क एक सोने का सिक्का है, और तौल के लिए उसका प्रयोग ठीक वैसे ही किया गया है, जैसे आज हम सोने के भार के लिए रुपया, भरी अथवा आने का भी प्रयोग करते हैं । शातातप द्वारा प्रयुक्त शब्द जैसे 'हेमनिष्कमय'[21], 'निष्क हेम्ना'[22], 'निष्कत्रयमित हेम[23], 'सुवर्ण निष्कषटकेन'[24] आदि प्रयोग स्पष्ट ही इस अभिप्राय के सूचक हैं । निष्क के तौल का स्पष्टीकरण याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति में मिलता है [25] जिसका स्वरूप निम्नांकित है –

* 8 रज = 8 त्रसरेणु = 1 लिक्षा (लीख, जूं या जूं का अण्डा)
3 लिक्षा = 1 राजसर्षय (राई)
3 राजसर्षय = 1 गौर (?)
6 गौर = 1 यव (जौ)
3 यव = 1 कृष्णल (घुंघची, गुना = 1 रत्ती)
5 कृष्णल = 1 माष (उड़द, मासा)
16 माष = 1 सुवर्ण
4/5 सुवर्ण = 1 पल, 4 सुवर्ण = 1 निष्क

*(रज सूर्य के किरण जाल में दिखलाई पड़ने वाले उड़ते कण)
इसी बीच एक परिमाण और भी है – 2 कृष्णल = 1 रुप्यमाष
16 रुप्यमाष = 1 धरण, 10 धरण = 1 शतमान = 1 पल

सोने की देवमूर्तियों के प्रसंग में ही शातातप में एक शब्द आता है 'सुवर्ण पुत्रिका' अर्थात सोने की पुतली । इसके दो तौल हैं – बीस निष्क की[26] तथा उससे छोटी 10 सुवर्ण अर्थात अढ़ाई निष्क की[27] इनका उपयोग भी दाने के लिये ही है । प्राचीन भारतीय कला में हमें सोने की मूर्तियां मिल चुकी हैं[28] ।

स्मृतियों के अनुसार 'देवार्चन' करना प्रतिदिन किये जाने वाले छै नित्यकर्मों में से एक है[29] । पूजन के लिए अपने देह के समान ही 'अर्चा' के देह की परिकल्पना की जाती है तथा तदनुसार ही उसे स्नान, वस्त्र अलंकार आदि विविध उपचार समर्पित होते हैं[30] । कहा गया है कि मूर्ति का दर्शन करते समय उसे नीचे से ऊपर की ओर या 'पीठ' से 'मौलि' तक अवलोकन करना चाहिए[31] । जिन देवताओं का 'नित्य' या 'नैमित्तिक' पूजन किया जाता था, उनकी सूची में सूर्य, सूर्यनारायण, रुद्र, ब्रह्मा, कात्यायनी दुर्गा, वाग्देवता सरस्वती, स्कंद विनायक, योगिनी, क्षेत्रपाल, सभी ग्रह आदि का समावेश है[32] । ऐसी ही दूसरी सूची वृहद् योगी याज्ञवल्क्य में मिलती है[33] । इसमें नाम निर्देश के साथ आठ वसु, आठ माताएं, आठ नाग, सात ऋषि, सात सागर, नौ पितृगण, ग्यारह रुद्र, बारह आदित्य आदि का उल्लेख है । इनमें से कई देवतागण हमें पट्टों के रूप में, यज्ञ वराह, कल्याणसुन्दर शिव आदि विशिष्ट मूर्तियों में अथवा वाराणसी पट्ट, प्रयाग पट्ट जैसे समूहांकनों में दिखलाई पड़ते हैं । इसी प्रसंग में वसिष्ठ[34] एक रोचक बात बतलाते हैं । उनके अनुसार नारायण के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी देवता का स्वतंत्र रूप से पूजन नहीं करना चाहिए, किन्तु अंगभाव में अर्थात् परिकर देवता के रूप में उनके पूजन का निषेध नहीं है । दूसरे शब्दों में विष्णुमूर्ति में रथिकाबिम्ब के रूप में ब्रह्मा एवं शिव का पूजन अथवा विष्णु पंचायतन में शिव, सूर्य आदि को पूजा जा सकता है ।

प्रतिमाओं के दान एवं रोग चिकित्सा

विशेष प्रकार के फलों की प्राप्ति के लिए 'सकाम' उपासना की जाती है, जिसके अन्तर्गत देव प्रतिमाओं की प्रतिष्ठा, पूजन एवं दान का समावेश होता है । विभिन्न रोगों से मुक्ति पाने के लिये, पापों के प्रायश्चित्त के लिये एवं आयुष्य, सम्पत्ति, ऐश्वर्य आदि की प्राप्ति के लिए अनेक देवताओं की या उनके वाहनों की प्रतिमाओं के दानों का विस्तृत वर्णन हमें 'मार्कण्डेय स्मृति'[35] में मिलता है । इन प्रतिमाओं के दान और उनके फलों का स्वरूप निम्नांकित है :–

नरसिंह मूर्ति – दद्रु या दाद के लिये
उमामहेश्वर – क्षय रोग के लिये
रुद्र, दक्षिणामूर्ति
परशु, शूल – शूल रोग के लिये
सूर्य एवं मार्तण्ड मूर्ति – क्रमशः भ्रमण एवं कुष्ठ के लिये
वन्हि या अग्नि मूर्ति – अतिसार के लिए
अश्वि (आश्विनि कुमार) कुबेर – दारिद्रहरण के लिए
मकर,नाग तथा घण्टा – उदरव्याधि, विसर्पि एवं वाग्जाइय या जीभ के भारीपन के नाश के लिये
द्विज (चन्द्र ?), पाश – कास (खांसी) व श्वास के लिये
त्रिमूर्ति, चतुर्मूर्ति या पञ्चमूर्तियों का – सब पापों के नाश के लिये दान (नामों का कोई स्पष्टीकरण नहीं है)
पञ्च देवता, आठ लोकपाल एवं आठ रुद्र – सम्पत्ति के लिये

इन सब दानों के अतिरिक्त वैश्वानर या अग्नि द्वादशादित्य, गणेश, महागणेश, लक्ष्मी आदि के भी दान का उल्लेख है । यही स्मृति विविध तिथियों के अनुसार तत्देवताओं से सम्बन्धित वाहनों के दानों का भी वर्णन करती है, यथा –

चतुर्थी (गणपति) – हस्तिदान, पञ्चमी (नाग) – सर्पदान
षष्ठी (स्कन्द) – शक्ति के पास मयूरारूढ़ कुमार का दान

सप्तमी (सूर्य) – घोड़े का दान; अष्टमी (शिव) – श्वेत बैल
नवमी (दुर्गा) – सोने का सिंह; दशमी (दिशाएं) – दस गौएं
एकादशी (विष्णु) – सोने का गरुड़; अन्य तिथियों के दान भी उल्लिखित हैं, पर उनका हमारे विषय से सीधा सम्बंध नहीं है ।

अब हम उन देवताओं की स्वतंत्र रूप से चर्चा करेंगे, जिनकी प्रतिमा, ध्यान, लक्षण आदि के विषय में स्मृति साहित्य से स्वागतार्ह जानकारी मिलती है ।

रुद्र या शिव

बृहत्पराशर[36] रुद्र शांति का विस्तार से विवेचन करता है । 'रौद्रभूतों' से बचने के लिये इस शांति का विधान किया गया है । रौद्रभूतों में यक्ष, राक्षस, पिशाच, प्रेत, भूत, ग्रह, शाकिनी, रेवती, वृद्धक आदि दुष्टदेवता एवं अरण्य में रहने वाले सिंह, व्याघ्रादि दुष्ट, श्वापद, दुष्ट पक्षी (कौआ, चील, गिद्ध आदि), उसी प्रकार म्लेच्छ, बन्धक, चोर, यमदूत आदि की गणना की गयी है । यह सूची पुराणों में वर्णित रुद्र के रौद्र रूप की ओर स्पष्ट संकेत करती है । इस रुद्र शांति के प्रसंग में अंगन्यास, **'ऊँ नमो भगवते रुद्राय'** इस मंत्र के साथ सम्पुट करने के बाद शिव या रुद्र का अर्थ नारीश्वर के रूप में विस्तार से ध्यान दिया हुआ है । प्रतिमा–लक्षण की दृष्टि से यहां पाये जाने वाले शिव के कई विशेषण महत्व के हैं, यथा-पंचास्य, सर्वाभरण भूषित, मृगलांछन (चन्द्र) मूर्धा, उरगेन्द्र (सर्प) – यज्ञोपवीत, ज्वलद्भाल, जटाजूट किरीटी, खट्वांग, नृकपाल – अक्षमाला – कमण्डलु–दण्ड –डमरू को धारण करने वाला स्कन्धकपालमाली, केयूरबद्ध नागेन्द्र, मेरवला किंकिणी, मालायुक्त, घर्घराओं से युक्त नूपुर धारण करने वाला, हेमपट्ट को तथा नीलाभ व्याघ्र–चर्म के उत्तरीय वाला, स्फटिक वर्ण का तथा देहार्ध में पार्वती से सुशोभित, आदि । साथ ही रुद्र को 'दिग्दैवतों' से युक्त कहा गया है । दिग्देवताओं से स्पष्ट ही अष्ट लोकपाल, नवग्रह, मालाधारी विद्याधर, गन्धर्व आदि से है । ऊपर गिनाये गये विशेषणों से स्पष्ट होता है कि यहां मध्यकालीन शिव मूर्ति की परिकल्पना है जिसमें किरीट, हेमपट्ट, किंकिणीमालायुक्त मेखला तथा पैरों में नूपुर भी दिखलायी पड़ते हैं। लगभग नौवीं शती के पूर्व की प्रतिमाओं में यह कुछ भी नहीं होता।

'लैगाक्षि स्मृति'[37] मृत्युञ्जय के दाहिने हाथ में अक्षमाला तथा बर और बांये में अमृत से भरा 'कुण्ड' व 'लाभ' होता है । वे दिव्याभरणों से युक्त पीला एवं श्वेत वस्त्र पहने पद्म पर स्थित रहते हैं । स्पष्ट ही ये चतुर्भुज शिव हैं ।

शिव का एक नाम 'गान्धार' है, जिसका उल्लेख महाभारत[38] आदि ग्रन्थों में मिलता है । प्राचीन गान्धार और उसके समीपवर्ती प्रदेशों में शिव की मान्यता के अन्यान्य प्रमाण भी उपलब्ध हैं । शिव का यह नाम लौगाक्षि स्मृति में भी उल्लिखित है[39] पर वहां उसका निर्वचन एकदम भिन्न प्रकार से किया गया है । तदनुसार शिव गांधार इसलिए है क्योंकि वे गंधमय-सुगंधमय हैं **(तस्मात्तुगन्धात् भगवान् गौपयतीति शंकरः।)** जिस प्रकार वृक्ष की उपस्थिति का ज्ञान दूर से आने वाले उसके गंध से होता है, उसी प्रकार शिव नभस्थल में सुगंधि एवं पुष्टि का वर्धन करने वाले होने के कारण अभिज्ञात होते हैं । वे पंचभूत, अहंकार, मन, बुद्धि और प्रकृति के साथ सम्पूर्ण ब्रह्माण्ड की पुष्टि का वर्धन करते हैं ।

शिव के दक्षिणामूर्ति रूप का उल्लेख वृद्ध गौतम करते हैं[40], जिनका पूजन विशेषतया चतुदर्शी के दिन करने का विधान है । मार्कण्डेय स्मृति[41] दक्षिणामूर्ति की प्रतिमा के दान की बात करती है, पर उसके लक्षण नहीं बतलाती । इसी ग्रन्थ में क्षय रोग के नाश के लिए 'उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति' के दान का उल्लेख है[42] । सोने की उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति बनाने की बात स्कन्द[43] तथा पद्म पुराण[44] में भी कही गयी है ।

महामुनि लौगाक्षि शिव और विष्णु के ऐक्य का भी प्रतिपादन करते हैं[45] और कहते हैं कि जैसे शिव विष्णुमय हैं, उसी प्रकार विष्णु भी शिवमय हैं, दोनों एक दूसरे के हृदय हैं । इसी तथ्य को दूसरे रूप में रखते हुए वृद्ध गौतम स्मृति में[46] महाविष्णु से कहलवाया गया है कि कृष्ण पक्ष की एकादशी को व्रत रखकर द्वादशी को पूजनार्चन करने वाला भक्त मुझे तथा 'दक्षिणामूर्ति' को – शिव को – प्राप्त करता है ।

पंचायतन पूजा में शिव के साथ विष्णु का भी अपरिहार्य रूप से पूजन होता है । पंचायतन का साधारण नियम यह है कि जिस देवता का पंचायतन होता है वह बीच में रहता है, तथा चार उसके चारों और होते हैं । पंचायतन मन्दिर भी इसी आधार पर बनते हैं । लौगाक्षि स्मृति[47] शिव–पंचायतन में देवता स्थापना का विचार करती है । तदनुसार बीच में महेश्वर, पूर्व में आदित्य, दक्षिण में अम्बिका या शिवा, पश्चिम में विष्णु तथा उत्तर में गणनाथ या गणपति की स्थापना होनी चाहिए । यही स्मृति कुछ श्लोकों के बाद पांच देवों की एकात्मकता बतलाते हुए उनमें शिव के साथ ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, सूर्य और शक्ति का उल्लेख करती है[48] अर्थात् गणपति के स्थान पर ब्रह्मा को बैठाती है। इस विरोधाभास का समाधान पंचायतन लिंग या चारों देवताओं के मध्य बने शिवलिंगों को देखने पर हो जाता है; किन्तु उस ओर जाने के पूर्व दिशा उल्लेख करने वाले इस सन्दर्भ के महत्व को समझना आवश्यक है । इसके लिए हमें प्रत्यक्ष कलाकृतियों की ओर चलना होगा ।

भारतीय कला के क्षेत्र में शिवलिंगों के कई प्रकार मिलते हैं । उनमें एक प्रकार मुखलिंगों का है । इनमें लिंग से उद्भूत होने वाले एक से लेकर चार, क्वचित् पांच भी, मुख बने होते हैं, इसकी परिवर्धित स्थिति में मुखों के साथ अथवा उनके बिना ही लिंग के चारों ओर चार देवताओं की पूरी मूर्तियां बनी होती हैं । इन्हें भी हम पंचायतन लिंग कहना युक्तिसंगत समझते हैं । ऐसे लिंगों का निर्माण गुप्त काल से आरम्भ हो गया था । उदाहरणार्थ राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय, नई

दिल्ली[49] के लिंग के चारों ओर सूर्य, शिव, विष्णु और ब्रह्मा की मूर्तियां हैं । प्रतिहार काल से इस प्रकार के लिंगों की निर्मिति बढ़ती गयी। अब विष्णु और सूर्य के अतिरिक्त देश व काल की परम्परा के अनुसार ब्रह्मा, देवी, गणपति और शिव अथवा उनके विविध रूप बनाये जाने लगे । उदाहरण के लिये ग्वालियर[50] और मंडला[51] – दोनों मध्यप्रदेश – संग्रहालयों में विद्यमान पंचायतन लिंगों में अर्द्धनारीश्वर, कल्याण सुन्दर शिव, बराह आदि बने हैं । कुछ अन्य प्रदेशों में गणपति के तथा देवी के दर्शन होते हैं[52] । इस विषय की चर्चा करते हुए प्रो० अैशर ने बतलाया है कि पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान में विष्णु और सूर्य के साथ ब्रह्मा और शिव बनते थे और उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी भाग में गणेश तथा पार्वती[53] । हम ऊपर देख चुके हैं कि लौगाक्षि स्मृति[54] पंचायतन प्रसंग में ब्रह्मा और गणपति वाली दोनों परम्पराओं का उल्लेख करती है ।

इस संदर्भ में स्वाभाविक प्रश्न यह उठता है कि स्थापना के समय लिंग की स्थिति कैसी रहती होगी, कौन देवता किस दिशा में होगा? इसका उत्तर लौगाक्षि[55] से मिलता है कि पूर्व की ओर सूर्य, दक्षिण में अम्बिका, पश्चिम में विष्णु तथा उत्तर में गणनाथ या गणपति होंगे। इसी दृष्टि से इस सन्दर्भ का अपना महत्व है । इसी प्रसंग में एक अन्य परम्परा का उल्लेख भी उचित होगा, जिसके अनुसार शिव पंचायतन में गणपति, विष्णु, नाग और देवी का समावेश होता है । विदिशा संग्रहालय की एक पंचलिंग प्रतिमा[56] में स्थण्डिल पर–प्रणालिका की दिशा को दक्षिण मान लें तो – पश्चिम में गणपति, उत्तर में नाग (= अनन्त = विष्णु ?) पूर्व में चतुर्भुज विष्णु ? बने हैं । नाग और देवी वाली परम्परा उत्तर मध्यकाल में कई स्थानों पर पायी जाती है । इस चर्चा से विरत होने के पूर्व हम ल० 11–14वीं शती तक प्रचुर मात्रा में बनने वाली उन छोटी पत्थर की देवकुलिकाओं या छोटे मन्दिरों का उल्लेख करना चाहेंगे, जिनके तीन दीवालों पर बाहर से इन्हीं देवताओं के अर्थात् सूर्य, विष्णु, गणपति, तपस्विनी पार्वती, उमा–महेश्वर आदि के दर्शन होते हैं[57] । यद्यपि ये लिंग नहीं है तथापि स्मार्तों द्वारा अनुमोदित 'पञ्च देवोपासना' की परिपुष्टि अवश्य करते हैं ।

शिव का आयुध खट्वांग

स्मृतियों में पाये जाने वाले शिव के हाथों में सुशोभित रहने वाली वस्तुओं के नामोल्लेख की चर्चा हो चुकी है । इनमें एक है 'खट्वांग' जिसके विषय में स्मृतियां कुछ अधिक जानकारी देती हैं । ब्रह्महत्या के पाप का निराकरण करने के लिये प्रायश्चित्त का विचार करते समय गौतम स्मृति[58] में कहा गया है कि ब्रह्म – हत्यारे को खट्वांग या कपाल को हाथ में लेकर गांव में भिक्षा मांगनी चाहिये । बौधायन[59] का कथन है कि व्यक्ति 'शव के सिर का ध्वज करके गदहे का चमड़ा पहनकर खट्वांग और कपाल को लिए श्मशान एवं अरण्य में रहे ।' हम खट्वांग के स्वरूप का विचार करें तो 'मनुष्य की खोपड़ी में लगा हुआ डण्डा' अर्थात् शव के सिर से बना ध्वज ही तो है । शिव के साथ खट्वांग, कपाल, अरण्य एवं श्मशान में निवास, भिक्षाटन आदि बातें जुड़ीं हुई हैं, जिनका सम्बन्ध स्मृतियों के अनुसार ब्रह्महत्या से है । पौराणिक कथा के अनुसार शिव को भी यह प्रायश्चित्त करना पड़ा था । ब्रह्मा द्वारा किये गये असत्य भाषण के कारण[60] तथा वराह पुराण के अनुसार ब्रह्मा द्वारा शिव को 'कपाली' कहकर चिढ़ाये जाने के कारण शिव ने ब्रह्मा की हत्या तो नहीं की, पर उनका पांचवा सिर काट दिया; और प्रायश्चित्त के रूप में हाथ में कपाल लेकर भिक्षाटन करते रहे ।

शिवलिंग

यहां तक तो शिव – प्रतिमा की बातें हुईं, अब देखें कि स्मृति साहित्य लिंग के विषय में क्या जानकारी देता है । लिंगों के प्रकारों में बाणलिंग के अतिरिक्त सुवर्ण, रजत, ताम्र, मरकत, रत्न के लिंगों की गिनती है । पारे से बना लिंग 'रसलिंग.' कहा गया है[61] । यह स्मृति 'स्वायम्भुव' तथा 'सिद्ध प्रतिष्ठित' लिंगों का भी उल्लेख करती है । एक प्रकार के लिंग को 'आदित्यादिवृत्त लिंग' कहा गया है ।[62] यह सूर्यादिमूर्तियों से घिरा पंचायतन लिंग होना चाहिये, जिसकी चर्चा हम ऊपर कर चुके हैं । शिव को सपर्पित खाद्य वस्तुओं की– प्रसाद की – ग्राह्यता का विचार करते समय कहा गया है कि स्वायम्भुव, सिद्ध प्रतिष्ठित, बाण, आदित्यावृत लिंग तथा रत्न एवं रसनिर्मित लिंगों को – यदि वे वैदिक विधि से प्रतिष्ठित हो तो समर्पित किया गया नैवेद्य ग्राह्य है । उस पर 'चण्ड' का अधिकार नहीं होता । शेष सभी लिंगों के प्रसाद पर 'चण्डाधिकार' होता है । अतः उसे जल में प्रवाहित कर देना चाहिए[63] । तांत्रिकों द्वारा प्रतिष्ठित लिंगों का प्रसाद वैदिकों के लिये अग्राह्य है[64] ।

लौगाक्षि[65] लिंग–नामों में तत्पुरुष, सद्योजात, अघोर, ईशान तथा वामदेव नामक लिंगों की भी गिनती करते हैं, पर वहां उनके लक्षणों का निर्वचन नहीं है । ये एकमुख लिंगों के भेद तो नहीं है ?

विनायक या गणपति

ये विघ्नों का हरण करने वाले अवश्य माने गये हैं, पर यदि इनका पूजन नहीं किया गया, तो ये विघ्नों को उत्पन्न भी करते हैं । वृहत्पराशर के अनुसार ब्रह्मा और शिव ने विघ्नों के लिये विनायक की उत्पत्ति की[66] । याज्ञवल्क्य भी इस बात का समर्थन करते हुए[67] वृहत्पराशर के स्वर में ही विनायक द्वारा निर्मित बाधाओं की लम्बी सूची देते हैं, जिसमें स्वप्न जल में स्नान, क्रव्याद अग्नि अर्थात चिता पर आरोहण, गधा, उंट, म्लेच्छ आदि का संसर्ग, गेरुआ वस्त्र पहिने मुण्डित दिखलायी पड़ना, अपने पीछे किसी के चलने की आहट का अनुभव इत्यादि बातों के साथ राजपुत्र को राज्य, कुमारी को पति, श्रौत्रिय को आचार्यत्व, किसान को खेती, व्यापारी को लाभ का क्रमशः न मिलना आदि बातों का समावेश है । ब्रह्मोक्त याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति[68] भी इन बातों को दोहराती है । इन सभी बाधाओं के शमन के लिए 'विनायक शान्ति' का विधान है । इसमें बाधित व्यक्ति को विशिष्ट

द्रव्यों से निश्चित प्रक्रिया द्वारा स्नान कराना तथा विनायक और माता अम्बिका के पूजन का विधान है, जिसका उल्लेख याज्ञवल्क्य, ब्रह्मोक्त याज्ञवल्क्य तथा वृहत्पराशर इन तीनों स्मृतियों में है । ब्रह्म–यज्ञ में तर्पण की चर्चा करते हुए बौधायन[69] आठ गणेशों की एक सूची भी देता है यथा–विनायक, वरद, स्थूल, वीर, हस्तिमुख, वक्रतुण्ड, एकदन्त और लम्बोदर । इनके स्वतंत्र लक्षणों का निरूपण नहीं है । गणेश के पांच, छै, आठ, छप्पन आदि नामों की तालिकाएं हमें साहित्य में यत्र – तत्र मिलती हैं । मध्य कालीन कलाकृतियों में विशेषतया 'वाराणसी–शिलापट्ट' जैसे देवपट्टों पर पंचगणेशों का अंकन खूब चला है ।[70]

गणपति की प्रतिमा की स्मृति साहित्य में विस्तार से चर्चा नहीं मिलती, पर एक स्थान पर उसे 'श्रौण' में निर्मित कहा गया है[71] जिसका शुद्ध रूप शाण या लाल होगा । हम इसकी चर्चा पहले कर चुके हैं। हाथी के अलंकारों की चर्चा के प्रसंग में वृद्ध पराशर कानों से लटकने वाले शंखों का[72] उल्लेख करते हैं । उत्तर भारत की मध्यकालीन गणेश प्रतिमाणों के कानों में झूलने वाले इस शंखाकार आभूषण को देखा जा सकता है[73] । कदाचित् अन्यत्र इसी प्रकार के आभूषण को 'चामर' भी कहा गया है ।

नवग्रह

सूर्य चन्द्रादि नवग्रहों के विषय में स्मृतियों में स्थान - स्थान पर बड़ी विशद चर्चा की गयी है । इस दृष्टि से वृहत्पराशर[74], याज्ञवल्क्य[75], वृहद्योगी, याज्ञवल्क्य[76] विशेष रूप से उपयोगी हैं । इनसे प्रत्येक ग्रह के जन्मस्थान, पिता, वर्ण, उसकी कलाएं, उपास्य देव, प्रत्येक की मूर्ति निर्माण का माध्यम, हवनीय द्रव्य आदि के विषय में बडी उपयोगी जानकारी मिलती है । इसे हमने अगले पृष्ठ पर अंकित शब्द – चित्र में बांधने का प्रयास किया है । कुछ रोचक तथ्य निम्नांकित हैं –

(1) सूर्यादि ग्रहों की मूर्तियां क्रम से तांबा, स्फटिक, लाल चंदन, सोना, चांदी, लोहा, सीसा तथा कांसे की बनती हैं ।

(2) केतु को 'धूमकेतु' भी कहा गया है[77] ।

(3) केतु के पिता के रूप में अग्नि को गिनाया गया है । यह भी पौराणिक परम्परा में प्रसिद्ध नहीं है ।

नवग्रह विषयक शब्द चित्र

	ग्रह	पिता	जन्मस्थान के अनुसार	वर्ण	उपास्य देवता	हवनीय द्रव्य	फल	मूर्ति निर्माण का माध्यम	कला △	दिशा
1.	सूर्य	कश्यप	कालिंग	रक्त	शम्भु	वर्ण	सर्वव्याधिनाश	ताम्र	12	मध्यस्थ
2.	चन्द्र	ब्रह्मा	यामुन	शुक्ल	उमा	पलाश	सार्वकामिक	स्फटिक	19	पूर्व–दक्षिण
3.	मंगल	रौद्र	आवन्त्य	रक्त	स्कन्द	खदिर	अर्थलाभ	रक्त–चंदन	10	दक्षिण
4.	बुध	सोम	मागध	पीत	हरि	अपामार्ग	स्वरूप	स्वर्ण	8	पूर्व–उत्तर
5.	गुरु	ब्रह्मा	सैन्धव	पीत	ब्रह्मा	अश्वत्थ	प्रभा	स्वर्ण	10	उत्तर
6.	शुक्र	भृगु	सैन्धव	शुक्ल	शक्र	दूर्वा ⊙	सौभाग्य ऊर्जा	रजत	18	पूर्व
7.	शनि	रवि	सौराष्ट्रज	कृष्ण	यम	शमी	पापशांति	काष्ण (लोहा)	10	पश्चिम
8.	राहू	प्रजापति	सिहलज	कृष्ण	काल	दूर्वा	दीर्घायु	सैसक सी सा)	8	दक्षिण–पश्चिम
9.	केतु (धूमकेतु)	कृशानु	मध्यदेशज	कृष्ण	चित्रगुप्त	दर्भ ⊙	धर्म विद्या अर्थ	कांस्य	8	पश्चिम–उत्तर

मुख्य आधार – वृहत्पराशर; 11.37–57, (II. 907), याज्ञवल्क्य॰, 1.296–297 (III. 1262); बृहद्योगी याज्ञवल्क्य (IV. 2457)

⊙ शुक्र के लिए उदुम्बर (याज्ञ॰. III ⊙ 1263), केतु के लिए कुश (वही)

△ कलाओं का वर्णन (वृ॰ यो॰ याज्ञ॰ 10.51 = 66.5.2457 – 58)

(4) ग्रहों के अलग–अलग जन्म–स्थान गिनाये गये हैं । इनका कोई कार्य–कारण भाव अवश्य होना चाहिये जो अन्वेषणीय है । सूर्य का कलिंग, चन्द्र का यमुना प्रदेश, मंगल की अवन्ति, बुध का मगध, गुरु और शुक्र का सिन्धु प्रदेश, शनि का सौराष्ट्र, राहू का सिंहल और केतु का मध्य देश माने गये हैं ।

सूर्य और राक्षस

सूर्य की प्रतिमाओं में बहुधा अगल – बगल ऊषा और प्रत्यूषा की छोटी – छोटी मूर्तियां रहती हैं । ये वीर मुद्रा में स्थित एवं धनुष्य से बाण चलाती हुई दिखलायी पड़ती हैं । स्पष्टतः इन्हें अंधकार पर प्रकाश किरणों के बाण चलाये जाने का प्रतीक माना जाता है । इस सम्बंध में वृहत्पराशर एक अन्य रूप सामने रखते हैं [78] । तद्नुसार सूर्य के उदित होते ही उसे बल पूर्वक खा जाने के लिए मन्देह नामक तीन करोड़ राक्षस उस पर आक्रमण करते हैं, किन्तु अरुण के जलते हुए बाणों से परास्त होकर लौट जाते हैं । सूर्य के साथ सम्बद्ध राक्षसों का वर्णन विष्णु पुराण [79] तथा लिंग पुराण [80] में भी हैं । तदनुसार प्रत्येक आदित्य के साथ दो–दो 'निशाचर' रहते हैं । कला के क्षेत्र में सूर्यरथ के नीचे रौंदे जाने वाले राक्षस को भाजा विहार (नासिक के निकट, महाराष्ट्र) के पूर्वी छोर के प्रवेश-द्वार पर बने सूर्याकंन में देखें।

देवी/शक्ति – गायत्री

स्मृति साहित्य में शक्ति विषयक सामग्री बड़ी ही सीमित है। गायत्री के विषय में अवश्य ही कुछ विस्तृत वर्णन है । कला के क्षेत्र में गायत्री की मूर्ति अब तक नहीं पहचानी गयी है, किन्तु भारद्वाज न केवल गायत्री के तीन ध्यानों की या गायत्री, सावित्री और सरस्वती इन तीन रूपों की विस्तृत चर्चा करते हैं[81] अपितु उसकी नयन मनोहर प्रतिमा बनाने की भी बात करते हैं । तदनुसार गायत्री की मूर्ति के लिये सोना, चांदी, स्फटिक और पाषाण ये चार माध्यम प्रशस्त हैं[82] ये चारों उपलब्ध न हों तो स्थण्डिल पर भी पूजन हो सकता है । विधि से गायत्री की प्रतिमा बनाकर ब्राह्मण द्वारा पीठ पर प्रतिमा की पूर्वाभिमुख स्थापना करनी चाहिये [83] । गायत्री के तीन रूप प्रातः मध्याह्न एवं सांय कालीन हैं तथा ब्रह्मा, विष्णु व महेश पर आधारित हैं । प्रातःकालीन 'गायत्री' चतुर्भुज एवं प्रदक्षिण क्रम से अक्षमाला, कूर्च. स्रुव और कमण्डलु को लिये रहती है । मुख चार होते हैं, वर्ण श्वेत होता है और हंस पर आरुढ़ रहती है[84] । दूसरी देवी 'सावित्री' हैं । इसके हाथों में पद्म, शंख, चक्र और गदा ये आयुध रहते हैं । देवी की तीसरी आकृति 'सरस्वती' है, जो कृष्ण वर्ण की है, बैल पर बैठी होती है तथा हाथों में अक्षमाला, शूल, डमरू और कपाल रहता है । यह जटा, नाग कुण्डल एवं व्याघ्र चर्म रूपी वस्त्र को धारण किये रहती है[85]। इनके अतिरिक्त यही स्मृति गायत्री के एक दूसरे रूप का भी वर्णन करती है जिसमें देवी को पांच मुख, पन्द्रह आंखें, तीन पैर तथा चार या दस हाथ वाली कहा गया है । आयुधों में कूर्च, अक्षसूत्र, पुस्तक, स्रुव, पात्र, वर, दण्ड, कमण्डलु आदि की गणना है [86] । देवी के भद्रपीठ पर चार वेद, षडंग, चौसठ कलाएं, वसिष्ठादि मुनि, देवगण, ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, समुद्र आदि की उपस्थिति भी परिकल्पित की गयी है । यही स्मृति अगले अध्याय में गायत्री स्वरूप के रूपक को स्पष्ट करती है [87], जैसे गायत्री के तीन चरण ऋक्, यजु और सामवेद हैं, समुद्र उसका वस्त्र है, छंद, शब्दशास्त्र, कल्प, निरुक्त और ज्योतिष उसके पांच मुख हैं, वायु श्वास है, इत्यादि । यह ठीक वही पद्धति है जो विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण द्वारा विविध मूर्तियों के ध्यान वर्णन के प्रसंग में अपनायी गयी है ।

वृहद्योगी याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति[88] में भी गायत्री के रूप की चर्चा की गयी है, पर यहां अधिक विस्तार नहीं है ।

मातृकाएं

कात्यायन यज्ञोपवीत कर्म प्रकरण में गणेश के साथ माताओं का प्रतिमा या वस्त्रादि पर बने – 'लिखे'–चित्रों के माध्यम से पूजन का विधान करते हैं[89] । संख्या तो इनकी सोलह गिनायी गई है लेकिन प्रत्यक्ष नाम गणेश को लेकर पन्द्रह ही हैं यथा – गौरी, पद्मा, शची, मेधा, सावित्री, विजया, देवसेना, स्वधा, स्वाहा, माताएं एवं लोकमाताएं हृष्टि, पुष्टि, तुष्टि तथा आत्मदेवता । इनमें स्पष्ट ही जया छूट गयी है । विवाह उपनयन आदि में षोडष मातृकाओं का पूजन आज भी प्रचलित है [90] ।

कृषि देवताएं

प्राचीन भारतीय कृषिशास्त्र के आचार्य पराशर हैं, अतः उनकी स्मृति में कृषि विषयक जानकारी मिलना स्वाभाविक है । गाय, बैल आदि का वर्णन, हलादि आयुधों का निर्माण, सीतायज्ञ, खलयज्ञ आदि की चर्चा, कृषि कार्य के योग्य नक्षत्रादिकों का विचार इत्यादि कई विषयों का समावेश वृहत्पराशर स्मृति में किया गया है । यहां [91] खेती से सम्भावित देवताओं के भी उल्लेख हैं । इनमें इन्द्र, अश्विनी (कुमार), मरुद्, कश्यप, कुमारी, सीता, अनुमति एवं बलि (हली–बलराम ?) को गिनाया गया है । हल को चलाते समय बैलों का पूजन एवं पराशर का स्मरण भी विहित है । खेत में हल के चलने पर पड़ने वाली गहरी रेखा 'सीता' कहलाती है । इसे ही 'लांगल पद्धति' भी कहते हैं[92] । इसी स्मृति में अन्यत्र 'सीता' को सौम्या और कुमारी कहा गया है तथा कृषि–कार्य में शक्ति के पुत्र पराशर और सीता की स्थापना अपरिहार्य बतायी गयी है[93]। कृषक के लिए सीतायज्ञ करना आवश्यक था[94]। डा० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल जी ने अपने **'प्राचीन भारतीय लोकधर्म'** में कई 'महों' की या यज्ञों की चर्चा की है, जिनका सम्बंध लोकधर्म से था । पराशर के 'सीतायज्ञ' और 'खलयज्ञ', भी ऐसे ही अनुष्ठान थे । खलयज्ञ में सीता के अतिरिक्त शतक्रतु या इन्द्र, अन्य देव, सोमय आदि पितर, सनकादि मनुष्य आदि के उद्देश्य से दान दिया जाता था[95]। किसान यदि अपनी उपज का छठवां भाग

राजा को, बीसवां भाग देवताओं को तथा तैतीसवां भाग ब्राह्मण को दान देता है तो कृषि कर्म में किये गये पाप से बाधित नहीं होता[96] । सीता के कृषि देवता के रूप में उल्लेख कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण, जैन हरिवंश पुराण आदि ग्रन्थों में भी मिलते हैं[97] ।

द्वारालंकरण की देवताएं

लौगाक्षि स्मृति[98] में पूजा विधान की चर्चा में 'यागज' के चार द्वारों का वर्णन है । यहां द्वारों के अंग, देवतागण उनके स्थान आदि के विषय में अच्छी सामग्री मिलती है । यहां गणपति, भारती (सरस्वती) तथा लक्ष्मी को 'ऊर्ध्वय' अर्थात् द्वार के ऊपरी सिरदल पर स्थित कहा गया है, उसके दाहिने व बांयी ओर की देवताओं में नन्दि, गंगा, गणेश, सरस्वती, भृंग, सिन्धु, गौरी, दण्ड, पयोष्णिका, ऋषभ, स्कन्द, गोदावरी, आदि का समावेश है । द्वार के भागों में कवाट, सुबाहु, धामशाखा, गेहली या देहली का उल्लेख है ।

विष्णु

रुद्रादि देवाताओं के समान स्मृति साहित्य में विष्णु विषयक सामग्री भी प्रचुरता से उपलब्ध है । विष्णु, वसिष्ठ, वृद्धहारीत, वृद्ध गौतम, आदि स्मृतियों में यह विषय विस्तार से चर्चित है जिसकी स्वतंत्र समीक्षा हम अन्यत्र कर चुके हैं[99] । अतः यहां हम उतने विस्तार से न जाकर संक्षेप में विषय की स्थापना भर करेंगे ।

वसिष्ठ स्मृति[100] पद्मासनस्थ शंख–चक्र–गदाधारी विष्णु की प्रतिमा का उल्लेख करती है । विष्णु के अगल–बगल नीला और धरणी की स्थिति बतलायी गयी है । नारदीय संहिता के अनुसार धरणी ही भूदेवी या मेदिनी हैं, और बहुबेर विधि से बनी प्रतिमाओं में वह लक्ष्मी के साथ ही विष्णु मूर्तियों में रहती है[101], किन्तु इस संहिता में नीला का उल्लेख नहीं है । वह हमें वृद्ध हारीत स्मृति में मिलता है[102], तद्नुसार श्रीदेवी और भूदेवी के अतिरिक्त नीला विष्णु की तीसरी पत्नी है, किन्तु इससे अधिक हम कुछ नहीं जानते ।

वृद्ध हारीत विष्णु मूर्ति के एक प्रकार की विस्तार से चर्चा करता है[103] । अष्टदल कमल के दिव्य आसन पर शंख–चक्र–गदा–पद्म धारण करने वाले विष्णु का उल्लेख वहां है । विष्णु के दाहिनी ओर सोने के रंग की पद्मधारिणी श्री तथा बांयी ओर नीलवर्ण की चामर एवं नीलोत्पल लिये भूदेवी हैं । यही स्मृति[104] त्रिसान्ध्य पूजन के प्रसंग में कुछ अन्य विष्णु मूर्तियों का उल्लेख करती है, जैसे 'शेषपर्यंकारूढ़ विष्णु', शंक–चक्र–गदा–बाण को धारण करने वाले राम जिनके साथ जानकी और लक्ष्मण भी हैं । चतुर्भुज राम की मध्यकालीन पाषाण मूर्तियों से हम परिचित हैं[105] । इसी स्मृति में ब्राह्मणादि चारों वर्णों के लिए पूजनीय विष्णु मूर्तियां भी गिनाई गई हैं यथा वाराह, हयग्रीव, नरसिंह व वामन–ब्राह्मणों के लिये; राम क्षत्रिय के लिये; केशव, मधुसूदन, नारायण, वासुदेव, अनन्त, जनार्दन, प्रद्युम्न, अनिरुद्ध, गोविंद, अच्युत, हरि, संकर्षण और कृष्ण वैश्यों के लिये तथा बाल एवं गोपाल वेष–कृष्ण शूद्रों के पूजन योग्य बताये गये हैं[106] । इस स्मृति में विष्णु की केशवादि चौबीस मूर्तियों के लक्षण बताकर उनकी पृथक् – पृथक् मूर्ति बनाने और प्रत्येक का अलग–अलग पूजन करने की बात भी विस्तार से बताती है[107] । पुण्ड्र संस्कार में विष्णु के बारह रूपों या विभवों के आयुध, वस्त्र एवं वर्ण का विवरण मिलता है[108] । यों तो सभी विभवों के विवरण नारदीय संहिता, अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता, परमेश्वर संहिता आदि ग्रन्थों में भी मिलते हैं, पर वृद्ध हारीत स्मृति विष्णु के चार सामान्य आयुधों के अतिरिक्त असि, हल, शारंग, मूसल और वज्र का भी समावेश करती है । विष्णु –मूर्तियों की एक सूची नित्य और नैमित्तिक पूजा–वर्णन के प्रसंग में मिलती है, यह पूजन विशिष्ट योगों, तिथियों और अवसरों पर संपन्न होता था[109] ।

मूर्तियों के वर्णन के अतिरिक्त स्मृतियों में विष्णु के कई ध्यान भी मिलते हैं जैसे सूर्य मण्डल में विष्णु[110], अष्टभुज विष्णु[111] लक्ष्मी के साथ विष्णु[112], क्षीरसागर में विष्णु[113], बैकुण्ठ[114] आदि । विष्णु के अवतारों में वराह, नरसिंह, हयग्रीव, वामन, राम और कृष्ण अधिक लोकप्रिय रहे हैं । वराह के दोनों रूप यज्ञवराह और नृवराह चर्चित हैं । नरसिंह के तीन रूप मिलते हैं[115] यथा अकेले बैठे हुए नरसिंह जिनके ऊपरी हाथों में शंख–चक्र होते हैं तथा साधारण हाथ जानु–विन्यस्त होते हैं, अष्टभुज नरसिंह के हाथों में चक्र, शंख, पाश, अंकुश, गदा, शारंग, मूसल, बाण तथा हिरण्यकशिपु का संहार होता है; तीसरा रूप लक्ष्मी–नरसिंह का है । चतुर्भुज नरसिंह चक्र, शंख, वर और अभय लिये रहते हैं तथा लक्ष्मी या चला के पास मातुलुंग और पद्म युगल होता है । चतुर्भुज **हयग्रीव** के दो रूपों की चर्चा है[116] दोनों रूपों में शंख–चक्र हैं, पर एक में साधारण हाथ जानु विन्यस्त है, दूसरे में एक व्याख्यान मुद्रा में है, दूसरा पोथी लिये है । **वामन** भी दो हैं[117], एक वटु वेषधारी है और दूसरा किरीटादि आभूषण पहन कर चन्द्र मण्डल में स्थित है । हाथों की गणना नहीं है । **राम** दो स्थानों पर उल्लिखित हैं[118] । दोनों चतुर्भुज हैं, एक में उनके पास शंख–चक्र–धनु और बाण है, बायीं ओर सीता तथा अगल–बगल तीनों भाई व हनुमान हैं । दूसरे में केवल जानकी और लक्ष्मण हैं तथा वे शंक–चक्र–गदा–बाण लिये हैं । कृष्ण के सबसे अधिक अर्थात् सातरूप उल्लिखित हैं । ये निम्नलिखित हैं –

(1) मां की गोद में कृष्ण[119]

(2) बालकृष्ण, अधिक वर्णन नहीं है[120]

(3) दोला या झूले पर कृष्ण, अधिक वर्णन का अभाव[121]

(4) रास मण्डल में कृष्ण, अधिक वर्णन का अभाव[122]

(5) गोपियों के साथ मुरलीधर कृष्ण[123]

(6) कल्पतरू के नीचे पर्यंकारूढ़ पर्यंकारूढ़ कृष्ण–रुक्मिणी[124] यहीं पर कृष्ण के नासाभूषण या बुलाक का भी उल्लेख है –

मौक्तिकान्वित नासाग्रं कस्तूरी तिलकाञ्चितम् ।

(7) सुधर्मा सभा में बैठे आयुधधारी कृष्ण ।[125]

स्मृतियों के काल निर्णय में सहायक उल्लेख

हम ऊपर कह चुके हैं कि कुछ स्थानों के काल निर्णय में सहायक कतिपय उल्लेख स्मृतियों में मिलते हैं । उनकी संक्षिप्त चर्चा कर इस लेख को समाप्त करें । उदाहरण स्वरुप कुछ महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख नीचे दिये जा रहे हैं –

(1) कृष्ण का नाक में पहना हुआ मोती या बुलाक, जिसका अभी ऊपर उल्लेख कर आये हैं । यह भाग इस्लाम के भारत में आगमन के बाद का होना चाहिये, क्योंकि इसके पूर्व यहां नासिकाभूषण–विशेषतया पुरुषों या बच्चों द्वारा – का प्रयोग प्रचलित नहीं था ।

(2) विष्णु स्मृति[126] में चार आयुधों का चार महाभूतों से साम्य दिखलाया गया है, यथा शंख का आकाश से, चक्र का वायु से, गदा का तेज से और पद्म का जल से । इसी क्रम में विष्णु के 'चरणमध्यगता भू' या पैरों के बीच में स्थित पृथ्वी कहते हुए विष्णु विग्रह में पञ्चम महाभूत अर्थात् पृथ्वी का भी समावेश कर लिया गया है । कला के क्षेत्र से स्पष्ट होता है कि विष्णु के "चरण मध्यगताभू' का दर्शन प्रतिहार काल से पहले नहीं होता । यह अभिप्राय उत्तर भारत में प्रतिहार काल से चला आगे भी चलता रहा । अतः विष्णु स्मृति का यह उल्लेख प्रतिहार काल के पूर्व का होने की संभावना कम है ।

(3) इसी तथ्य को विष्णु के आयुध रूप में पद्म वाला उल्लेख भी पुष्ट करता है । विष्णु स्मृति के अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्य स्मृतियां भी वैष्णव आयुध के रूप में पद्म को गिनाती हैं[127] इत्यादि । हमने अन्यत्र यह दिखलाने का प्रयास किया है कि साहित्य और कला के आधार पर स्पष्ट होता है कि वैष्णव आयुध के रूप में पद्म या कमल का अवतरण गुप्त काल के बाद ही हुआ है[128] । स्पष्टतः स्मृति साहित्य के ये अंश गुप्तोत्तर काल के ही होने चाहिए ।

ऊपर किये गये स्मृति साहित्य के संक्षिप्त सिंहावलोकन से सुस्पष्ट होता है कि इस विशाल साहित्य के आलोड़न से प्राचीन भारतीय–मूर्ति–विज्ञान के कई पहलुओं को अधिक स्पष्ट रूप से समझा जा सकता है ।

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Vāsudeva - Tiny and Tall

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The Vāsudeva images constitute an important group of Kushan sculptures at Mathura. With a few exceptions, the size of the two score images which varies from 6.25 cm. to 37.5 cm., forcefully strikes the observer when contrasted with the lofty and massively built contemporary Yaksha and Buddha images on the one hand and the graceful and tall Vāsudeva - Vishṇu statues of the Gupta period. In fact, the small size of Kushan Vāsudeva images is a differentiating factor which endows the group a distinct personality. Unfortunately the art-connoisseurs have rather neglected to take into account the size of the icons which, indeed, defines the purpose of their fashioning and thus affords us a clue to the understanding of the style, practices and social affiliations of religious denomination and mode of worship. It is astonishing since the importance of size for the various types of images have been clearly and properly underlined in the canons. It is agreed that the cononical tradition handed down to us is rather late and may not be used for defining the Kushan sculptures. Nonetheless, it is also true that the experience of early sculptures gradually crystallised into canons and, therefore, the efforts may be rewarding.

In this short paper which is rather illustrative in as much as it does not exhaust all the posssibilities of interpretation, an attempt is made to study the significance of the size of Vāsudeva icons of the Kushan period for the purpose of understanding socio-religious aspect of art.

It may be mentioned that the representations of Vāsudeva belonging to the pre-Christian era are few and far between. Moreover, they are delineated in different media - a coin of Agathocles, a graffiti at Chilas and a stone statue from Malhara, district Bilaspur. They are, of course, important for the origin and history of Vāsudeva image but for the study of various artistic features - size, modelling, attribute etc., and the early mode of worship, the Kushan images are of signal importance.

The question why is it that the Kushan Vāsudeva images are of diminutive size whereas the contemporary Buddha statues following the Yaksha model are massive in proportion, must strike a student of art and iconography.

The discussion on this question must start from the Yaksha images which are traditionally built for community worship. The very word Yaksha derived from the root 'yaj' bears testimony to this important fact. Although the secondary meaning of the yaj is to perform fire ritual as evidenced by the word yajan, the original meaning seems 'to offer worship before a deity'. Thus, the word Yaksha means 'one who is worshipped'.

There is reason to believe that the Yaksha concept is of hoary antiquity probably antedating the early Vedic period. The word Yaksha occurs in the Vedic literature as also in the Jain and the Buddhist works. It is extremely doubtful that the jains and the Buddhists borrowed the Yaksha tradition from the Vedic tradition. On the other hand, there is likelihood of the concept being prevalent in primitive tribes wherefrom it was inducted both in the Vedic and the Sramana traditions. The community worship is the usual mode of veneration among the tribals.

There is sufficient evidence to show that the Yaksha images were worshipped by the whole community. This is apparent from the long list of these divine beings mentioned in the Mahāmayūrī where each one of them is described as the guardian deity of a particular town. The Yaksha images were often dedicated by devotees who caused inscriptions to be engraved on them in order to proclaim their berevolence to the whole community. The Parkham Yaksha measuring 22 cm. in height is a typical example of this class. The community worship of divine images installed in apartments at prominent places in the town was an old practice as is evidence by the *Arthaśāstra.* Naturally, such images have of necessity to be large in proportion.

The stupa worship among Buddhists was popularised by the new entrants to its fold. The scenes at Bharut and Sāñchī showing groups of people singing and dancing while worshipping chaitya and offering fruits, flowers and garlands, infact, depict the way in which the Yaksha images were adored. That was the way of community worship. Later, when image of the Buddha was introduced, the Yaksha model was adopted. Consequently, the early Buddha. Bodhisattva images are of large proportions like the Yaksha statues. The Sarnath Bodhisattva image of the 3rd regnal year of Kaniska is a representative example of this class. Interestingly enough, it measures 20 cm; 22.5 cm. in height, the same as the Parkham Yaksha. The practice of inscribing the name of the doner was also followed by the Buddhists.

It is not surprising that the effigies of the Kushan royal family also conform to the Yaksha and Buddha model. The public display of royal personages endowed with divinity whether at Mathura or at Surkh-kotal, was intended to inspire the feeling of reverence for the imperial grandeur and a sense of fear for the authority of the *devaputras*. This purpose could be realised only by putting before the people huge statues comparable in size, proportion and posture to divinities worshipped by masses at public places. The seated headless image of Vima Kadphises measuring 2.05 mt., the 1.69 mt. big figure of Kanishka, without head, the statue of Chashtana 1.42 mt. from shoulder to knee and the 1.83 mt. tall royal figure in deep squatting posture being worshipped as Gokarnesvrra Mahadeva are in the Yaksha tradition. Incidentally our observation should et at rest the controversy about the well-kown Mathura Museum image no. 269 which has been identified as a royal Kushan figure by Coomarswamy, J.N. Banerjee, and H. Zimmer whereas V.S. Agrawal and J.M. Rosenfield have taken it to present the Sun god. The latter view is supported by the fact that the sculpture was discovered from Kankali-tila which has yielded numerous divine images. Now it can be forcefully argued that the 30 cm. image can not be classified with the Kushan royal statues, which are invariably massive in proprotion.

It may be pointed out that divine representations for ritual purposes were rather tiny in size. A disc of gold representing the Sun was placed on the fire altar. The Golden Man required to be deposited in the foundation of the altar was the figure of Vastupurusha which Coomarswamy compares with the 'little plaque' representing the Vedic 'Prithvi' from Lauriya Nandangarh. A miniature gold-leaf female figure in inscribed relic casket from Piprahava belongs to the same category.

The diminutive character of Vāsudeva image in the Kushan period is neither ritualistic nor of cultic significance. The nature of these images can be understood in the light of the philosophy of devotional cults. The essence of devotion lies in an intimate relationship between the devotee and the deity, as intimate as between father and son, friend and friend, lover and beloved. The relationship is also tinged with spiritual communion. Moreover, the devotee propitiate the Lord simply by offering leaves, flower, fruits and water. Thus, the present images were meant for personal worship and were installed in the family temples.

The evidence of Vāsudeva images from Mathura indicates that in comparison to public shrines, family temples were more popular in the Kushan period. It is interesting to note that family chapels have eversince remained popular in the devotional cults. The canons have not only prescribed iconometric norms for divine images to be placed in big temples but have also laid down measurements for family icons. For example, the Matsya Purana enjoins that the images meant for shrines of house-holders should not measure more than a digit of the thumb or a *vitasti* (a span).

The rise of the Guptas heralds a new chapter in the history of the Bhagavata cult. By this time the fusion of the three chief constituents of the cult viz. Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Vedic Vishṇu, was fully realised. The smarta tradition which emphasised the merits of Purattakarma, declared that the construction of temple was an act of piety. Patronised by the ruling class, the tiny Vāsudeva, was required to assume a tall and elegent form befitting a prāsāda, a royal residence.

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Excavations at the Citadel of Lal Kot, New Delhi

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Archaeological investigations have proved that ancient remains of *Ḍhillī* or *Ḍhillikāpurī* and *Yoginīpura* are extant around the Qutb Archaeological Area within the fortifications known as Lal Kot and Qila Rai Pithora. During the Sultanate period the earlier day Indraprastha (area around Purana Qila) was reduced to the status of a *pratigaṇa (pargana)* of Delhi as mentioned in the Sarban Stone Inscription of 1327 A.D.[1]

Lal Kot (lat. 28° 31'40"N, Long.77° 11'E) is the earliest known fort in Delhi which was constructed in the middle of the 11th century A.D. by Anang Pal II, the Tomar ruler of Delhi as his citadel. Its lofty walls, massive bastions and gateways are mostly damaged and sporadically covered with debris. The circumference of the ramparts is nearly 3.6 km. with varying thickness ranging between 3 to 9 metres. The total area of the fort is 7,63,875 square metres. It is presumed that Anang Pal II peopled Delhi and constructed the Lal Kot between 1052 and 1060 A.D. Cunningham[2] has quoted the short inscription on Mehrauli iron pillar - "*Saṁvat Dihalī 1109 Aṅg (Ananga) Pāl Bahi*" which corresponds to A.D. 1052 and confirms the same on the basis of two manuscripts also obtained from Garhwal and Kumaon regions which state that on the 10th day of Mārgaśīrsha in Samvat 1117 (or A.D. 1060) Anang Pal built the fort of Delhi and called it Lal Kot. Amir Khusrau mentions the palace of Anang Pal[3] and the *Ain-i-Akbari* and a few other works are specific about the residence of Qutbuddin Aibak and Iltutmish in the fort of Rai Pithora which is none other than the Lal Kot. This area was thoroughly surveyed by the author with the team of the Delhi Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1991[4].

Kushak Firozi, Kushak Sabj, Daulat-Khana and Chabutra Nasira were the palace sites of Mamluk Sultans of Delhi in the old city of Lal Kot and on the basis of Ibn Batuta it can be said that in the year 1205 A.D. Qutbuddin Aibak built a palace in the fort which was known as Kasr Safed or White Palace[5]. Kasr Safed, was later occupied by Iltutmish, Nasiruddin Mahmud, Balban and others where many Sultans were enthroned and which witnessed great pomp, ceremonies, contumacious brawls and bloodshed, then being turned into royal prison in later times. It is not unlikely that after providing extra defences to the fortification Qutbuddin Aibak altered the old palace of Anang Pal II or erected Kasr Safed in close proximity to it[6]. The earlier excavations conducted by Y.D. Sharma from 1957 to 1961[7] at Lal Kot were mainly confined to the fortification walls, with a few structures pointing to housing activity.

According to Ibn Batuta Sultan Iltutmish had set up two marble statues of Lions on two towers at the gate of his palace, and round their necks were two iron chains with huge bell which was meant for shaking by the oppressed person in the night to seek justice from the Sultan[8]. This seems to be an old practice of the rulers of Delhi which had been initiated by Anang Pal II as mentioned by Amir Khusrau in the Nuh Sipihr or "The Nine Heavens[9]".

While describing the revolt of Raziya against her brother Ruknuddīn, Ibn Batuta says "One friday, after Rukn-ud-dīn had gone to attend the prayers, Razīya ascended the roof of the *daulatkhāna,* the old palace, which lay in the vicinity of the great congregational mosque; and she had then put on the garment of the oppressed. She presented herself to the army *(an-nās)* and addressed them from the roof[10]".

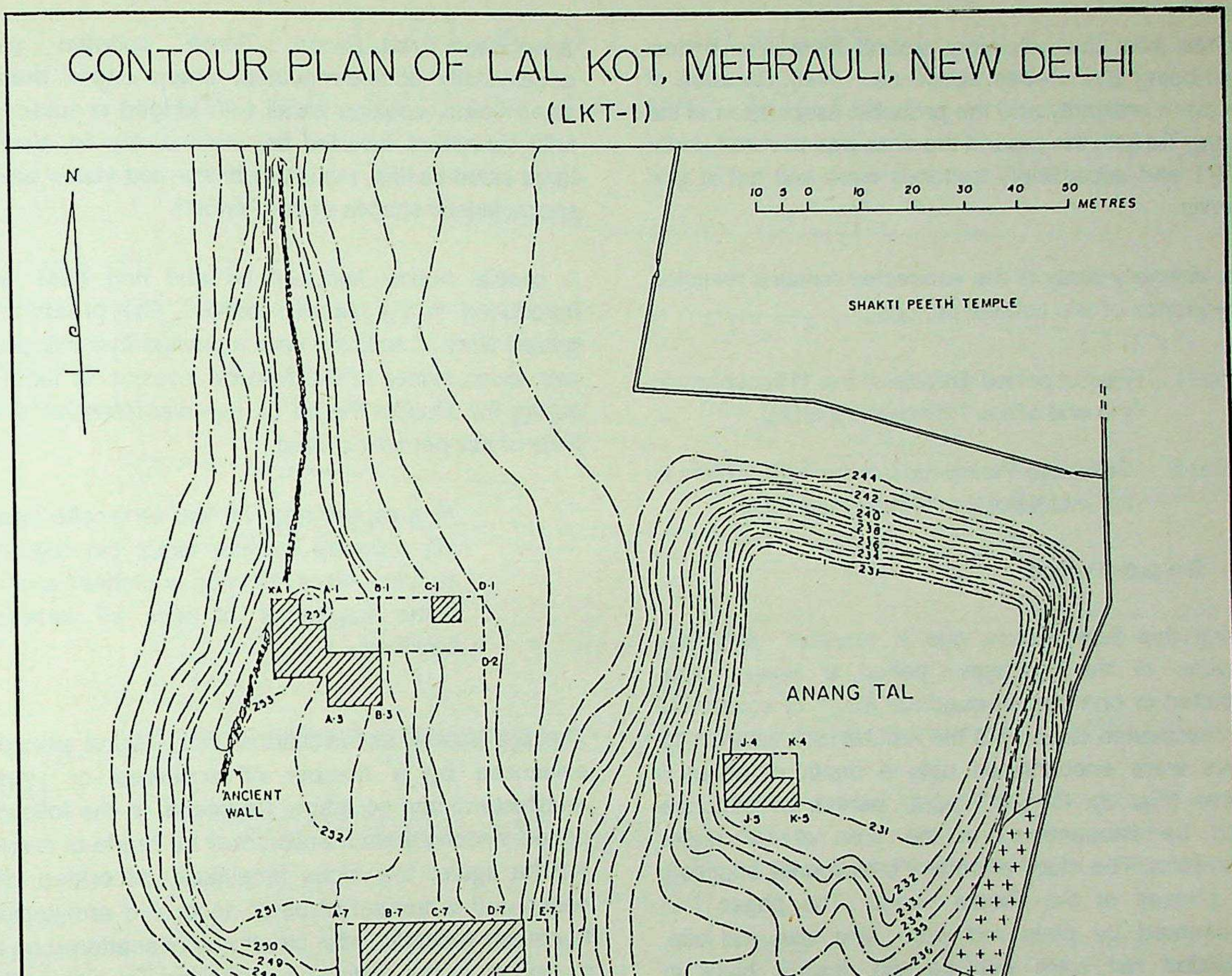
Minhajus-Siraj mentions the White Palace besides one Water Palace of Sultan Bahram Shah (1241 A.D.) where a Turkoman darwesh named Ayub lived for some time quietly[11]. The Water Palace can be identified with the ruins located towards north-west of LKT-I or the main citadel complex under excavation. The Green Palace was equally important where according to Minhajus-Siraj in the year 1246 Nasir-uddin Mahmud ascended the throne[12].

The new city of Delhi was founded around Kilokhari by Kaikubad. Jalaluddin Khalji also established himself there and only after consolidating his position he came to the old city (within Qila Rai Pithora). The palaces like Kasr Safed and Kushak Lal were still the centres of attraction. Coronation of rulers were often held at Kasr Safed where according to Farishta Jalauddin Khalji sat on the throne and went to pay his respect to the Ruby Palace afterwards as it was constructed by Balban[13] who had been his overlord. According to Barni during the last days of Kaikubad, one of the princes of very tender age was put to the throne under the title of Sultan Shamsuddin and he was taken to the Chabutara-i-Nasiri which became his court and there the nobles and great men attended upon him[14]. As recorded by Barni, the palace where Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji alighted in the city when he went to the old city from Kilokhari was known as Daulat-Khana[15]. This might have been a part of the Kasr Safed or another edifice in its proximity.

In the same area of Lal Kot says Barni, Alauddin Khalji took his seat upon the throne in the Daulat - Khana - i-julus and proceeded to the Kushk-i-lal where he took up his abode in 1296 A.D.[16]

The Lal Kot Excavations were taken up in February 1992 under the direction of the author assisted by Urmila Sant, A.K. Khanna, Vishnu Kant, M.K. batra, D.K. Bhardwaj, S.K. Dikshit, R.B. Chhetri, R.K. Sachdeva, G. Nageshwar Rao, Jagdish Chander, L.S. Mamani and V.P. Verma of the Archaeological Survey of India with the view to locate the citadel area and to study the layout and settlement pattern of the palaces and other allied structures of the citadel and to confirm the literary evidences about te location and shifting of the royal seat in Delhi. Another objective was to confirm the structural conception of the huge depression on the eastern side of the mound, known as Anang Tal. It has been said that water for making mortar for the construction of Alai Minar was brought in the time of Alauddin Khalji (1296 to 1316 A.D.) from adjoining Anang Tal[17]. The citadel area must have been at a distance from the temple-mosque complex, preferably at higher level of strategic importance with better water facility. Such suitable spot of the citadel in the fort of Lal Kot could be searched only at the massive main mound having large structural complex of rubble stones abutting the Anang Tal on its western side.

The main mound at the citadel site of Lal Kot (Pls.22-23) towards west of Anang Tal has been LKT-1 where excavation trenches in the form of 10x10 m. squares divided by quadrants were laid and excavations have been done in 40 quadrants of 16 squares (Fig.1). Maximum height of the mound is about 8 metres near peg A1 of LKT-1(254 metres above sea level). The maximum length of the mound is about 200 metres in north-south orientation and maximum width is about 100 metres in east-west orientation. The measurements of the adjoining Anang Tal given by Cunningham are 159 feet long from north to South and 152 feet broad from east to west with a depth of 40 feet[18]. During the excavations it was noticed that debris of the adjoining damaged structures have fallen from all the sides in the tank and hence it is not possible to take accurate measurements of the tank unless the structures are properly exposed. Roughly the dimensions of the inner area of the tank are about 50x50 metres in north - south and east - west orientations. The depth of the tank is about 14


CONTOUR PLAN OF LAL KOT, MEHRAULI, NEW DELHI
(LKT-1)
N
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 METRES
SHAKTI PEETH TEMPLE
ANANG TAL
XA-1
A-1
B-1
C-1
D-1
D-2
A-3
B-3
ANCIENT WALL
A-7
B-7
C-7
D-7
E-7
A-9
B-9
C-9
D-9
E-9
J-4
K-4
J-5
K-5
244
242
240
238
236
234
231
232
233
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250
251
252
253
YOG MAYA TEMPLE
EXCAVATED AREA (1991-92) ....
MODERN STRUCTURE ....
CONTOURS IN METRES ....
AREA OF PLAN
WALL OF JAHAN PANAH
TO DELHI
LAL KOT
ANANG TAL
QILA RAI PITHORA
QUTB MINAR
ADHAM KHAN'S TOMB
TO TUGHLAQABAD
MEHRAULI

Fig. 1.

metres from the adjoining ground level (the bottom level being 231 metres above sea level). Because of the close proximity and the probable association of the Anang Tal with the mound the area was covered under LKT-1 and accordingly trenches were laid out in grid fashion.

A preliminary study of the excavated remains revealed a sequence of two cultural periods :

Period I - Rajput period (middle of the 11th century to the end of the 12th century A.D.).

Period II - Sultanate Period (end of the 12th century to the middle of the 14th century A.D.).

The Rajput Period

During this field-season, due to massive structural activites of the Sultanate period a limited area, restricted in one part of quadrant No. 1 of square C7 was excavated deep upto the natural rock wherein 13 layers were encountered upto a depth of about 5 metres (Fig. 2). Of the Rajput period, no structure could be encountered in the area of C7 under excavation. The study of pottery provisonally suggests two phases of the Rajput period. The phase I is represented by plain red ware also with red slip, decorated red ware with painted designs black in colour, incised designs and occasionally stamped designs. Amongst these the vases are decorated with incised horizontal bands, wavy lines, zig-zag lines and a line of notched triangles on the shoulder (Pl.25). Some pots (Pl. 27) are decorated with black painted zig-zag lines on the top or side of the rim of vases, small basins and lids and criss-cross pattern and horizontal bands on the shoulder of the vases. Mention may be made of a single potsherd from layer 12 with inscribed Brāhmī letters of Gupta period (around 400 A.D.) mentioning perhaps a name 'V(i)ras(o)ma (Pl.26). Only on the basis of a single sherd it is not possible at present to suggest a separate horizon of Gupta period. Future excavations are likely to concentrate more on the earlier levels to have a clear picture of the antiquity and chronology of the site.

The phase II of Rajput period is characterised by the occasional appearance of plain glazed ware of oridnary terracotta core, black-slipped grey ware with associated red ware. Small spouted vases occasionally double-mouthed, sharp edged medium sized bowls, cooking handi with ledged shoulder and mild carination, inverted flat terminal top lid, small to large sized basins, miniature bowls and vases are the characteristic shapes of the Period I.

A concial hollow knobbed lid and ring base were introduced in the second phase. The presence of glazed ware of ordinary core indicated that this phase was much closer to the Muslim invasion of Delhi as during the Muslim Period its use was plentiful. Other finds of this period included :

> (i) a copper ring; (ii) two terracotta beads; (iii) a lipped earthen lamp; (iv) red ware circular discs or hop-scotches and (v) some fragments of legs of terracotta figurines.

The pre-Muslim association of this cultural period is evidenced by a number of scattered or reused architectural and sculptural fragments in the following period. Among them mention may be made of a stone Varāha figure, two stone āmalakas, decorated pillar bases and a number of other decorated architectural fragments reused in later structures or scattered on the mound or in the tank area of Anang Tal alongwith a huge part of another āmalaka and pillar bases found in the eastern part of the tank. The incised mason marks and the Nāgarī letters on dressed and semi dressed stone blocks discovered during excavation in the south- western part of the Anang Tal are also evidences of Period I.

The Sultanate Period

The Sultanate Period (Period II) is represented by four structural phases. Phase I is characterised by small lime plastered water tanks of brick masonry of which the western one has a small circular hole, provided in the southern wall at the bottom, a lime floor and a magnificent circular, eight lotus petal designed water cistern with brick masonry and lime plaster and 1.40 m. in diametre and o.72 m. deep, ornamented with two series of circular drains around it (Pl. 28). The top level of the cistern synthetised with the lime plaster floor with some sort of canopy improvised, as evidenced by the

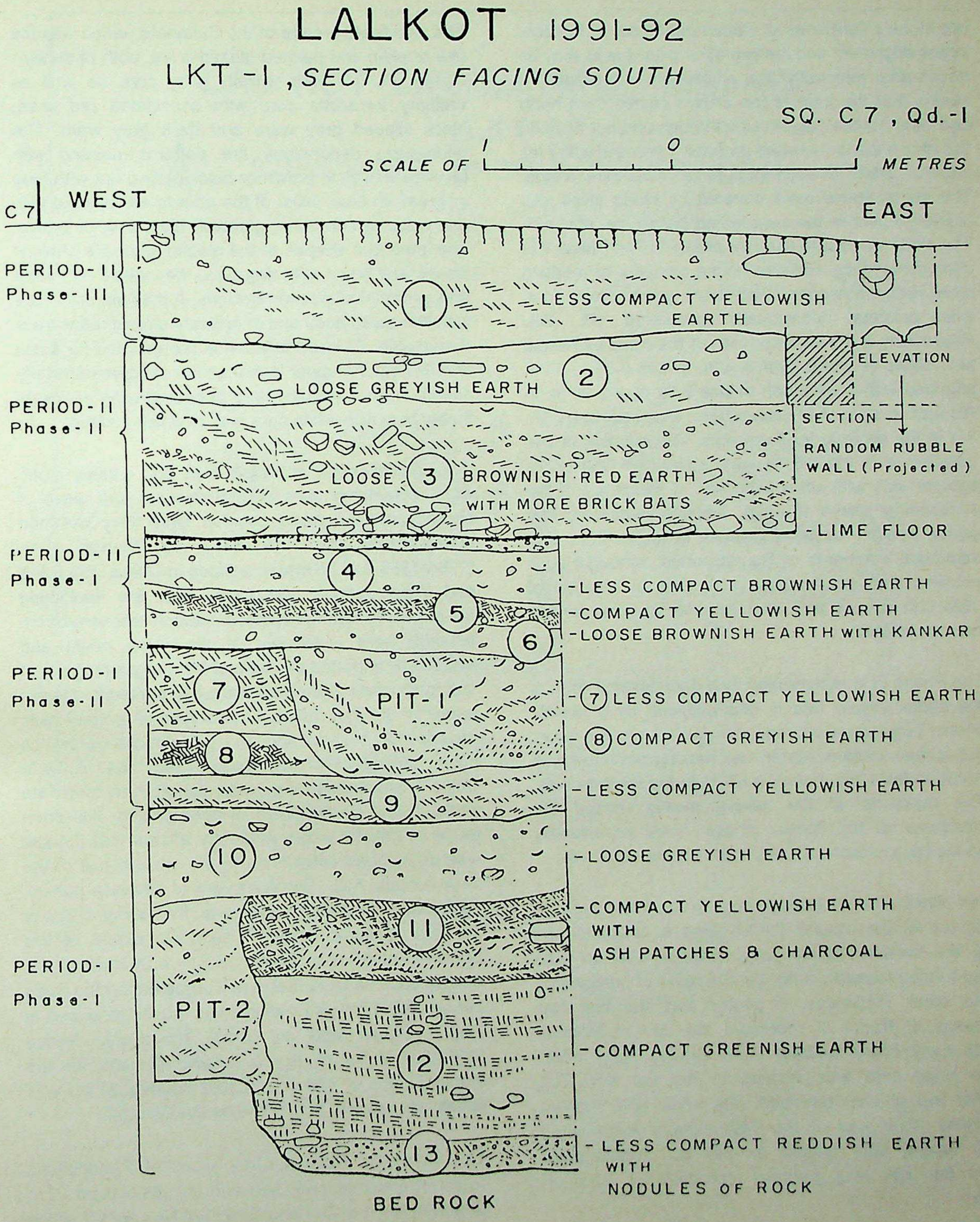
LALKOT 1991-92
LKT-1, SECTION FACING SOUTH
SQ. C 7, Qd.-1
SCALE OF 1 0 1 METRES
C 7
WEST
EAST
PERIOD-II Phase-III
PERIOD-II Phase-II
PERIOD-II Phase-I
PERIOD-I Phase-II
PERIOD-I Phase-I
1 LESS COMPACT YELLOWISH EARTH
2 LOOSE GREYISH EARTH
3 LOOSE BROWNISH RED EARTH WITH MORE BRICK BATS
ELEVATION
SECTION
RANDOM RUBBLE WALL (Projected)
-LIME FLOOR
4
5
6
-LESS COMPACT BROWNISH EARTH
-COMPACT YELLOWISH EARTH
-LOOSE BROWNISH EARTH WITH KANKAR
PIT-1
-⑦ LESS COMPACT YELLOWISH EARTH
-⑧ COMPACT GREYISH EARTH
9
-LESS COMPACT YELLOWISH EARTH
10
-LOOSE GREYISH EARTH
11
-COMPACT YELLOWISH EARTH WITH ASH PATCHES & CHARCOAL
PIT-2
12
-COMPACT GREENISH EARTH
13
-LESS COMPACT REDDISH EARTH WITH NODULES OF ROCK
BED ROCK

Fig. 2.

two stone pillar-bases of Rajput period set in the floor in one alignment and the two other pillar-bases may be traced after removal of the adjoining western baulk. It seems that the inlet of the cistern comes from north and joins it in the eastern side through another drain. In this phase the drains were probably open and water fell into the cistern through each petal of the lotus shape. The same drains were covered by stone chips and plastered over in the succeeding phase, i.e. phase II. The cistern was also used in phase II. The Phase II is characterised by massive house complex of meduim sized rubble masonary, lime floors, paved stone floor, lime plasters occasionally decorated (Pl. 24). Noteworthy is the exposed part of the complex having two rooms of size 6.70 m x 4.80 m and 9.60 m x 3m attached with a verandah of size 6.70 m. x 3.90 m. in the east and attached with 1.10 m. wide staircases (Pl. 30) in the north to lead upwards. The opening of this complex is in the 2.0 m. wide gallery (Pl. 29) on its eastern side with other openings of structures of the succeeding phase (Fig. 3). Notable feature of this phase was the occasional reuse of architectural and sculptural fragments of Rajput period. Amongst such remains the small stone sculpture of Varāha of 10th-11th century A.D. and *āmalaka* of some temple are remarkable.

The Phase III is represented by a degenerated form of the earlier phase and is characterised by a hearth, ovens, large sized storage jars buried into the floors and a thick random rubble wall running north to south which fortified the mound (LKT-1) in the western side. The residents of this phase mostly reused the structures of the former phase. They occasionally added brick masonary walls in the former structures.

The Phase IV is limited only in a small area at the top of the mound (LKT-1) and is characterised by the random rubble walls running west to east and turning towards north. On the basis of numismatic and other evidences, it seems that the first two phases of Period II represent the age of Mamluk and early Khalji Sultans (13th century A.D.) when the royal seat was located in the Lal Kot. The latter two phases represent late Khalji and Tughlaq periods (First half of the 14th century A.D.) when the capital was shifted to Siri or Tughlaqabad and the site was perhaps occupied by common folk.

The significant feature of the Sultanate period was the use of plain and painted glazed ware, both of sandy - friable (Pl. 31) with whitish gritty core as well as ordinary terracotta core with associated red ware, black slipped grey ware and thick grey ware. The underglaze decorations are patterns painted with brushes mostly in brown or black picked out with blue or greenish blue. Most of the sherds are painted with one colour-green, blue, greenish blue, pink or brown. The important shapes of the glazed ware are shallow dishes and bowls with ring base, decorated with floral and geometrical painted designs. A medium size vase with elongated body and of ordinary glazed red ware is remarkable. Chinese celadon is represented by a few sherds from the upper layers and its indigenous variety seems to have become very popular having aa sandy friable brownish white core and greenish surface.

Grey porcellanous and high fired and vitrified stone ware, sometimes with incised designs and glaze of bluish green or green celadon were very common during Sung (960-1279 A.D.) and Mongol Yuan (1280-1368 A.D.) dynastic periods in China. The Sung and Yuan periods correspond with the flourishing period at LaL Kot; the chinese celadon recovered from period-II here seemingly of the Yuan origin and assumably imported because of the alleged property of changing colour poisoned food when served in vessels made of it. The monochrome glazed pottery was replaced by blue-painted and polychrome porcelains during the period of the Mings (1368- 1644 A.D.) in China[19] whenceforth they were exported all round the world. Not a single sherd of such pottery has been found at Lal Kot which indirectly affirms that the site was abandoned sometimes in the second half of the 14th century A.D. The discovery of Chinese pottery, particularly of celadon at Samarra, the capital of one of the later Abbasid caliphs[20] suggests export of this pottery in later half of the 9th century A.D. although the pottery became fashionable in Europe during the Sung period (960-1279) A.D. which was mostly produced at Ling - Chuan and Ju Chou. The Koryu Period (936-1392 A.D.) of Korea is also famous for the manufacuture of celadon in that country which was usually course and not so fine as the Chinese.

Two sherds of Painted Grey Ware of Protohistoric origin were also found in two different pits of layer - 2 in Quadrant No. 1 of C-1 and Quadrant No. 1 of C7 which

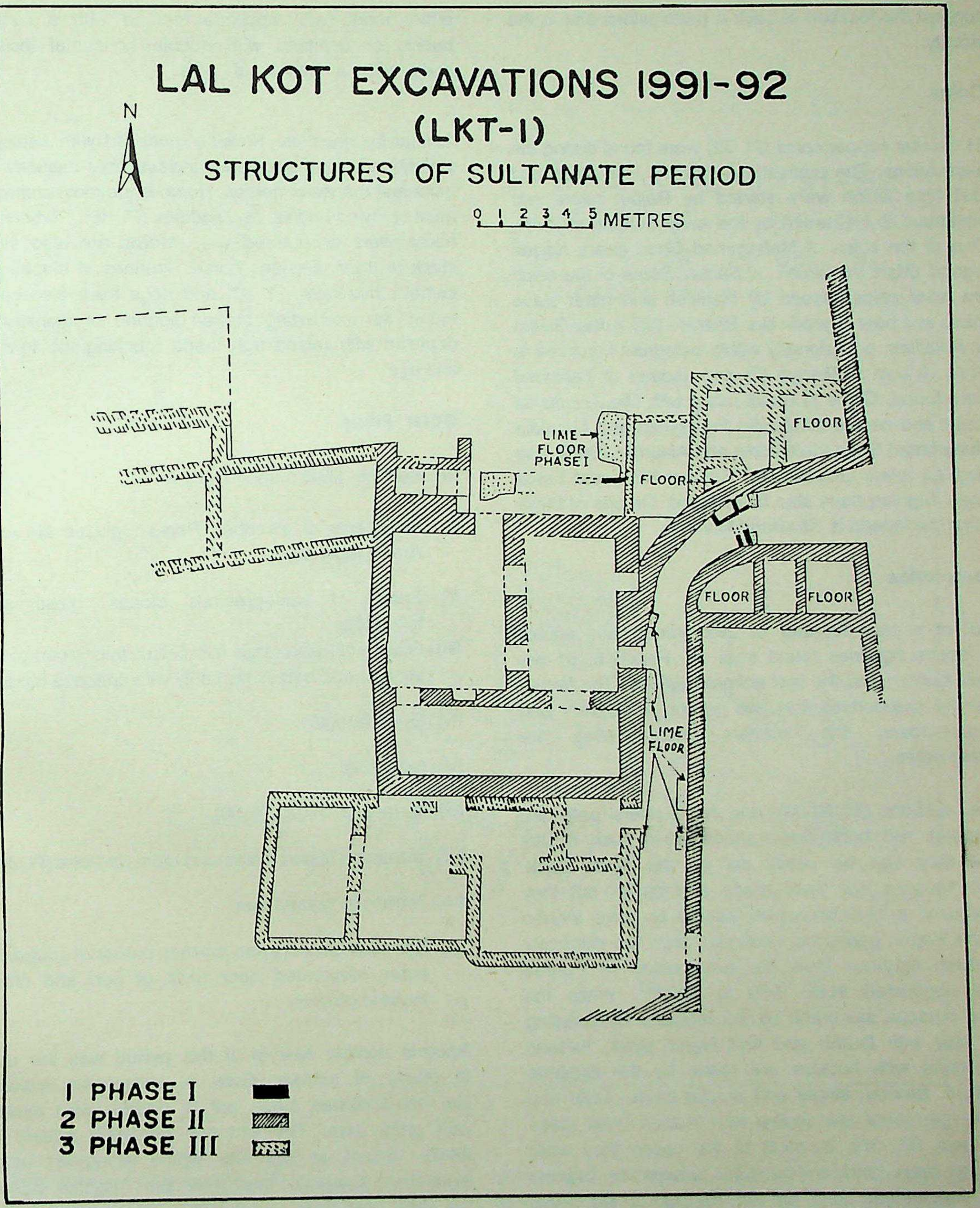
LAL KOT EXCAVATIONS 1991-92
(LKT-1)
STRUCTURES OF SULTANATE PERIOD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES
LIME FLOOR PHASE I
FLOOR
FLOOR
FLOOR
FLOOR
LIME FLOOR
1 PHASE I ■
2 PHASE II ▨
3 PHASE III ▤

Fig. 3.

suggest the location of such a protohistoric site in the vicinity.

Coins

31 circular copper coins (Pl. 32) were found during the excavations. The earliest coins are of Horseman and Bull type which were started by Rajput rulers and continued to be issued by the early Sultans of Delhi. One of the coins of Muhammad Ghori bears Nāgarī legend *(Maha)mmadavi (ni Sāma).* Some of the coins are adali coins, issued by Iltutmish and other slave rulers and bear legends like *Hazrat-i-Dillī,* Adale-Sultan or *Assultan,* occasionally within octagram inscribed in circle. A coin of Raziya (?) and another of Kaikubad were found. Coins of Khalji rulers with title *Assultanul Azam* and names Jalaluddin Ferozshah and Alauddin Muhammad Shah (Jalaluddin and Alauddin Khalji) and Tughlaq rulers Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq Shah and Feroz Shah Tughlaq have also been found. On one of these coins the legend is *Khalifatul Momnin.*

Terracottas

Out of a total number of 282 human and animal terracotta figurines found from the Period II, 61 are male human and the rest animal figurines. The former can be categorised into two groups of soldiers and hourse-riders, the soldiers outnumbering the horse-riders.

The soldiers (Pl 33-34) and horse-riders both are bearded and horse-riders modelled in such a way that they can be easily set on the horse back. The figurines are hand made and crude, but they represent a tradition which seems to have started in the Rajput period as evidenced from the discovery of such figurines from the excavations at Purana Qila conducted from 1969 to 1973[21]. While the nose portions are made by the modeller by pressing the clay with thumb and first finger eyes, turbans and belts with buckles are made by the applique method. Beards, single and double cross- belts and upper garments are shown with incised lines made on them (Pl. 35). In most of the cases they wear conical caps and a few don turbans or turbans with the central cone put on the top of the head. The legs are modelled in a way that they can keep balance and remain standing. They wear belts either made with applique method with a central buckle or depicted with double horizontal incised lines with a series of dots.

Animal figurines are likewise modelled with applique technique having decorative incised lines casually for hairs and manes of horses. Horse is the most common motif showing bridles, and saddles (Pl. 36). Portions of horse-riders accoutered with swords are also seen stuck to them. Besides horse, figurines of elephants, camels, monkeys (Pl. 37) and dogs have also been found. An interesting broken figurine of monkey is depicted with raised right hand touching the temple and eye.

Other Finds

Among other finds mention may be of :

(i) Fragments of inscribed Persian glazed tile with Arabic legends.

(ii) Beads of semi-precious stones, glass and terracotta.

(iii) Fragments of a large number of thin green-glass vessels and bottles probably with concave base.

(iv) Glass bangles.

(v) Ivory ring.

(vi) Terracotta finials (Pl. 39).

(vii) Terracotta lipped lamps and *dīpa-stambha* (Pl. 38).

(viii) Terracotta glazed tiles.

(ix) Ear-cleaner of copper, incense burner of copper or brass, decorated door nails of iron and other metallic objects.

Another notable feature of this period was the use in plenty of circular discs or gamesmen looking like hop-scotches made out of glazed ware mostly with gritty core. The Chinese porcelain pottery is totally absent at the site which alongwith other evidences suggests that after the Tughlaq period the site was fully uninhabited. Not any specific evidence of a succeeding period was found in the excavations.

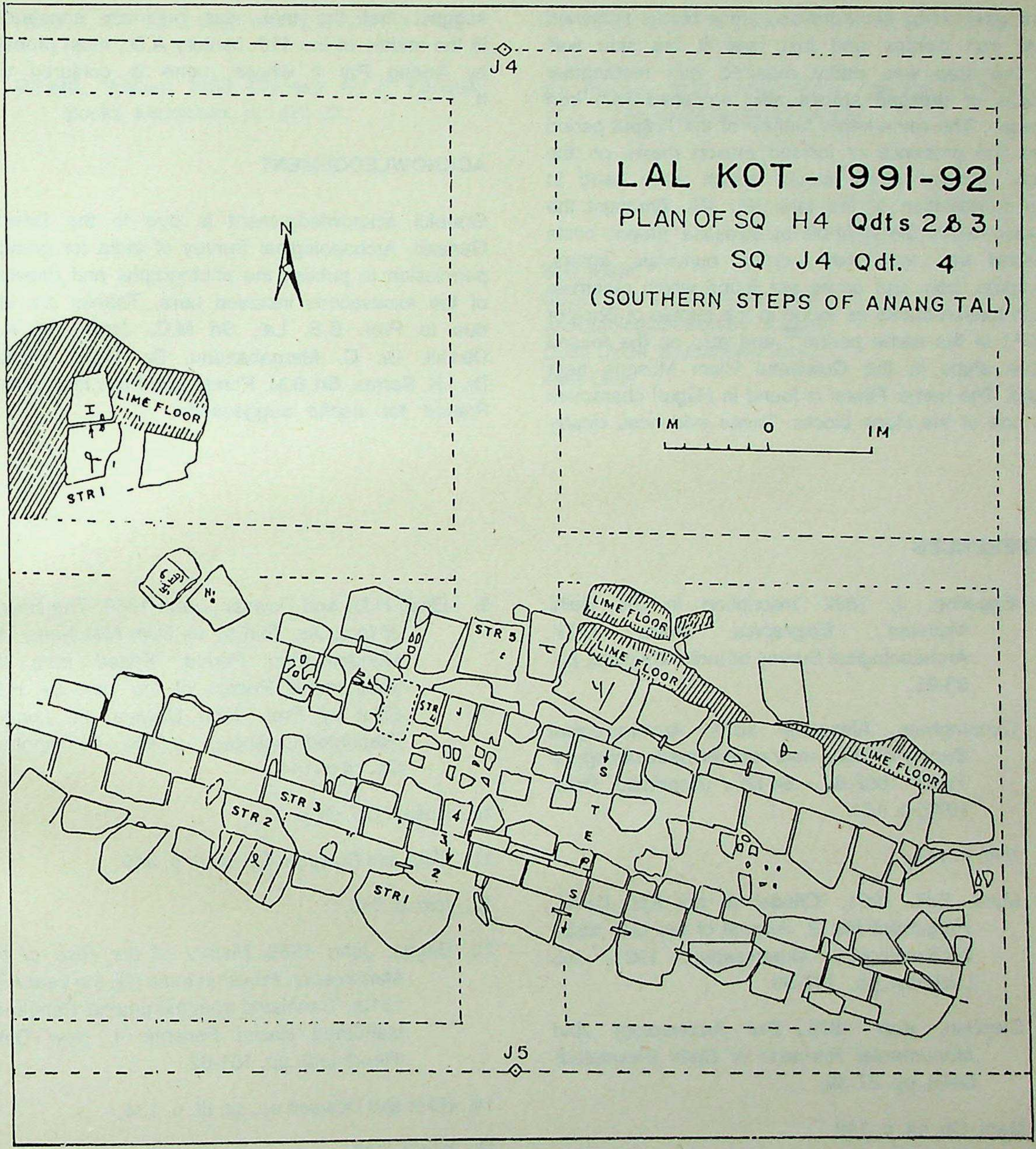
J4
LAL KOT - 1991-92
PLAN OF SQ H4 Qdts 2&3
SQ J4 Qdt. 4
(SOUTHERN STEPS OF ANANG TAL)
N
1M 0 1M
LIME FLOOR
STR 1
LIME FLOOR
LIME FLOOR
STR 5
STR 4
LIME FLOOR
STR 3
STR 2
STR 1
S
T
E
P
S
J5

Fig. 4

New Evidences From Anang Tal

In the tank area of the adjoining Anang Tal the upper part was partly exposed during excavations in the south-western corner. The exposed area suggests some types of steps or retaining walls with wide and long platform of the tank (Fig. 4). This also suggests that the repairs or additions were done after the period of its original construction, most probably by Anang Pal II. The wide platform of thick lime concrete plaster was strengthened by semi-dressed stone blocks tightened with iron clamps and just over it the side wall of the step was partly repaired with rectangular blocks of dressed stones also tightened with iron clamps. The remarkable feature of the Rajput period was the presence of incised mason marks on the semi dressed stone blocks which were used in the construction of the tank (Pl. 40). Amongst the mason-marks the symbols or *swastika*, trident, circle divided into four parts, drum, numerals, letters, scorpion, bow and arrow are found which resemble such mason-marks as found in the temple of Bhojpur (M.P.) of the same period[22] and also on the reused stone slabs in the Quwwatul Islam Mosque near Qutb. The name *Pinasi is* found in Nāgarī characters on one of the stone blocks. These evidences clearly suggest that the tank was originally constructed in the middle of the 11th century A.D., most probably by Anang Pal II whose name is conjured with it.

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Terracottas from Kannauj

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The city of Kannauj variously known as Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kuśasthalī, Kusika and Gadhapuri in ancient times, was a great centre of culture and religion. Its stature was comparable to the celebrated cities like Hastināpur, Ahichchhatrā, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī. Repeated assaults of the foreign hordes destroyed its priceless monuments and cultural wealth.

A reputed place of perfume-making, the present town of Kannauj is situated at the confluence of the Gangā and the Kalindi rivers. A wide range of antiquities datable to a period between 600 B.C. to the 12th century A.D. have been picked up now and then from the ancient mounds, by the art connoisseurs of the town during the past two decades or so. These are carefully housed in a local museum.

The glitter and prosperity of the age of the Imperial Guptas came to an end sometime during the 6th century A.D. But a new power emerged to resurge the lost glory under the enlightened stewardship of Mahārajādhirāj Harshavardhan (A.D. 606-647) who transferred his capital from Thāneshwar to Kannauj. Bāṇa, the court poet, gives a graphic description of the life and culture of the city of Kannauj in his work *'Harṣacharita'*.

Kannauj continued the tradition of terracotta making during the post-Gupta period. A large number of terracottas of this age are presently displayed in the Kannauj Museum. In this paper, I propose to desccribe some select pieces from the collection.

The texture of clay is an important factor in the execution of terracotta objects. Good clay renders softness, dexterity and clarity. The terracotta figurines from Kauśāmbī, Patna, Buxar, Tāmluk and Chandraketugarh owe their excellence to the superfine clay available to the artists. The clay used in the terracottas of Kannauj is somewhat rough. From *'Harṣacharita'*. we learn that on the occasion of the marriage of Rājyasrī the alter was decorated with clay figures of crocodile, tortoise, fish and also modells of coconut, nut and plants. From the available types, it is clear that the artists of post-Gupta period were following the subjects of the earlier periods. But there is a fall out in the technique. Most of the figures are devoid of refinement. The numerous heads reveal a feeble attempt of imitating Gupta types found at Rājghāṭa, Jhusī and Kauśāmbī. Some post-Gupta specimens of Kannauj are characterized by heavy features and rigidity. Several moulds have been found here. The variety of subjects and *tribhangi* posture of certain figures is worth observation. The material is however valuable as it marks a step in the long history of the terracotta medium.

One of the earliest specimens is a broken head of an elephant (Pl. 41). It bears a lustrous black slip generally associated with N.B.P. There occur tan coloured strips on the head of the animal. Specimen of this technique have been earlier noticed at Mathurā[1] and Kauśāmbī[2].

There are half a dozen crudely modelled mother goddess figurines which may be assigned to the pre-Mauryan or Mauryan period. Of these some fall under the 'ageless group' a term used by Stella Kramrisch. A standing female figure of the type has a prominent nose and thin waist. Both of her stump-like legs are set apart. She puts on a torque, necklace and a girdle decorated with grooved circlets, all shown in applique technique[3]. Another specimen, a headless female torso, has a long waist and broad hips. A line of pin top grooved dots emerges from her neck and runs down up to the abdomen zone. Special emphasis has been laid on the navel which is surrounded by a circle formed of punched dots. The lower part of the figure is flattened. Her hands are too short and stump-like[4].

Śuṅga types are rather rare at Kannauj. One Buxar type female has a broad head with lifted chin. Eyes and mouth are absent but nose is prominent. Two, folded applied strips of clay form her ear- ornament seen on the left ear. Both of her legs are set apart. The figurine appears to have been imported from Buxar or Pātaliputra[5].

Gaja Laksmī has been a popular deity during the Śuṅga period (2nd century B.C.). There are two mould made plaques depicting Gaja Laksmī from Kannauj. In one example (Ht. 0.120) the goddess stands erect. She puts on rings in her ears, a torque, necklace, a girdle, anklets and sārī flowing on either side of the legs. She holds the stalk of lotus buds in both of her hands. On the buds stand an elephant pouring water on the head of the Goddess (Pl. 42). A mould made bust of Gaja Laksmī executed in the early phase of the Ist cenury B.C. is quite artistic (Ht. - 0.70). She has a heavy face recalling the faces of Bharhut figures. She puts on ear-rings, a torque and a necklace. Her hair is drawn backside and held by a chain. The trepezodial mark on her forehead is significant as it is a typical feature of the Śuṅga types. On either of her sides there stands an elephant pouring water from jars held in the mouth of the animal (Pl. 44).

A standing mould made female figure represents a goddess (Pl. 43). (Ht. 0.110). Her hair is arranged in two big rolls parted in the middle by a ball-like projection. The rolls are decorated with wheel and other accessories. She puts on a torque, a long necklace, a thick girdle and a sari, a part of it folded on the right side. Her left hand rests on the hip and the left one lifted and touching the ear-ring,

An interesting find is a head of a serpent god or goddess[6]. It has a curved head decorated with incised lines and punched eyes encircled by a clay strip. Datable to the 2nd century B.C., the type has a wide distribution all over north India particularly at Kausambi[7], Lauria Nandan Garh[8] and Chandraketugaṛh[9]. The specimen found at Kannauj may have come from Kausāmbī.

There are several Kuṣāṇa heads and types in the Kannauj Museum. The best of the lot is a powerfully modelled male head (Pl. 48) (Ht. 0.105). The face of the man is long and his eyes, nose and lips are well-formed. His semi-circular headgear has several folds with a knot on the right side. The head appears to be an imported one.

Votive tanks were also known to the Kannauj artists. A male drummer with bulky body plays on a drum placed near his abdomen. He has large-size eyes and thick lips and puts on a rope - like torque and a thick folded waistband[10]. A slightly better executed drummer puts on a *kulha* type high cap on his head, a torque decorated with scratch marks and a waistband indicated by a double incised line[11].

Horse rider figures are common during the Kuṣāṇa period. One example from Kannauj shows a rider with a long face. The horse is, however, missing. He holds a shield in his surviving left hand[12]. There is also an elephant rider in the collection. A hybrid animal with a human face is also interesting[13].

The post-Gupta period terracottas offer many types including heads, the later showing a wide variety of coiffure. It seems the Kannauj artist was aware of the best products of Rājghāt. Inspired by this wealth he tried to execute heads and figures but failed to infuse the spirit and excellence which was the hallmark of the Rājghāṭ types. Credit, however, goes to the artist for continuing the tradition and fulfilling the need of the contemporary society.

A mould made plaque shows an amorous couple[14]. Several examples of mother and child types on the pattern of Ahichahhatra are available at Kannauj[15]. The mother is tall and holds the child in her left arm. The right lowered hand holds a ball. An oval-shaped plaque contains a tenderly rendered female figure, looking at a mirror held in her left hand. Her hanging braid on the right side adds charm to the figure[16]. There is a hole at the top and bottom of the plaque for fixing the object on a wooden plate.

The couple in various attitudes and actions has been a favourite subject from Śuṅga period onwards in the medium of stone and terracotta. There are three specimens in terracotta showing a couple. In one piece the man stands on the right and the female to the left resting his right hand on the shoulder of her partner. The hair of the man is arranged like a wig (Pl. 45) (Ht. 0.80). A headless soldier stands along with his wife. He holds a sword in his right hand[17].

Moulds of Gupta and post - Gupta periods are extremely rare in Indian terracotta art. Luckily we have two interesting moulds of post - Gupta period in the Kannauj Museum. The positive of one mould shows a couple standing under thick foliage. The man is on the right and woman on the left. Their bodies are slim but faces heavy (Pl. 47) (Ht. 0.105). The upper part of a mould and its positive shows head of a woman under thick foliage. She has a long face with a thick nose. A rope attached with a swing is seen on both the sides of her face[18]. A complete figure of this type is seen in the other plaque (Pl. 49). Here the woman is seated on a seat held by ropes of the swing. Each one of her legs crosses the other. There is thick foliage above her head.

A third example of this group shows a woman with her face slightly turned to the right (Ht. 110 - 065). Above her head there is a circular arch which may represent a halo and also a *chadraśilā.* Her left hand rests on the left knee. The partly broken legs are shown in movement. Perhaps the woman is on a swing. A Gupta period plaque from Rajaghat, housed in the Allahabad Museum, also shows a woman on a swing.

A thick plaque shows a headless woman in half profile (Ht. 0.54). She has heavy breasts, flesh legs and hands. She holds a bow in her left lowered hand; the right hand, resting on the hip, grasps an arrow (Pl. 50). She may represent a woman warrior ? A female archer figure found at Ahichchhaṭrā was published by K.D. Bajpai[19].

There are four male figures, each holding a sword in the right hand. The best preserved specimen shows the man, wearing a two- tier headgear with a roundal at the top. On either side of his face the hair-locks are shown in rigid tiers. He puts on round ear-rigns, a torque and a mini-skirt[20]. Another example shows a man holding a shield in his left hand and a sword in the right one. He is represented in a running posture[21].

A man with folded hands is seated on hips. He has a prominent belly, a big head and uneven mouth. A strip of clay makes his hair and there is a projection at the top. An oval plaque behind the head may be a halo[22]

Naigameṣa and *Naigamī* which are associated with child birth were popular deities in several cities like Ahichchhatrā and Kauśāmbi, Patna and Vaiśāli. The variously executed figures are dated between the 2nd and 6th century A.D. Such figures assignable to the 7th century A.D. are however available at Kannauj. The technique is bold and general features are marked by heaviness. One figure of Naigamesa has a hooked nose, slit-cut mouth, punched eyes and short dangling ears (Ht. 0.115). He puts on a torque and a *dhoti* held up by a waistband indicated by double incised lines. The naval and breast-nipples are shown by punched dots. The lower part of the figure has been carelessly modelled (Pl. 51).

A female figure of Naigamai is better executed. Her eyes, nipples and girdle are indicated by punched circlets (Ht. 0.90). The nose is hooked and for mouth there is a slit cut. She has small dangling ears. On the top of the head there is a perforated projection (Pl. 33).

It may also be mentioned here that there are a couple of flattened male figures with dangling ears and hood-shaped perforated crest on top of the head. The eyes, nose and mouth are clearly indicated by the body is cursurily executed. A bold and striking female bust has a mould-made face and a high perforated crest (Ht. 0.110). On either side of her head there is a ring from which hang flexible (applied) ear ornament. There are punched circlets for the torque and the nipples (Pl. 53)

An alert seated man has a thick applied collar, prominent nose and carelessly modelled hands (Ht. 0.116). A strip of clay with grooved dots is seen around his head and face. He puts on a high crested hat (Pl. 55)

A beautiful head has wavy hair parted in the middle of the head (Ht. 0.60). The punched hair locks shaped like ringlets hang on either side of the face. The nose, eyes and the lips are well- formed. The specimen belongs to the late 7th century A.D. and may have come from a site like Śrāvastī (Pl. 54).

A standing Yakṣa figure of the late 7th century A.D. is interesting (Ht. 0.65). He has a broad wrinkled face with prominent eyes, belly, deeply grooved navel and also animal-like erect ears. He probably holds some rectangular object with both of his lowered hands (Pl. 56).

There are also terracotta figures of Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Mahiṣāsurmardinī in the Kannauj Museum. A large number of birds and animals have been found at Kannauj. A figure of seated bear is interesting (Pl. 57) (Ht. 0.55).

A small round plaque contains on its surface an incised figure of a stag. It can be assigned to early centuries of the present era (Pl. 58). It may also be mentioned here that a sprinkler from Kannauj has on its body figures of running deer or reindeers[23].

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Studies of Jaina Art in Uttar Pradesh

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Like Buddhism and Brahminism, Jainism too was a popular cult in Uttar Pradesh, the antiquity of which may well be pushed to c.second century B.C. on the basis of the archaeological material from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathura. The strongholds of Jainism in Uttar Pradesh were· Mathura (c.2nd century B.C. to 1177 A.D.), Deogarh (862 A.D.-13th century A.D.). Chandpur and Siron (c.10th-12th century A.D.), Varanasi (c.6th-7th century A.D.), Saheṭh Maheṭh (Gonda), Ayodhyā (c.3rd century B.C.), Bateshwar (Agra), Unnao, Ahicchatrā, Kauśāmbī (8th- 11th century A.D.), Pabhosā, Lacchagiri, Kahaum (Deoria - 460 A.D.), Mahobā and Hamirpur (Darhat). The Jaina antiquity spread over in the state are affiliated mainly to the Digambara sect.[1] Of all the places yielding Jaina vestiges of consequence, Mathura, Deogarh and Varanasi were the most important ones, in terms of antiquity, vast amount of Jaina vestiges and also for long continuous and quality art activity. As many as nine Jīnas took birth and attained omniscience (*Kevalajñāna*) at different places spread over in Uttar Pradesh, the places being Varanasi (Supārśvanātha, Pārśvanātha, Candraprabha and Sreyāṁsanātha), Ayodhya (Abhinandana, Sumatinātha and Anatanātha), Kausāmbī (Padma-prabha) and Śrāvastī (Sambhavanātha). But it is surprising to note that the most prolific Jaina sites namely Mathura and Deogarh were not directly associated with the life of any of the Jīṇas[2].

The works so far done mainly confine to the jaina antiquities of Mathura and Deogarh and in some cases even the jaina collections of State Museum, Lucknow, Govt. Museum, Mathura and Allahabad Museum.[3] The study of Jaina antiquites of Mathura initiated by V.A. Smith, J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw and G. Buhler was advanced further by V.S. Agrawala, K.D. Bajpai, R.C. Sharma and few others[4]. B.C. Bhattacharya[5] and U.P. Shah[6] have made significant contributions on the basis of their study of the Jaina sculptures of Mathura. Deogarh, another prolific site, could draw the attention of the scholars very late and it was only towards the close of 1970 that the scholars like Klaus Bruhn[7] and Bhagachandra Jain[8] have published important works covering some of the aspects of Jaina art of Deogarh. However, the present author has also made some humble endeavours to discuss different aspects of the Jaina art of Mathura, Deogarh and Varanasi[9].

Although works have been done on different aspects of Jaina art in Uttar Pradesh yet much remains to be done and that too in a concerted manner to project the specific contribution of the state towards the development of Jaina art and also several other related aspects. This work may be taken-up in the following manner to present the comprehensive and comparative study of Jaina art in Uttar Pradesh.

1. Independent and detailed study of the Jaina icons at Mathura, Deogarh and Varanasi should be taken-up separately discussing critically the iconography, art, inscription and socio-religious aspects revealed through their vestiges.
2. The study of Jaina vestiges at other sites should also be taken-up on the same lines to give a fuller account.
3. A comprehensive catalogue of all the Jaina sculptures in Uttar Pradesh museums should be prepared so that one could find the entire Jaina material in Uttar Pradesh museums at one place.

Studies under above three categories should strictly be done in historical perspective to show the evolution in terms of iconography and socio-religious features. The above study would be outlined in reference to time and space.

After such an initial and preparatory venture a real integrated study of Jaina art in Uttar Pradesh could be taken-up wherein detailed, critical and comprehensive study of all the themes, features and changes occurring in the backdrop of time and space may be discussed. Such a study would also discusss the specific contributions of different areas alongwith the over all contribution of the State, besides the mutual influence of different areas in and outside Uttar Pradesh. In this connection, the bearing of the figures of Jaina Mahāvidyās of Mahāvīra temple (close of 8th century or early 9th century A.D.) at Osiāñ (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) on the rendering of some of the *Yakṣīs* carved on the temple No. 12 (862 A.D.) at Deogarh and likewise the similarity of Bāhubalī figures (10th-12th century A.D.) in respect of showing some of the *Prātihāryas* flanking figures of Vidyadharis removing the entwining creepers from the body of Bāhubāli, and above all the figures of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* at Deogarh and Khajuraho are specially noteworthy.[10]

The Jina images of Mathura, Varanasi, Deogarh and everywhere else are the creative expression of the idealized form of human being elevated to the status of the deity who has subdued all his desires and passions and ultimately attained absolute knowledge and emancipation. The seated figures are indeed better in modelling revealing benign and somewhat smilng face truly suggestive of their being *vītarāgī kevalins.* On the other hand, the standing figures in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* with somewhat strained posture and faces are suggestive of the rigorous tapas and austerity they were absorbed in. These images perfectly appear as visible symbol of *yogic* contemplation and inner peace Jinas (victors).

While the Jainas were liberal towards assimilating different deities and other elements from other sects such as association *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* with the Jinas they had never compromised with their basic tenets of meditation and bodily abandonment represented by the *vītāragī* Jinas. Jinas were always shown in the postures of meditation while Buddha in course of time was represented in different postures and also as showing the *abhaya* or the *varada mudrās* or even performing miracles. Jinas, however, never performed any miracle and even in the event of *upsargas* (hindrances), they remained calim and absorbed in tapas and meditation which shows their unceasing respect for yogic postures of transcendental meditation and bodily abandonment. To cater the need of the worshippers for worldly possessions, however, the *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs* were associated with the Jinas.

While Mathura was important for showing the formative stages in the development of the Jaina art particularly in terms of the two *yogic* postures (*dhyāna-mudrā* and the *kāyotsarga- mudrā*) of Jina images, rendering of the srīvatsa in the centre of chest, introduction of some of the prātihāryas in the Kushāṇa period, the identifying marks in the form of the lateral strands, seven-hooded snake canopy and the figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively with Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārsvanātha and Neminātha, *ayāgapaṭas,*[11] Jina caumukhī (pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā)[12] and the narratives from the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha (dance of Nilāñjanā) and Mahāvīra (transfer of embryo), Deogarh was singularly important for innovatory icon types which although not referred to in literary injunctions are well in tune with the Jaina tradition.[13] These include particularly the figures of Bharata *Cakravartin* and Bāhubalī, the two sons of Ṛṣabhanātha, who owing to ther rigorous austerity were elevated in status to equal the Jinas, highest in Jaina worship. The features like the *aṣṭaprātihāryas* and the figures of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī,* which are invariably shown with the Jinas, have been associated with Bharata and Bāhubalī for the sake of their elevation.

Deogarh occupies singular importance also because the earliest instance of the collective rendering of all the 24 *Yakṣīs* are found on the facade of the temple No. 12 wherein the *Yakṣis* and their respective *Jinas* have been labelled. The names of the *Yaksis* surprisingly concur with the list available in the eighth century Digambara work the *Tiloyapannatti.* As regards the iconography, the *Yakṣīs* reveal distinct bearing of the Jaina Mahāvidyas, of Svetambara tradition as enunciated in the *Caturvimsatikā* (c.8th century A.D.) and as represented on the facade of the Mahāvira temple at Osiān, said to have been built during the reign of Pratihāra king Vatsaraja. In cases of seven *Yakṣī* figures from the temple No. 12 at Deogarh, the distinct bearing of the iconography of Śvetāmbara *Jaina* Mahavidyas namely, Apraticakra, Vajrasṛṅkhala, Naradattā, Mahākālī, Vairotya, Acchuptā and Mahamanasi could be seen who are carved with different appellations. Of the 24 *Yaksīs*, only five are being carved with their conventional Jinas, they are Cakreśvarī, Anantavīryā (Anantamatī-Digambara), Tārādevī (Tārāmatī - Digambara), Ambāyikā and Padmāvati represented respectively with Rsabha, Ananta, Ara, Aristanemi and Pārśva Jinas. The four Yaksīs namely, Jālāmalinī, Aparājitā, Sīdhayi and Bahurupi are carved with unconventional Jinas. The last three are carved respectively with Vardhamāna, Munisuvrata and Puspadanta. According to the Jaina tradition, Jvālāmālinī, Sidhayī or Siddhāyikā and Bahurūpī or Bahurupini are the *Yaksīs* respectively of Candraprabha, Mallinātha, Mahāvīra and Munisuvrata. The names of other *Yaksīs* carved on temple No. 12 at Deogarh are not encountered in any of the known texts they are Sarasvatī (Abhinandana), Mayūra - vāhī (supārsva), Himādevī (Mallinātha) Śriyādevī (Śantinātha and Śītalanātha), Surakṣitā (Dharmanātha), Sulakṣaṇā (Vimalanātha), Sumālinī (Candraprabha) and Sulocanā (Padmaprabha). The subsequent examples of the collective rendering of the 24 *Yakṣīs* are, however, known from Patiāndāī (on the *parikarā* of Ambika image) 11th century A.D. Satna, M.P., now in the Allahabad Museum) and the Bārabhujī cave (Khandagiri, Puri, Orissa, 11th-12th century A.D.).

Varanasi although yielded very few Jina images but they are important as they show the cognizances and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* with the Jinas which are among the earliest examples bearing such features. It may be noted that these form the significant iconographic features of Jina images introduced during the Gupta period. The earliest examples showing the cognizance with Nemīnatha and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* with Ṛṣabhanātha (although not conventional) are procured from Rājgir (Vaibhāragir, Nalanda, Bihar, 4th century A.D.) and Akotā (Vadodara, Gujarat, 6th century A.D.). The figures from Varanasi, datable to c.6th- 7th century A.D., are preserved in Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi. In one instance (Acc. No. 161), Mahāvīra is shown with lion cognizance, carved like Rājgir figure in pair, while the other image (Acc. No. 212), on the testimony of *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, carved below the throne, may be identified as Neminātha.

The Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period like those of the Buddhist and Brahminical sculptures, exhibit all plastic qualities of Gupta period. The elegant Jina figures show weightlessness and vegetative rhythm and movement radiating from within the body through its natural vibrating curves, suggesting both the physical and spiritual strength. The plastic and aesthetic qualities of the images also show regional variations. The Jina images with drooping eye lids and half shut eyes, suggesting inward look and self introspection, are serene in appearance.

The above study would thus distinctly reveal that the Jaina art in all other parts of the country virtually developed on the foundation of Mathura and Varanasi and its later manifestation at Deogarh. In all such studies a sincere effort should be made to take an account of the literary data as well to support different observations. The present author has elsewhere discussed the problem of exact sectarial affiliation of the Kushāṇa Jina images from Mathura which to the most of the scholars are the products of the Digambara sect in view of the nudity of the Jina images. On the basis of the *acelaka* (sky-clad) and *sacelaka* (draped) ways of living for Jaina friars and Jinas being conceived always as sky-clad in *Āgama* texts, it has been observed that the Kushāṇa Jaina images from Mathura, showing full concurrence with the Āgamic tradition, can suggest no sectarial affiliation with the Digambaras, it rather, and upto atleast the mid second century A.D., represents the undifferentiated proto - Śvetāmbara and Yāpanīya sects. The earliest examples showing the difference of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects in visual representations are known only from late fifth century A.D. onwards.

The factors behind the emergence of Mathura and Deogarh as the most important centres of Jaina art without any direct royal patronage should be revealed in the light of socio- religious and economic background. In this regard the inscriptions from Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, Mathura which frequently refer to the significant contributions of the *sreṣṭhin, sārthavāha, gandhika, suvarṇakāra, vardhakin, lauhakarmaka, nāvika, nartaka, veśyās* and different *goṣṭhīs* of trader towards Jainism is of utmost importance. The study of Jaina religious organisation in U.P. is equally important which could be taken-up on the basis of the sculptures, particularly the inscriptions from Mathura and Deogarh.

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FOOT - NOTES / REFERENCES

1. However, Mathura and its neighbouring areas have also yielded some of the Śvetāmbara Jina figures. Of such examples, two images, assignable to 11th century A.D., represent Neminātha and Munisuvrata, respectively the 22nd and 20th Jinas, the former wearing a *dhotī* while the latter being seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā* and containing the standing figure of Jīvantasvāmī dressed in *dhotī.* Both these figures are now in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. 66.53 and J.776). Neminātha in consonance with Jaina tradition is joined by the four-armed figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Balarāma, endowed with three-hooded snake canopy, holds *musala* and *hala* in his two hands while the third hand rests on the thigh. Krsna decked with *kirīṭamukuṭa* and *vanamālā* shows the *abhaya-mudrā,* mace, disc and conch. Surprisingly, the image of Munisuvrata contains in its *parikara* the two figures of Jīvantasvāmī, standing in *kayotsarga* alongwith the figures of four-armed Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with conventional attributes. The *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* are also Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, associated with Neminātha. The pedestal has an inscription on the basis of which the image could be dated to 1006 A.D. It also gives the name of the Jina as Munisuvrata whose *Kūrma lāñchana* is carved on the throne. Thus the presence of the figures of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā alongwith Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa is either a mistake on the part of the sculptor or it was intended to represent a composite image showing the features both of Munisuvrata and Neminātha. The third Śvetāmbara image of 11th century A.D. represents Mallinātha, the 19th Jina, as female Tīrthaṅkara. According to the Śvetāmbara works, Mallinātha is the only female Tīrthaṅkara, a tradition not accepted by the Digambara sect. The present image showing female breasts and *veṇī* is procured from Unnao and is now in the State Museum, Lucknow (J885).

2. The geographical environment and also the situation of Mathura and Deogarh on the commercial route were virtually responsible for the emergence of these places as great religious centres of Jainism witnessing vigorous art activity. The inscriptions from these places testify to the significant contribution of the business class towards Jaina art activity.

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10. *Harivamsa Purāṇa 11.101; Ādipurāṇa,* Vol.II, 36-183. The *prātihāryas* like simhasana, fly-whisk bearing attendants, nimbus, garland bearing celestial being, and drum-beaters alongwith the srīvats mark on the chest are shown with these figures. However, instead of *trichatra* single parasol is carved with Bharata and Bāhubalī possibly because they are kevalīns but not Jina. The *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* in both the instances are Gomukha and Cakresvarī who are associated in Jaina tradition with Ṛṣabhanātha, the father of Bāhubali.

11. The Jaina *āyāgapaṭas* of 2nd-3rd century B.C. represent the transitional phase of Jaina iconography in which the worship of symbols (*svastika, triratna*) together with the Jinas in human form was in vogue. One such example of c.Ist century B.C. containing the figure of Pārśvanātha is in the collection of State Museum, Lucknow (J253).

12. The Jina *caumukhī* of the Kushaṇā period, showing four different Jinas on four sides, does not bear any influence of the conception of the Jaina *samavasaraṇa,* the congregation hall where from every Jina delivered his first sermon. It is rather difficult to find any traditional basis of the conception of the Jina *caumukhī* from the Jaina works. On the other hand, we come across a number of such sculptures in contemporary and even early art which might have inspired the Jainas to carve Jina *caumukhī.* It is not impossible that Asokan pillar capitals (specially Saranath lion capital), multi-faced Śiva *liṅgas* and *Yakṣa* figures had some bearing upon the conception of Jina *caumukhī.*

13. The *tritīrthī* Jina images from Deogarh showing the figures of Sarasvatī and Bāhubalī (temple Nos. 1-2), the rendering of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* with Bāhubalī (temple No. 11), Jaina *caumukhī* showing the figures of two or three Jīnas on two or three sides while on the remainng sides the figures of jaina *ācāryas* are being carved, and an image of Ambikā in the Sāhū Jaina Museum, Deogarh showing the figures of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* on pedestal (identical figure of Ambikā from Khajurāho is in the Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho).

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शिवद्वार-मऊ, जिला सोनभद्र के रामकथा फलक

शीतला प्रसाद तिवारी

जैसा कि 'प्राग्धारा' के विगत अंक 2 में प्रकाशित डा० राकेश तिवारी और श्री गिरीश चन्द्र सिंह के 'मऊ क्षेत्र के सन्दर्भ में सोनभद्र जनपद का शिल्प वैभव' शीर्षक लेख, और उसके माध्यम से शायद पहली बार प्रकाश में लायी गयी शिल्पावशेषों की पुष्कल सामग्री से पता चलता है[1], कैमूर-पर्वत की उपत्यकाओं के सान्निध्य और स्रोतस्विनी सोनभद्र की गोद में बसा हुआ उत्तर-प्रदेश का यह क्षेत्र, पुराविदों अथवा प्रत्नकीर्ति को अपावृत करने वाले जिज्ञासुओं का अपना तीर्थराज जैसा है। यहां पर प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, पुरातत्व एवं संस्कृति के विद्यार्थियों के लिये सतत् उपयोगी, उनके अपने पाठ्य-क्रम के प्रायः सभी आयामों के जीवित, अर्ध-जीवित अथवा पुनर्जीवित साक्ष्य आज भी यत्र-तत्र-सर्वत्र ही दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं । और, इस विषय का सुखद-संयोग यह है कि सुश्री तिवारी और सिंह ने अपने संक्षिप्त से लेख में न केवल इस क्षेत्र की विविधतापूर्ण सामग्री का आद्यन्त विहंगावलोकन प्रस्तुत किया है, अपितु, यहां के शिल्प-वैभव में निहित और शिल्पांकनों में निदर्शित कुछ ऐसी कृतियों की ओर भी हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है जिनकी विषय-वस्तु की अपनी अभिज्ञा स्वयं में एक प्रश्न-चिन्ह है और इस कारणवश जिज्ञासुओं को इस बारे में विचार करने के लिये विवश करती है ।

प्रस्तुत लेख, ऐसे ही कतिपय, अपनी निश्चित अभिज्ञा के प्रति विशंकित और शिवद्वार-क्षेत्र के उन शिल्पांकनों से सम्बंधित है जिन्हें, तिवारी और सिंह ने मात्र रामकथा - फलक (?)[2] जैसा सामान्य सम्बोधन देकर प्रकाशित किया है और इस बारे में बड़े ही स्पष्ट रूप में (यानी, कि पहले हम स्वयं इन कथा फलकों की विषय-वस्तु निर्धारित कर लें तब, इन्हें प्रकाश में लाया जाय, इस प्रकार की किसी भी द्रुत-विलम्बित अन्यमनस्कता के विपरीत) इनकी कथा-वस्तु की विशिष्टता को उजागर करने के लिये कलाविदों, कथाविदों और हमारे जैसे विद्यार्थियों का ध्यान भी इस ओर आकर्षित किया है । इन रामकथा - फलकों की अपनी स्वयं की समीक्षा प्रस्तुत करने से पूर्व, तिवारी और सिंह के उपरोक्त लेख के पक्ष में हम एक बात और उजागर करना उचित समझते हैं कि वैसे, यद्यपि कथा की अपनी विषय-वस्तु के प्रति अनिश्चित और अनिर्णीत होते हुये भी, इन्होंने अपने लेख में इनके छाया-चित्रों का जो क्रम (यानी चित्र सं० 3 और 4)[3] निर्धारित किया था वह, हमारे अपने दृष्टिकोण से भी सटीक बैठता है । सुविधा के तौर पर, आश्रमों के पर्यावरण से सम्बंधित रामकथा के इन शिला-फलकों का सम्बोधन हम अपनी समीक्षा में, प्रथमाश्रम और द्वितीयाश्रम के रूप में करेंगे, साथ ही, इन आश्रमों में निदर्शित विषय-वस्तु की प्रामाणिक सारिष्टता प्रतिपादित करने से पूर्व, हम पहले इनके अन्तर्गत शिल्पायित पात्रों की अपनी स्थिति और उनके सान्निध्य में दिखायी देने वाले वातावरण की चर्चा करेंगे ।

प्रथमाश्रम

इस आश्रम में दो शिला - स्तंभों की अपनी परिधि में निदर्शित और विषयवस्तु की अभिज्ञा की दृष्टि से विचारणीय, स्मरणीय अथवा उल्लेखनीय चार बातें मुख्य हैं । पहली बात, एक शिला-निर्मित आसन्दी अथवा पीठिका पर, बैठे हुये कृशकाय, मुनि, महर्षि अथवा 'तपो धन' तपस्वी की अपनी उपस्थिति, जिसके पैरों में पादुका है और शीर्षभाग में जटिल होकर लपेटी गयी जटायें । तपस्वी के पाद-पृष्ठ और जानु भाग की उभरी हुयी अस्थियां और शुष्क कपोल-भित्ति के बावजूद भी तेजस्वितापूर्ण आंखें, उसके, किसी बहुत बड़े 'तप्त-तपस' महर्षि होने का संकेत देती है । पुनः (और यह हमारे विचारणीय तथ्य

की दूसरी बात है) इस प्रकार के महर्षि जिस पर्णान्वित छाया के नीचे बैठे हुये हैं वह उनकी अपनी पर्णशाला जान पड़ती है जिसे हमारे इस फलक के शिल्पी कलाकार ने एक छतनार वृक्ष के रूप में निदर्शित किया है । खैर ! मूल रूप में वह एक छतनार वृक्ष है अथवा महर्षि की अपनी पर्णशाला, उपयोग की दृष्टि से दोनों की इयत्ता एक जैसी है।

हमारे विचारणीय तथ्यों की तीसरी मुख्य बात है महर्षि और महर्षि की इस पर्णशाला के प्रवेश द्वार को बड़ी उत्सुकता से निरुद्ध करके, कुछ बैठे और कुछ खड़े मृगों और मृग-शावकों की अपनी उपस्थिति। इससे पहले कि हम महर्षि की पर्णशाला के द्वार को निरुद्ध करके बैठे हुये मृगों के पीछे दर्शायी गयी तीनों स्त्री पात्रों की चर्चा करें, यहां यह बता देना समीचीन लगता है कि रामकथा के इस फलक में निदर्शित महर्षि की अपनी इस पर्णशाला की, सुषमा और सुष्ठुता की अनद्या-प्रसूति, मृगों और मृग-शावकों की इस तिरस्करणी के माध्यम से, इस बात का रहस्य जानने वालों को समझायी भी गयी है और इस पहेली को स्वतः न समझ पाने वालों के लिये थोड़ी बहुत उलझायी भी गयी है । अवसर आने पर हम इस बात की चर्चा एक बार पुनः और पूरे विस्तार के साथ करेंगे ।

पुनः जैसा कि हम ऊपर भी कह चुके हैं, महर्षि के इस आश्रम में विषय-वस्तु की अभिज्ञा निर्धारण का सहयोगी और तुरीयक तथ्य है तीन अभिजात वर्ग की महिलाओं की अपनी उपस्थिति । ये अपनी वेश-भूषा, कर्ण-कुण्डल और कण्ठहार की छवि को देखते हुये किसी राजा की राज- महिषी की तरह जान पड़ती हैं (फलक 64)। संक्षेप में, हमारे राम कथा-फलकों के प्रथमाश्रम में निदर्शित पात्रों की अपनी उपस्थिति यहीं समाप्त होती है और अब, इस आश्रम में उपस्थित पात्रों की राम कथा के प्रसंग में अपनी-अपनी अभिज्ञायें क्या हैं, रामायण की अपनी भाषा में इनकी पहचान क्या है, इस बात पर विचार किया जायेगा।

इस आश्रम में उपस्थित महर्षि, उनकी पर्णशाला और उस पर्णशाला के प्रवेश-द्वार को निरुद्ध करने वाले मृगादि जीवों की तिरस्करणी के पीछे दर्शायी गयी तीन महिला आकृतियों में से, तपस्तप्त भारतीय महर्षियों के आश्रम और उसके दैनन्दिन पर्यावरण की चिर परिचित परिभाषाओं की अपनी वरीयताओं पर पहले विचार करना, कथावस्तु की दृष्टि से अधिक श्रेयस्कर जान पड़ता है ।

इस प्रकार, यद्यपि महर्षि वाल्मीकि के काव्य में हमें अभी तक किसी भी ऐसे ऋषि-आश्रम का विवरण नहीं मिल पाया है जिसमें मृग-शावकों को अश्रम का प्रवेश द्वार अवरुद्ध किये हुये बताया गया हो[4], किन्तु कालिदास ने (जिनके रामकथा सम्बंधी उद्‌गारों को आदि कवि वाल्मीकि का 'सरलानुवाद' कहा जाता है ।[5] अपने रघुवंश में भारतीय आदर्शों के जिस आश्रम की चर्चा की है उसकी रूपरेखा हमारे राम कथा फलक के इस आश्रम से अक्षरशः मेल खाती है । उन्होंने, महर्षि वशिष्ठ के आश्रम को देखने के बाद राजा दिलीप की अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त करते हुये कहा है कि 'आश्रम की पर्णशाला अथवा उटज द्वार को अवरुद्ध करके स्थित मृग और मृग-शावक ऐसे लग रहे हैं जैसे वे ऋषि-पत्नियों के अपने निजी पुत्र-पौत्र हों और संयुक्त परिवार में बंट रही नीवार का अपना अंश पाने के लिये आकुलित हो रहे हों :

आकीर्णमृषिपत्नीनामुटजद्वाररोधिभिः ।
अपत्यैरिव नीवारभागधेयोचितैमृगैः॥ [6]

कहना न होगा कि हमारे आश्रम की इस पर्णशाला (जिसका दूसरा पर्याय उटज भी है) अवरुद्ध करने वाले मृग-शावक, तपोवन सम्बंधी हमारे अपने पर्यावरण और उस पर्यावरण के बीच स्थित्र ऋषि-आश्रम की उसी परिभाषा के अंग हैं जिसकी अभिव्यक्ति कालिदास ने अपनी लोकदर्शी अनुभूतियों के आधार पर की है और कला में जिसका अभूतपूर्व निदर्शन हमारे शिल्पी ने अपनी स्वयं की जानकारी के अनुरूप की है। अगर, थोड़ी देर के लिये (और केवल थोड़ी देर के लिये ही, क्योंकि कथा के प्रसंग में इस बात का औचित्य कदापि नहीं बैठ पाता) हम इस फलक में निदर्शित महिला-पात्रों को ऋषि पत्नी मान लें तब, कालिदास की **'आकीर्णमृषिपत्नीनामुटजद्वाररोधिभिः । अपत्यैरिवनीवारभागधेयोचितैमृगैः ।।**[6] पंक्तियों का शिल्प में, अक्षरशः अनुवाद जैसा प्रतीत होता है ।

पुनः कवि-समय और तत्कालीन शिल्पी समाज दोनों में समादृत ऋषि-आश्रम की पर्यावरण सम्बंधी इस अभिज्ञा को समझ लेने के बाद, प्रश्न उठता है कि इस प्रकार के आश्रम में विराजमान रामायण की जानी मानी कथा के अनुरूप, हमारे ये तपस्तप्त महर्षि कौन हो सकते हैं और, तदनुसार उनके शुभाशीष के लिये वहां पर दर्शनार्थ आयी हुयी तीन महिलाओं की अपनी अभिज्ञा क्या होगी ?

संयोग से यहीं आकर आदि कवि वाल्मीकि हमारी उपरोक्त जिज्ञासाओं का चिरापेक्षित अवलम्ब प्रस्तुत करते हैं । और, इससे पूर्व कि हम कथा के विस्तार में जायं, पाठकों की अपनी जिज्ञासा-हेतु, यहां पर यह बता देना अवांछित न होगा कि वाल्मीकि की अपनी राम-कथा के अनुरूप हमारे इस शिला-फलक में निदर्शित वृत्तान्त उस समय का है, जब भरत, भगवान राम को वापस लाने के लिये चित्रकूट जा रहे थे और रास्ते में महर्षि भरद्वाज के आश्रम में, अपनी पूरी सेना, गुरु वशिष्ठ और मातृजनों के साथ वहां पर रात्रि-वास किये थे । रामायण की कथा के अनुरूप, दूसरे दिन प्रातःकाल जब चित्रकूट प्रयाण के लिये भरत, महर्षि का अनुशासन मांगने गये तब, उनके साथ रानी कौशल्या, सुमित्रा और कैकेयी भी ऋषि के दर्शनार्थ वहां उपस्थित हुयी थीं और उनकी प्रदक्षिणा के उपरान्त महर्षि भरद्वाज के पैर भी छुये थे । इस अवसर पर, भरद्वाज ने यह कह कर कि हमें इतना तो ज्ञात है कि ये तीनों महिलायें राजा दशरथ की तीन रानियां हैं किन्तु इनमें

से इन सबकी अपनी-अपनी विशिष्ट अभिज्ञा क्या है ? इस बात का प्रश्न भी भरत से पूछा था[6] । संक्षेप में, हमारे इस शिला-फलक के राम-कथाविद् शिल्पी ने, यहां पर केवल भरत की उपस्थिति को छोड़कर, ऋषि भरद्वाज, उनके आश्रम और वहीं पर उनके दर्शनार्थ आयी हुयी राज-माताओं की इसी विषय-वस्तु का निदर्शन किया है ।

इस प्रसंग में, जिसे हमने पहले प्रामाणिक सारिष्टता कहा है उस दृष्टिकोण के अनुरूप, यद्यपि कालिदास के **'उटज-द्वाररोधिभिः ... . मृगैः'** आदि के आधार पर इस फलक में निदर्शित ऋषि-आश्रम की सारिष्टता निःसन्देह प्रमाणित हो जाती है और चूंकि रामायण की कथा में जहां भी तीन स्त्री-पात्रों की उपस्थिति एक स्थान पर देखने को मिले, उन्हें महाराज दशरथ की तीन रानियों से समन्वित करने का प्रश्न भी निस्तर्क नहीं ज्ञात होता । अस्तु कथा-फलक में निदर्शित इस प्रकार के कृश-काय महर्षि क्या केवल भरद्वाज ही हो सकते हैं, या कोई और जैसी बात पर विचार करने की आपेक्षा अभी भी शेष रह जाती है ।

संयोगवश, महर्षि भरद्वाज के इस प्रकार के कृश-काय स्वरूप का वर्णन भी वाल्मीकि स्वयं की शब्दावली में इतना गरिमापूर्ण और सटीक मिलता है कि उतना शायद ही किसी अन्य ऋषि के बारे में रामायण अथवा अन्यत्र कहीं किसी भी ग्रन्थ में देखने को मिले । उदाहरण के तौर पर, भरद्वाज की अनुशंसा के प्रसंग में, वाल्मीकि ने उन्हें मुनि, महामुनि, महर्षि, परमर्षि, तपोधन, तप्त-तपस्, महातपस, मुनि-ज्वलिततेजस, उत्तम तेजस, महातेजस, सत्यशील, धर्मज्ञ, धर्मात्मन्, महाबुद्धि, महायशस और धार्मिक-महात्मन् आदि अनेकों विशेषणों से बार-बार सम्बोधित किया है[8] । और, इस प्रकार की अनुशंसा से स्पष्ट है कि हमारे राम-कथा फलक वाले इस प्रथमाश्रम का महर्षि महातपस् भरद्वाज के अतिरिक्त शायद ही कोई अन्य ऋषि हो । लोक-मंगल की कामना करने वाले और सप्तऋषियों में गणमान्य महायशस् भरद्वाज की अपनी इस अनपायनी कीर्ति को महाभारत से उद्धृत एक सुभाषित में बड़े ही सार्थक शब्दों के साथ इस प्रकार दुहराया गया है :-

> **"भरे सुतान् भरे शिष्यान् भरे देवान् भरे द्विजान् ।**
> **भरे भार्यां भरद्वाजां भरद्वाजोऽस्मि शोभने ।।"** [9] .

महर्षि भरद्वाज की इसी तपश्चर्या से अभिभूत होकर अपने और उससे भी अधिक अपने पुत्रों की कल्याण कामना के लिये ही शायद, राजमाता कौसल्या, कैकेयी और सुमित्रा, अपने-अपने यान से नीचे उतर कर, ऋषि की प्रदक्षिणा करने के बाद उनका चरण-स्पर्श लेने के लिये समुद्यत हुयी थीं । महर्षि वाल्मीकि के अपने अनुष्टुप इसी बात को हमसे भी कम शब्दों में इस प्रकार व्यक्त करते हैं, और जैसा कि हम पहले भी कह चुके हैं, इस वार्ता का प्रसंग उस समय का है जब भरत और उनकी पूरी सेना महर्षि भरद्वाज का आतिथ्य स्वीकार करने के बाद चित्रकूट की ओर प्रयाण करने जा रही थी :

> "प्रयाणमिति च श्रुत्वा राज राजस्य योषितः
> हित्वा यानानि यानाही ब्राह्मणं पर्यवारयन् ।
> वेपमाना कृशा दीना सह देव्या सुमित्रया ।।
> कौसल्या तत्र जग्राह कराभ्यां चरणौ मुनेः ।
> असमृद्धेन कामेन सर्वलोकस्य गर्हिता ।।
> कैकेयी तत्र जग्राह चरणौ सव्यपत्रपा ।
> तं प्रदक्षिणमागम्य भगवन्तं महामुनिम् ।।
> तत्र पप्रच्छ भरतं भरद्वाजो महामुनिः ।
> विशेषं ज्ञातुमिच्छामि मातृणां तव राघव ।
> एवमुक्तस्तु भरतो भरद्वाजेन धार्मिकः
> उवाच प्राञ्जिभूर्त्वा वाक्यं वचनकोविदः ।
> यामिमां भगवन् दीनां शोकानशनकर्शिताम
> पितुर्हि महिषीं देवी देवता मिव पश्यसि।
> एषां तं पुरुष व्याघ्रं सिंहविक्रान्त गामिनम्
> कौसल्या सुषुवे रामं धातारमदितिर्यथा ।
> अस्या वामभुजं श्लिष्टा या सा तिष्ठति दुर्मनाः
> इयं सुमित्रा दुःखार्ता देवी राज्ञश्च मध्यमा ।
> यस्याः कृते नख्याघ्रौ जीवनाशमितो गतौ
> राजा पुत्रविहीनश्च स्वर्गं दशरथो गतः ।
> क्रोधनामकृतप्रज्ञां दृप्तां सुभग मानिनीम्
> ऐश्वर्यकामां कैकेयीमनार्यामार्यरूपिणीम्
> ममैतां मातरं विद्धि नृशंसां पापनिश्चयाम।।"[10]

महर्षि वाल्मीकि की उपरोक्त पंक्तियों का पारायण करने के बाद जब हम शिवद्वार (जि० सोनभद्र) क्षेत्र के इस कथा-फलक पर दृष्टि डालते हैं तब, हमें ऐसा लगता है कि महर्षि के समीप बैठी हुयी राज-महिषी कौसल्या हो सकती है । पुनः कौसल्या के बायें भाग में विनम्र-भाव से खड़ी हुयी दुःखार्ता दूसरी राज महिषी हमारे विचार से, सुमित्रा हो सकती हैं और, अन्त में विमर्श अथवा पश्चाताप की मुद्रा में खड़ी हुयी सुभग मानिनी महिला की अभिज्ञा कैकेयी के साथ समन्वित की जा सकती है । किन्तु, राजमहिषियों के इन सभी समन्वयों को प्रस्तुत करने के बाद एक विनम्र निवेदन यह भी है कि हमारे इस कथा-फलक की तीनों राजमहिषियों की अपनी वेशभूषा एक जैसी होने के कारण (फलक 64) इनकी विशेष (तुलनीय-**विशेष ज्ञातुमिच्छामि**) अभिज्ञा की स्थिति अभी भी बहुत कुछ अनिश्चित और अनिर्णीत ही रह गयी है और, हम इस सम्बंध में भविष्य में आने वाले किसी भी सुझाव का स्वागत करेंगे ।

द्वितीयाश्रम

शिव द्वार के इस राम-कथा-फलक में निरूपित दूसरे आश्रम की अपनी रूपरेखा भी अधिकांश में पहले जैसी है अन्तर केवल यह है कि भरद्वाज के आश्रम की पर्णशाला के विपरीत इस आश्रम का ऊपरी भाग

अनाच्छादित और पर्वतीय क्षेत्र जैसा दिखाया गया है । पुनः जहां तक दोनों आश्रमों में निदर्शित पात्रों और उनकी अभिज्ञा के आधार पर निर्णायित होने वाली विषय–वस्तु की भिन्नता का प्रश्न है इसकी चर्चा हम पहले ही कर चुके हैं । यहां केवल यह कहना आवश्यक है (और वह भी हमारे इस प्रकार के पाठकों के लिये जो किसी–किसी मामले में तीन–पांच में ज्यादा विश्वास रखते हैं) कि यद्यपि इससे पूर्व हमने तिवारी और सिंह द्वारा प्रकाशित इन शिला–फलकों की प्रस्तुति संख्या 3 और 4 का अनुमोदन किया था किन्तु, हमारे इस आश्रम की अपनी विषयवस्तु की प्रस्तावित अभिज्ञा के आधार पर शायद, हमें इस अनुक्रमणी में परिवर्तन करना पड़ जाय ?

अब इस आश्रम में हमारे शिल्पी ने जिन पात्रों का निरूपण किया है उनमें से किस की क्या संज्ञा निर्धारित की जा सकती है इस बात को थोड़ी देर के लिये विराम देते हुये जब हम इस बात पर विचार करते हैं कि इस पूरे फलक में कौन, कहां और कैसे उपस्थित है तब, हमारा विवरण बहुत कुछ इस प्रकार बनता है ।

इसमें एक ऊंची चौकी पर व्याख्यान अथवा वार्तालाप की मुद्रा में दाहिनी ओर को मुख किये इस प्रकार के ऋषि को दिखाया गया है जिनका (जितना कुछ चित्र में देखने से पता लगता है) जटाभार महर्षि भरद्वाज से काफी भिन्न है और कूर्चकलाप अगर आनाभि नहीं, तो आवक्ष अवश्य ही माना जा सकता है । महर्षि की चौकी के दायीं ओर दत्तचित्त मुद्रा में बैठा हुआ उनका एक शिष्य भी दिखाया गया है । उनके सम्मुख अञ्जलि मुद्रा में खड़े दो धनुर्धारी पुरुष और बीच में जल–कलश अथवा भृंगारिका लिये एक महिला पात्र को दिखाया गया है । पुनः सबसे पीछे खड़े धनुर्धर की बांयी ओर एकान्त में छोटे आकार के एक ऐसे पात्र को दिखाया गया है जिसका छाया चित्र (जो हमारे पास है) दुर्भाग्यवश पूरी तरह स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाया है (फलक 65) ।

इस प्रकार, हमारे द्वितीयाश्रम में निदर्शित उपरोक्त सभी पात्रों में अभिज्ञा की दृष्टि से सर्वाधिक सरल और सुन्दर हैं हमारे दो धनुर्धर और उनके बीच में स्थित महिला, जिन्हें '**राम लक्ष्मण जानकी । जय बोलो हनुमान की॥**' कहकर कूदने वाले बच्चे भी पहचान लेंगे। किन्तु, इस फलक में समस्या के पात्र हैं दो, एक तो लक्ष्मण के बायें पार्श्व में स्थित नर, वानर, या जो भी हो वह पात्र और दूसरे इस आश्रम के अध्यक्ष महर्षि स्वयं ।

इस सम्बंध में अफसद (फलक 66) बिहार से प्राप्त पाण्डु–मृत्तिका निर्मित राम–कथा–फलक में (जिसकी स्वयं की और रामकथा से ही संबंधित एक दूसरे फलक 67 की भी चर्चा[3] हम अपने उपसंहार में करना चाहेंगे) वर्णित, चित्रकूट–स्थित वाल्मीकि–आश्रम और वहां पर ऋषि को अभिवादन करने हेतु पधारे, राम–सीता और लक्ष्मण के निदर्शनों के साथ तुलना करने के बाद, हमें ऐसा लगता है कि इन दो कथा–पलकों में विद्यमान कई विसंगतियों के बावजूद भी, मूल–वस्तु की साम्यता का पुट काफी अंशों में पाया जाता है । इस प्रकार, इन दोनों फलकों के बीच मिलने वाली साम्यता को देखने पर एक बार ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि जैसे अफसद वाले फलक में राम–सीता और लक्ष्मण चित्रकूट में महर्षि वाल्मीकि का अभिवादन करने के बाद उनके आश्रम में बैठे हुये दिखाये गये हैं, वैसे ही, हमारे इस फलक में वही लोग वाल्मीकि का अभिवादन कर रहे हैं । दोनों फलकों के बीच अन्तर इस बात का है कि जहां, हमारे वाले फलक में प्रवृद्ध – शिखरों वाले मनोरम चित्रकूट की उपस्थिति नगण्य सी है और इसके धरातल में मन्दाकिनी भी अनुपस्थित हैं वहीं, अफसद वाले फलक में, वाल्मीकि आश्रम के ये दो भौगोलिक अभिज्ञान बड़ी सुष्ठुता के साथ दिखाये गये हैं । किन्तु इस समता और असमता के कई और अर्थ भी हो सकते हैं ।

पहली बात तो यह कि शिला–पट्ट और पाण्डु–मृत्तिका जैसे दो उपादानों में अपनी कला को अभिव्यक्ति देने वाले कलाकारों की निजी शैली में अन्तर हो सकता है जो इस सम्बंध में पूरी तरह चरितार्थ है । दूसरी बात यह है कि संभवतः दोनों कलाकारों ने या तो रामायण के भिन्न–भिन्न संस्करणों का अनुसरण किया हो अथवा, एक ही संस्करण के वृत्तान्त में से एक ने पूर्वपक्ष तो दूसरे ने उत्तरपक्ष के चित्रण को प्रधानता दी हो । उदाहरण के तौर पर, अफसद और हमारे अपने कथा–फलक के बीच वाले अन्तर को रामायण के निम्न श्लोकों में परखा जा सकता है :

"ततस्तौ पादचोरेण गच्छन्तौ सह सीतया
रम्यमासेदतुः शैलं चित्रकूटं मनोरमन् ।
(चित्रकूटमिमं पश्य प्रवृद्धशिखरं गिरिम्)
इति सीता च रामश्च लक्ष्मणश्च कृताञ्जलिः
अभिगम्याश्रमं सर्वे वाल्मीकिमभिवादंयन् ।
तान् महर्षिः प्रमुदितः पूजयामास धर्मवित् ।
आस्यतामिति चोवाच स्वागतं तं निवेद्य च ।[11]"

वैसे स्थानाभाववश हम इन दोनों फलकों की सूक्ष्म तुलना के और विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहते किन्तु, पाठकों से अनुरोध करेंगे कि वे इन दोनों फलकों की सविस्तार तुलना करते समय रामायण के '**शैलं मनोरम**' '**प्रवृद्ध शिखरं गिरिम**' '**रामश्च लक्ष्मणश्च कृताञ्जलिः**' '**अभिवादयन**' और '**आस्यतामिति**' आदि शब्दों पर अवश्य विचार करें।

इस सम्बन्ध की अपनी तीसरी और आखिरी बात प्रस्तुत करने से पूर्व इस बारे में भी एक शब्द कहना आवश्यक होगा कि यदि द्वितीया श्रम के इस कथा – फलक को महर्षि वाल्मीकि का आश्रम मान ही लिया जाय (?) तब, धनुर्धर लक्ष्मण के पार्श्व में निरूपित और आकार में काफी छोटी सी आकृति वाले पात्र फलक 65 की संभावित अभिज्ञा क्या हो सकती है ? ज्ञातव्य है कि वाल्मीकि की अपनी रामायण में इस विषय

में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है और अफसद वाले फलक में भी राम–सीता लक्ष्मण के अलावा ऐसी कोई भी आकृति देखने में नहीं आती। विसंगति की इस स्थिति में वटुकाकृति वाले पात्र की एक अभिज्ञा यह हो सकती है जिसका उल्लेख गोस्वामी तुलसीदास जी ने राम–कथा के अपने किसी अन्य स्रोत के आधार पर **रामचरित मानस** में किया है ।

गोस्वामी जी के अनुसार भगवान राम ने चित्रकूट और वहां पर स्थित वाल्मीकि आश्रम तक पहुंचने के लिये जब भरद्वाज से यह पूंछा था कि **'नाथ कहिअ हम केहि मग जाहीं'**[12] तब, महर्षि भरद्वाज ने उनके मार्ग–दर्शन हेतु अपने कुछ शिष्यों को उनके साथ कर दिया था। उनके ही शब्दों में :

" मुनि बटु चारि संग तब दीन्हे ।
जिन्ह बहु जनम सुकृत सब कीन्हे ।।"

अस्तु संभावना यह भी है कि हमारे इस कथा–फलक का यह पात्र उन्हीं चार बटुओं में से एक हो जिसका निरूपण कलाकार की छेनी से बनाये गये छाया–चित्र में आ गया है । कहना न होगा कि गोस्वामी जी ने अपने कथा–प्रसंग में जहां कहीं इस प्रकार के कुब्जक, वामनक और बटुक रूप की बात आयी है वहां पर प्रायः यही कहने का प्रयास किया है कि **'धरि बटु रूप देखि तैं जाई'**[14] । और एकपदी (यानी पगडंडी) से होकर निकलने वाले वनमार्ग के लिये बटु से अच्छा बटोही हो भी कौन सकता है ।

पुनः परिशिष्ट में रह गयी हमारी तीसरी बात का अभिप्राय यह है कि जिस तरह अफसद से मिले राम–कथा–फलक और उसमें निदर्शित वाल्मीकि–आश्रम की अभिज्ञा के बारे में मतैक्य नहीं हो पाया है और, उस फलक की पहचान डा० पी० बनर्जी भरद्वाज आश्रम से करते हैं[12] तथा डा० बी०पी० सिनहा[16] एवं जे० आशेर[17] के एतद्विषयक लेखों का हवाला देकर डा० जयन्तिका काला[18], इसे वाल्मीकि का आश्रम मानती हैं, वैसी ही द्विविधा और उसी प्रकार के संशय की स्थिति हमारे इस कथा–फलक के सम्बंध में भी उपस्थित हो सकती है, इस बात को नकारा नहीं जा सकता । दूसरे शब्दों में, हमारे इस आश्रम की सटीक अभिज्ञा के बिरवे पर बैठे संशय वाले विहंग को दूर करने के लिये राम–कथा की और भी पुष्ट–प्रमाण वाली कर–तालिकाओं की आपेक्षा अभी भी शेष है ।

खैर ! इस आश्रम के पुण्य–श्लोक महर्षि और अन्य पात्रों को विसर्जन वाला प्रणाम कहने से पूर्व, इनकी एक दूसरी अभिज्ञा सम्बंधी संभावना जो हमारे दिमाग में बार–बार आ रही है, वह यह भी है कि शायद यह महर्षि भरद्वाज के ही आश्रम का एक दूसरा चित्र है, जिसमें महर्षि एक दूसरी मुद्रा में हैं और उन्हें, लंका–विजय के उपरान्त सीता और लक्ष्मण के साथ भगवान राम सादर प्रणाम कर रहे हैं । ऐसे में, लक्ष्मण के पार्श्व में खड़े बटु की अभिज्ञा आञ्जनेय पवन–पुत्र हनुमान से भी की जा सकती है । क्योंकि लंका से वापस आते समय जब भगवान राम भरद्वाज आश्रम में महर्षि का अभिवादन करने के लिये वहां पर रुके हुये थे, उस समय प्लवगोत्तम्, हनुमान भी उनके साथ थे और वहीं से राम ने उन्हें श्रृंगवेरपुर और नन्दिग्राम में अपने आगमन की अगुवानी सूचना भी देने के लिये भेजा था, इस बात की पुष्टि वाल्मीकि ने स्प्ष्ट रूप से की है :

"पूर्णे चतुर्दशे र्सशे वर्पे पञ्चम्यां लक्ष्मणाग्रजः ।
भरद्वाजाश्रमं प्राप्य बवन्दे नियतो मुनिम ।।
सोऽ य्पृच्छदभिवाद्यैनं भरद्वाजं तपोधनम ।
श्रृणोषि कच्चिदभवन सुभिक्षानामयं पुरे ।।

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

(चिन्तयित्वा) हनूमन्तमुवाच प्लवगोत्तमम् ।
जानीहिकञ्चित कुशली जनो नृपति मन्दिरे ।
निषादाधिपतिं ब्रूहि कुशलं वचनान्मम ।

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

भरतस्तु त्वया वाच्यः कुशलं वचनान्मयम् ।
इति प्रतिसमादिष्टो हनुमान मारूतात्मजः ।
मानुषं धारयन् रूपमयोध्यां त्वरितो ययौ ।[19] "

इस प्रकार सुकवि वाल्मीकि ने इस प्रसंग में हनुमान के जिस स्वरूप की चर्चा 'मानुषं धारयन् रूपं' वाले अभिप्राय में की है तुलसी ने वहां भी उन्हें मात्र 'बटु' कहकर सम्बोधित किया है[20] और, इस फलक में निदर्शित बटु की स्वयं की विग्रह को देखने के बाद, बड़े विश्वास के साथ कहा जा सकता है कि 'बटु' शब्द की अपनी व्याख्या और उसके स्वरूप के बारे में गोस्वामी जी तो आश्वस्त थे ही, हमारे इस कथा–फलक के नियन्ता सूत्रधार भी पूर्णतया परिचित थे ।[21]

अन्ततः, राम–कथा–फलक के द्वितीयाश्रम की अपनी दो प्रकार की अभिज्ञा का विचार प्रस्तुत करने के बाद जब दोनों में वरीयता किसे दी जाय (अथवा इन दो अभिज्ञाओं में से हम स्वयं किसे अधिक निश्चित और निर्णीत समझते है) इस बात का प्रश्न उठता है तब, हम बहुत कुछ इस प्रकार के निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं ।

कथा–फलक में निदर्शित ऋषि को यदि इस कारणवश वाल्मीकि मान लिया जाय कि उनका अपना जटा–जूट, उनकी अपनी चौकी और उनके अपने शिष्य की उपस्थिति आदि के कारण, उनकी अभिज्ञा पहले वाले आश्रम के ऋषि से किंचिद्–भिन्न है और कथा में वर्णित व्याख्यान के अनुरूप राम–सीता और लक्ष्मण उनका अभिवादन भी करते दिखाये गये हैं तब, प्रश्न उठता है कि चित्रकूट में घटी इस घटना में अफसद वाले फलक की भांति, एक तो प्रवृद्ध–शिखरों वाले चित्रकूट और दूसरे

मन्दाकिनी का निदर्शन क्यों नहीं किया गया ? साथ ही, यदि लक्ष्मण के पाश्व में विराजमान बटु रूप, आञ्जनेय हनुमान का ही है तब, इस फलक की विषय-वस्तु को वाल्मीकि आश्रम के साथ समन्वित करना पूरी तरह तर्कहीन ज्ञात होता है ।[22]

ऐसे में राम-कथा-फलक वाले इस द्वितीय आश्रम और उसमें बैठे ऋषि की पहचान भी केवल भरद्वाज के साथ करना ही अधिक समीचीन ज्ञात होता है । क्योंकि, अगर रामायण की अपनी कथा के अनुरूप विंशताधिक विशेषणों वाले मुनि भरद्वाज के आश्रम में भगवान राम, सीता और लक्ष्मण तथा अपनी पूरी सेना और मातृवर्ग के साथ भरत, दो दो बार अभिवादन और सुभाशीष प्राप्ति के लिये पधार सकते हैं तब, एक ही क्षेत्र में, प्रायः समकालीन, दो शिल्पी इसी कथा का अपना अनुवाद अपने ढंग से, अयोध्या और उत्तर काण्ड की कहानी के अनुरूप, क्यों नहीं कर सकते ? निष्कर्ष रूप में, यदि बटु-रूप आञ्जनेय की अभिज्ञा वाला हमारा प्रस्ताव प्रामाणिक और तर्क-संगत माना जाय तब, ज्ञानियों में अग्र-गण्य और राम के प्रिय-दूत पवन-पुत्र को साक्षी मानकर कहा जा सकता है कि शिवद्वार के इस कथा-फलक में भी भरद्वाज आश्रम के ही एक दूसरे समय वाले रूप का निदर्शन किया गया है । एक शब्द में, ऊपर-उद्धृत भरद्वाज सम्बंधी सुभाषित के अनुसार पहले आश्रम वाले कथा-फलक को अगर **'भरे भार्यान-भरद्वाज'** का आश्रम कह सकते हैं, तो इसी प्रकार के दूसरे फलक को **'भरे-सुतान्-भरद्वाज'** का आश्रम माना जायेगा ।

इस आवश्यकता से अधिक लम्बी हो गयी हमारी राम-कथा-फलकों की अभिज्ञा सम्बंधी विश्लेषण के बाद, दो शब्द, इन कलाकृतियों की शिल्पगत विवेचना और शैली की दृष्टि से निर्धारित हो सकने वाली तिथि की संभावना के बारे में भी, जरूरी जान पड़ते हैं ।

पहली चीज तो यह कि जहां तक इन कथा - फलकों की विषय-वस्तु का प्रश्न है, ये हमारी अपनी जानकारी के हिसाब से इसलिये अद्वितीय है कि भारतीय कला में भरद्वाज आश्रम का इदमित्थं निदर्शन और जगहों पर शायद ही मिला है । कथा की दृष्टि से यद्यपि हमने अफसद से मिले दो निदर्शनों के साथ कुछ तुलना का प्रयास जरूर किया है किन्तु उनमें भिन्नता का पुट ही अधिक देखने में आता है ।[23]

जहां तक दूसरी बात का प्रश्न है चूंकि जैसे अंग्रेजी के मुहावरों वाला कौआ उड़ता है अथवा राम के बाणों के भय से जिस तरह जयन्त भागे थे उस मापदण्ड के अनुसार नापी जानेवाली दूरी के अनुरूप, हमारे शिवद्वार क्षेत्र की सीमा से न तो देवगढ़ (जि० ललितपुर) अधिक दूर है और न ही अफसद (जि० गया, बिहार) इसलिये, शैली की दृष्टि से इन शिल्पांकनों की तुलना और बहुत कुछ उसी प्रकार की तिथि निर्धारण का प्रयास इनके संबंध में भी किया जा सकता है ।

इस बारे में जैसा कि हमारे पुराभिलेखशास्त्र के सहयोगी कहते हैं, चूंकि उपरोक्त देवगढ़, अफसद और अब शिवद्वार के इन शिल्पांकनों की लिखित रूप में कोई भी जन्म-पत्री नहीं प्राप्त हुई है अस्तु, पचास वर्ष की आगे-पीछे होने वाली संभावनाओं के साथ, इनकी भी तिथि छठवीं और सातवीं शताब्दी के मध्य आंकी जा सकती है । वैसे हमारे विचार से, शिवद्वार के शिल्पांकन देवगढ़ और अफसद दोनों के अन्तराल के समय के जान पड़ते हैं ।

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3. तदेव

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5. सुकवि उत्प्रेक्षा वल्लभ के भिक्षाटन-काव्य (I.5) के अनुसार-

   वाल्मीकिरस्तु विजयी प्रथमः कवीनाम्,
   तस्यानुसारि सरलः स च कालिदासः ।
   अन्ये भवन्तु कवयो जयिनोऽथ मा वा,
   येषां कृतः कृतिषु नैव मयाव गाहः ।।

   विस्तार के लिये पुनरपि द्रष्टव्य, डा० वी० राघवन्, का लेख 'वाल्मीकि एण्ड कालिदास', के० वी० रंगास्वामी आयंगर स्मृति ग्रंथ, मद्रास, बनारस, 1940, पृ० 409-424.

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देखिये श्री थानेश्वर शर्मा की पुस्तक 'दि भरद्वाजाज् इन एन्श्येन्ट इंडिया', 1991, थममथठ पृ० सं० 21-22 आदि ।

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20. '**रामचरित मानस**, लण्का काण्ड,दोहा 120 (ख) के उपरान्त –

प्रभु हनुमंतहिं कहा बुझाई ।
धरि बटु रूप अवध पुर जाई ।।

21. बटु को हलायुध भट्ट की **अभिधान रत्न माला** में '**वटुर्माणवको मतः**' (502) कहकर अभिहित किया गया है जिसकी व्याख्या में श्री जयशंकर जोशी (हलायुधकोश, लखनऊ, शक संवत् 1879 – पृष्ठ 74) ने **वटुपु'न मणिवको भिक्षास्य ग्रास मात्रकम** (हेमचन्द्र) और '**वटुर्वर्णीब्रह्मचारी**' **(शब्द रत्नावली)** आदि के अन्य प्रणाम भी दिये हैं । जिन्हें देखने के बाद हनुमान जी का बालक रूप (यानी बटु) और विप्र तथा ब्रह्मचारी रूप पूरी तरह प्रतिपादित हो जाता है ।

22. स्पष्ट है कि ऋष्यमूक से पहले भगवान राम की हनुमान से भेंट नहीं हुई थी अस्तु वन गमन के रास्ते में उनके वाल्मीकि-दर्शन के समय हनुमान जी की उपस्थिति की बात का प्रसंग तर्कहीन लगता है ।

23. अफसद वाले फलक (चित्र सं० 4) में निदर्शित जिस आश्रम को सिनहा, आशेर और जयन्तिका काला भरद्वाज का आश्रम मानते हैं, पी० बनर्जी इसे भी सबसे विपरीत, किसी ऋषि द्वारा राम को भरत के चतुरंगिणी समेत चित्रकूट आने की सूचना देने वाला फलक मानते हैं । कुछ भी हो, वाल्मीकि स्वयं के शब्दों में '**कल्याणी बत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति माग्।**'

डा० शीतला प्रसाद तिवारी
एपिग्राफी ब्रान्च भा० पु० स०,
ओल्ड यूनिवर्सिटी आफिस बिल्डिग,
मैसूर, कर्नाटक, भारत – 57005

कैमूर-उपत्यका में राम-कृष्ण कथांकन

राकेश तिवारी
गिरीश चन्द्र सिंह

उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन द्वारा गत वर्षों में सोनभद्र जनपद में कराये गये ग्राम स्तरीय सर्वेक्षण के अन्तर्गत प्रस्तर युग से उत्तर मध्यकाल तक के अनेक महत्वपूर्ण पुरा–स्थल, मन्दिर एवं पुरावशेष प्रकाश में आये हैं। इनके अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि विशेष रूप से कैमूर पर्वत श्रेणी की उपत्यकाओं में स्थित घोरावल, राबर्ट्सगंज और मऊ के आस–पास के क्षेत्र में पूर्व मध्यकाल से उत्तर मध्य काल तक की विपुल पुरा–सामग्री उपलब्ध है । यहां की विशिष्ट शिल्प–कला और उसकी वैविध्यपूर्ण विषय–वस्तु उनके सूक्ष्म अध्ययन के लिए प्रेरित करती है । इस विषय के जिज्ञासुओं का ध्यान इनकी ओर आकर्षित कराने के उद्देश्य से "प्राग्धारा" के पिछले अंक में हमने एक लेख प्रकाशित किया था ।[1] उक्त लेख में प्रकाशित सामग्री पर जिस तीव्रता से शोध–कर्ताओं का ध्यान गया है उसकी परिणति इस अंक में प्रकाशित डा० शीतला प्रसाद तिवारी के ''शिवद्वार-मऊ, जिला सोनभद्र के रामकथा फलक" विषयक लेख के रूप में हुई है ।[2] इसमें 'प्राग्धारा' के गतांक में प्रकाशित शिवद्वार क्षेत्र के दो राम–कथा फलकों का अभिज्ञान किया गया है । इससे उत्साहित होकर हमने भी पिछले सर्वेक्षणों से प्रकाश में आये तीन अन्य शिला–फलकों की विषय–वस्तु को पहिचानने का प्रयत्न इस लेख में किया है ।

II

विचाराधीन प्रस्तर–फलक शिवद्वार क्षेत्र में ही, पूर्व प्रकाशित फलकों के प्राप्ति–स्थलों के निकट से, पाये गये हैं । इनका विवरण निम्नवत् है :–

1. पहला फलक किसी प्राचीन मन्दिर के जंघा–भाग की रथिका का भग्नांश प्रतीत होता है । इसके उभय–पार्श्वों में एक – एक अर्द्ध स्तम्भ निरूपित हैं, जिनके अधो–भाग और शीर्ष–भाग घट – पल्लव अभिप्राय से सुसज्जित हैं । लगभग 61x30 से.मी. माप के इस फलक पर पार्श्व–स्तम्भों के मध्य एक दृश्य निरुपित है, जिसमें एक मण्डप में बैठे त्रिमुख पुरुष, तीन वानर, दो स्त्रियां और एक अन्य पात्र सम्मिलित हैं (फलक 68) ।

त्रिमुख पुरुष को, फलक के बायें पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित मण्डप में, भद्रपीठ पर सुखासन में विराजमान दिखलाया गया है । उनके मस्तक पर जटाजूट, कण्ठ में एकावली और कन्धे पर उत्तरीय शोभित है । वे अपना बांया हाथ भद्रपीठ पर टिका कर सामने बैठी स्त्री से कुछ वार्ता करते प्रतीत होते हैं । उनका दायां हाथ कुछ समझाने की मुद्रा में उठा हुआ है। भद्रपीठ के पीछे भी एक लघु पुरुष बैठा है जिसके बायें हाथ में एक पोटली है ।

मण्डप के सामने त्रिआनन–पुरुष की ओर मुख करके बैठी हुई दो स्त्रियों में से पहली का बायां हाथ सामने की ओर उठा हुआ और दायां, किंचित् उठे और मुड़े हुए, घुटने पर आधारित है। वे चूड़ा–पाश, कर्ण–कुण्डल, एकावली और धोती से सज्जित हैं । दूसरी स्त्री के बैठने की मुद्रा आदि, उठे हुए बायें हाथ को छोड़कर, लगभग ऐसी ही है।

स्त्रियों के बायें पार्श्व में एक कतार में विपरीत दिशा में देखते हुए तीन पुरुष खड़े हैं । उनके पीछे भी एक लघु पुरुष को त्रिभंग मुद्रा में खड़े दिखाया गया है ।

मण्डप के सामने दायें पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित एक वृक्ष पर एक बन्दर चढ़ रहा है । मण्डप के ऊपर बायें पार्श्व में भी एक बन्दर

बैठा है । इन बन्दरों के बीच में मण्डप के ऊपर अयालदार मुख–मण्डल वाला एक बड़ा वानर अपनी लम्बी पूंछ फैलाकर बैठा हुआ है ।

फलक के निचले भाग की सादी पट्टिका पर एक शिल्पी–चिह्न उकेरित है ।

2. दूसरी विवेच्य कलाकृति एक बड़ी शिला के खण्डित अंश के रूप में उपलब्ध हुई है (फलक 70–71) । उसके निरीक्षण से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वह किसी भव्य देवालय का भाग रहा होगा । इसकी वर्तमान माप 87x31 से.मी. है। इस पर मूलतः अनेक रथिकाओं में विविध दृश्य निरूपित रहे होंगें, किन्तु इसका अधिकांश भाग खण्डित एवं विरूपित हो चुका है। फिर भी, हमारे सौभाग्य से उनमें से एक लगभग पूर्ण और दूसरी आंशिक रूप से भग्न रथिकाएं बची रह गयी हैं ।

दायें से बायें के क्रम में पहली रथिका में एक बालक और हाथी को लड़ते हुए दर्शाया गया है । हाथी का अगला पैर, धड़ का थोड़ा भाग, मस्तक, सूर्पकर्ण, निकला हुआ दन्त और सूंड़ स्पष्ट हैं । गढ़न के अनुसार यह एक बलिष्ठ हाथी प्रतीत होता है, जो बालक की ओर आक्रामक मुद्रा में दौड़ता हुआ बढ़ रहा है ।

बालक को बायें हाथ से हाथी के मस्तक को दबाये और वक्ष से उसको ठेलते हुए दिखलाया गया है । उसका ऊपर उठा हुआ बायां हाथ और मुख–भाग भग्न हैं । कण्ठ में एकावली सुशोभित है ।

परस्पर लड़ते हुए इन पात्रों के अतिरिक्त इस दृश्य में एक अन्य चरित्र भी सम्मिलित है, किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से उसके वक्ष से ऊपर का भाग खण्डित होने के कारण उसकी भूमिका का स्पष्ट अभिज्ञान नहीं हो पा रहा है ।

दूसरी रथिका के उभय पार्श्वों में क्रमशः नीचे से ऊपर की ओर घटपल्लव, पत्रवल्ली और कीर्तिमुख अभिप्रायों से सज्जित अर्द्ध–स्तम्भों के मध्य हाथी से लड़ते हुए बालक और उनके पार्श्व में खड़े एक बलिष्ठ पुरुष का अंकन किया गया है । इस प्रसंग में यह विशेष रूप से दृष्टव्य है कि शिल्पी ने यहां घुटनों के बल गिरे हुए पराभूत गज को लघु रूप में रूपायित किया है।

दोनों हाथों से सूंड़ थामकर उसे गिराते हुए बालक को प्रसन्न मुख–मुद्रा में दर्शाया गया है । कंकण, भुजबन्ध, एकावली और कुण्डल से विभूषित बड़ी और सुन्दर आंखों वाले बालक के मुखमण्डल पर बालपन के भावों का सफल उकेरण दर्शनीय है । उसकी कटि में फेंटा मार कर बांधी गयी धोती फब रही है ।

चौड़े कन्धों और प्रशस्त वक्षःस्थल वाला इस प्रसंग का द्रष्टा, तीसरा पात्र, अपनी बायीं पुष्ट भुजा बायीं जंघा पर टिकाकर त्रिभंग मुद्रा में खड़ा होकर, इस लीला को निहार रहा है । उसका मुखभाग तो भग्न हो चुका है किन्तु कण्ठ में एकावली, बांह में भुजबन्ध और कलाई में कंकण शोभायमान हैं । उनके दायें हाथ में एक मोटा दण्ड जैसा आयुध है, जिसका ऊपरी भाग हल की मूठ और फ़ाल जैसा लगता है । रथिका का निचला और ऊपरी भाग भग्न हो चुका है।

3. लगभग 45x26 से.मी. माप का तीसरा प्रस्तर–फलक अत्यधिक खण्डित एवं विरुपित हो चुका है (फलक 70) । इसमें कुल पांच प्रमुख मानवाकृतियों और चार परिचारिकाओं को दर्शाया गया प्रतीत होता है । मुख्य आकृतियों में से दायें और बायें पार्श्वों की एक–एक आकृति इतनी अधिक विरूपित हो चुकी है कि उनकी मुद्रा आदि कुछ भी स्पष्ट नहीं है । अन्य आकृतियों में से सबसे दायें पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित आकृति द्विभुज स्थानक पुरुष की है। वे वृत्त–कुण्डल, एकावली, केयूर, कंकण और धोती से सुसज्जित हैं । उनके मस्तक के ऊपर तीन फण वाले सर्प का घटाटोप है । उनके वक्ष तक उठे दायें हाथ में पुष्प है । बांया हाथ पार्श्व में सटकर खड़े हुए आत्मीय जन के बायें कन्धे पर आधारित है ।

त्रिभंग मुद्रा में खड़े दूसरे सुदर्शन पुरुष का दायां हाथ पहले पुरुष के दायें कन्धे पर और बायां हाथ बायीं जंघा पर अवलम्बित है । उनके कन्धों से घुटनों तक वनमाला शोभा दे रही है । अन्य वस्त्राभूषण पूर्व पुरुष के अनुरूप हैं । दोनों के व्यक्तित्व बड़े दिव्य प्रतीत होते हैं ।

एक दूसरे के कंधे में हाथ डालकर मैत्री भाव से खड़े पुरुषों के बायें पार्श्व में चूडा–पाश, वृत्त–कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, केयूर, किंकणिका (?) और धोती आदि से विभूषित बायें हाथ में पात्र लिए हुए सुगठित एवं लावण्यमयी युवती को पुरुषों की ओर उन्मुख दर्शाया गया है। उनका दायां हाथ वनमालाधारी पुरुष के मस्तक के पीछे ऊपर उठा हुआ है, किन्तु उसकी मुद्रा और स्थिति स्पष्ट नहीं है।

तीनों प्रमुख आकृतियों के निचले पार्श्व में खड़ी और बैठी हुई परिचारिकाएं निरूपित हैं । पुरुषों के पैरों के बीच में घुटने के बल बैठी हुई लघु स्त्री के हाथों में पात्र और वनमालाधारी पुरुष के बायें पार्श्व में एक पैर उठाकर खड़ी स्त्री के बायें हाथ में कोई मूठदार आयुध है । पुष्पधारी पुरुष के निचले दायें पार्श्व में और प्रमुख स्त्री के बायें निचले पार्श्व में क्रमशः एक बड़ी और दूसरी छोटी परिचारिकाओं को त्रिभंग मुद्रा में, कदाचित् नाचते हुए दर्शाया गया है ।

इस दृश्य के पात्र किसी उत्सव में सामूहिक रूप से, आत्मीय जनों सहित, आनन्द मनाते हुए प्रतीत होते हैं । इस फलक की विषय-वस्तु को देखते हुए ऐसा लगता है कि कदाचित् पुष्पधारी पुरुष के दायें पार्श्व में भी, वनमाला से विभूषित पुरुष के बायें पार्श्व में निरूपित युवती की तरह ही, एक युवती का रूपांकन रहा होगा । फलक के दोनों खण्डित पार्श्वों में भी इस दृश्य से सम्बन्धित अन्य उच्चित्रण रहे होने की संभावना है ।

III

विचाराधीन कला-कृतियों के विषय-वस्तु का उपर्युक्त विवरण प्रस्तुत करने के उपरान्त, अब यह भी देख लिया जाये कि उनमें रूपायित कथाएं किन-किन प्रसंगों से सम्बन्धित हैं ।

1. प्राचीन शिल्पकला का कोई भी जिज्ञासु पहले फलक में मण्डप में दर्शाये गये महिमा मण्डित त्रिमुख पुरुष को देखकर बड़ी आसानी से पहचान सकता है कि ये 'रामायण' के खलनायक **रावण** हैं । यूं तो यह चरित्र दशानन के नाम से विख्यात है, किन्तु प्राचीन कथा-फलकों एवं मूर्तियों में सामान्यतः उन्हें एकमुख, त्रिमुख, कभी-कभी अधिक मुखों से युक्त और दशमुख वाला भी दर्शाया गया है ।[3]

रावण के निचले पृष्ठ पार्श्व में आसनी पर आसनस्थ पोटली संभाले हुए प्रदर्शित लघु पुरुष उनके अग्रज वैश्रवण कुबेर हो सकते हैं, जिन्हें शिल्प-कला में प्रायः धन की पोटली संभाल कर बैठे हुए दर्शाया जाता है, किन्तु अनुज के साथ अग्रज को लघु रूप में अनुचर के स्थान पर बैठा हुआ दिखलाने का क्या कारण है ? यह जानने के लिए 'वाल्मीकि रामायण' के उत्तर काण्ड को पलटना होगा, जिसमें उल्लेख मिलता है कि -

> श्रीराम के दरबार में आये हुए महर्षियों ने उनके प्रश्नों के उत्तर में उन्हें बताया कि महर्षि विश्रवा और तृणबिन्दु से उत्पन्न धर्मात्मा वैश्रवण (कुबेर) पिता की आज्ञा से राक्षसों के राजा होकर लंकापुरी में निवास करते थे । भगवान विष्णु के भय से पीड़ित राक्षस सुमाली की पुत्री कैकसी और विश्रवा मुनि से, कुबेर के छोटे भाई, रावण का जन्म हुआ जिसने तपस्या द्वारा वर प्राप्त कर अपने अग्रज से लंका पुरी लेकर उस पर राज्य करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया । पिता की आज्ञा से कुबेर कैलाश पर्वत पर निवास करने लगे । दुष्ट दशानन को यह भी स्वीकार्य नहीं हुआ । वहां पहुंचकर अकारण ही उसने कुबेर के सेवकों और सैनिकों को मारा तथा कुबेर को भी युद्ध में पराजित कर उसका पुष्पक विमान छीन लिया ।[4]

हमारे विचार से उपर्युक्त कथाओं की पृष्ठभूमि में ही शिल्पी ने इस फलक पर रावण के विशाल व्यक्तित्व और उसके सामने कुबेर की लघुता का आभास कराने के लिए उसका निरूपण लघु रूप में और परिचारक के स्थान पर किया है ।

फलक को देखते ही हमारी दृष्टि दूसरी बार मण्डप के सामने बैठी हुई स्त्रियों पर जा टिकती है । साथ ही मण्डप के ऊपर अपनी लांगूल पूंछ फैलाकर बैठे हुए विशालकाय वानर की ओर ध्यान जाता है । रावण के मण्डप पर बैठे हुए वानर के प्रसंग में महाबली **हनुमान** का स्मरण हो आना स्वाभाविक है । मण्डप के पार्श्व में ध्यान से देखने पर एक वृक्ष दिखायी देता है, जिससे ऐसा लगता है कि यह मण्डप किसी वाटिका में स्थित है अर्थात् राक्षस-राज रावण और हनुमान किसी **वाटिका** में विराज रहे हैं । रावण, वाटिका और हनुमान की पहचानन हो जाने के बाद इस दृश्य की विषय-वस्तु का अभिज्ञान सहज हो जाता है । 'वाल्मीकि - रामायण' के 'सुन्दर-काण्ड'[5] में उल्लेख आता है कि -

> दशरथ-नन्दन राम के आदेश से कपिवर हनुमान विदेहनन्दिनी सीता की खोज में लंका में प्रवेश कर उसके महलों, अट्टालिकाओं और कोने-कोने को देखते हुए जब अशोक - वाटिका में पहुंचते हैं तो विविध प्रकार के कृत्रिम कानन, मृग-समूहों, विचित्र वन-उपवन और वनस्पतियों को निरखते हुए एक सुवर्णमय 'शिशपा-वृक्ष' (अशोक का पेड़) देखते हैं । यह वृक्ष सब ओर से सुवर्णमयी वेदिकाओं से घिरा था। अनेक प्रकार से विचार करने के उपरान्त हृदय में यह भावना धारण करके कि सीता देवी जीवित हैं तो इस दिव्य स्थल पर अवश्य पधारेंगी, हनुमान जी उस वृक्ष के घने पत्तों में छिपे रहकर सम्पूर्ण वन पर दृष्टि दौड़ाने लगे । अनन्तर उन्होंने यहां बैठी हुई एक मलिन वस्त्रधारिणी सीता के दर्शन किये और उनकी दुर्दशा, सौन्दर्य, शील आदि के विषय में विचार करते हुए प्रायः सारी रात बिता डाली ।

पिछले पहर में मदमत्त रावण अपनी स्त्रियों और परिचारिकाओं से घिरा हुआ अशोक-वाटिका में आया तो अशोक-वृक्ष के पत्तों और डालियों में छिपे हुए हनुमान जी उसी अवस्था में रहकर निकट आये रावण को पहचानने का प्रयत्न करने लगे -

तं पत्रविटपे लीनः पत्रपुष्पशतावृतः ।
समीपमुपसंक्रान्तं विज्ञातुमुपचक्रमे ।।
18.25

और यह निश्चय हो जाने पर कि यही महाबाहु रावण है, वे जिस डाली पर बैठे थे उससे कुछ नीचे उतर आये, जिससे रावण की सारी चेष्टाएं देख सकें-

रावणोऽयं महाबाहुरिति संचिन्त्य वानरः ।
सोऽयमेव पुरा शेते पुरमध्ये गृहोत्तमे ।
अवप्लुतो महातेजा हनुमान् मारुतात्मजः ।।
18.30

सीता को देखने के लिए जब रावण उनके पास गया तो उसे देखकर वे भय के मारे हवा में हिलने वाली कदली के समान थर–थर कांपने लगीं और उन्होंने अपनी जांघों से पेट और दोनों भुजाओं से स्तन छिपा लिये तथा वहां बैठी–बैठी रोने लगीं ।

रावण ने मधुर वचनों द्वारा सीता के समक्ष अपने मन के भाव प्रकट किये । बारम्बार अपनी सदाशयता का परिचय देते हुए तरह–तरह के सुख भोगने के प्रलोभन दिये । उनकी प्रशंसा की, पटरानी बनाने का लालच दिया । अपने पराक्रम का उल्लेख किया।

यह सब सुनकर सीता को बड़ी पीड़ा हुई और उन्होंने तिनके की ओट करके उत्तर दिया कि तुम मेरी ओर से मन हटा लो और आत्मीय जनों (अपनी ही पत्नियों) पर प्रेम करो –

तृणमन्तरतः कृत्वा प्रत्युवाच शुचिस्मिता ।
निवर्तय मनो मत्तः स्वजने प्रीयतां मनः ।।
21.3

तदनन्तर सीता ने अपने पवित्र कुल, दुष्कर्म के परिणामों, भगवान राम के शौर्य आदि का उल्लेख करते हुए रावण को श्रीराम के बाण से मारे जाने की सुनिश्चितता के प्रति सचेत किया ।

सीता के कठोर वचन सुनकर राक्षस राज ने उन्हें तरह–तरह की धमकियां दीं और दो महीने की अवधि देकर कहा कि यदि उसके बाद भी तुमने मुझे अपना पति बनाना स्वीकार नहीं किया तो रसोइये मेरे कलेवे के लिए तुम्हारे टुकड़े–टुकड़े कर डालेंगे। फिर, उसने भयंकर राक्षसियों से सीता को वश में लाने का प्रयत्न करने के लिए कहा । बार–बार यह आज्ञा देकर रावण जानकी जी की ओर देखकर गर्जना करने लगा । तब राक्षसियों की स्वामिनी मन्दोदरी तथा धान्यमालिनी नामवाली राक्षस–कन्या रावण के पास आयीं और उसका आलिंगन कर अपने साथ क्रीड़ा करने का अनुरोध करते हुए, कान्तिहीन दीन सीता का उपहास करती हुई, उसे महल की ओर लौटा ले गयीं ।

अशोक वाटिका में रावण के आगमन के उपर्युक्त प्रसंग और शिवद्वार क्षेत्र के पहले फलक की कथा पर विचार करने पर रावण के सामने बैठी स्त्री का सीता के रूप में अभिज्ञान करना सहज हो जाता है । **अशोक–वाटिका** में कपिवर हनुमान द्वारा रावण को देखने का एकमात्र प्रसंग उस अवसर का ही है जबकि वह सीता को बहुविध फुसलाने, ललचाने और धमकाने के लिए अशोक वाटिका में जाता है । हनुमान की उपस्थिति इस दृश्य के उसी प्रसंग से सम्बन्धित होने की पुष्टि करती है ।

रावण, कुबेर, हनुमान और सीता का अभिज्ञान हो जाने के बाद इस कथानक में प्रदर्शित सीता के पीछे बैठी हुई स्त्री, हनुमान के पार्श्वों में प्रदर्शित छोटे वानरों और रावण के विपरीत दिशा में मुख करके खड़े पुरुषों की पहचान शेष रह जाती है ।

उपर्युक्त प्रसंग में अशोक–वाटिका में सीता को किसी भी भांति समझाने के लिए रावण के आने पर उसके साथ रानियों और परिचारकाओं के आने के उल्लेख पर विचार किया जाये तो इस दृश्य में सीता के पीछे बैठी स्त्री को मन्दोदरी अथवा धान्यमालिनी से समीकृत किया जा सकता है ।

इस प्रसंग में रानियों की उपस्थित से यह संभावना भी व्यक्त की जा सकती है कि इस कथांकन में रावण को अपनी रानियों से ही संवादरत् दर्शाया गया है । किन्तु, यहां विचारणीय है कि अशोक–वाटिका के ऐसे प्रसंग में जबकि हनुमान ने अशोक–वृक्ष की डालियों में छिपकर रावण के आगमन से प्रत्यागमन तक का प्रकरण देखा हो, रावण का अपनी रानियों से वार्ता करने का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है । मन्दोदरी और धान्यमालिनी तो रावण के पास तभी जाती हैं जब वह बहुविध सीता को समझाने के बाद काम और क्रोध से व्याकुल होकर उनकी ओर देखकर गर्जना करने लगता है । इसके अतिरिक्त रावण के सम्मुख बैठी स्त्री को बायां हाथ ऊपर उठाकर कदाचित् ओट करके (तृणमन्तरतः) बात करते हुए दिखलाना भी सीता के रूप में उनके अभिज्ञान के पक्ष में जाता है। यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है कि राम–कथा फलकों पर मुख्यतः प्रमुख–दृश्यों का रूपाकंन ही किया गया है यथा–अशोक वाटिका में हनुमान, अशोक वाटिका में सीता, अशोक वाटिका में रावण द्वारा सीता को अपने वश में करने का यत्न, हनुमान जी का सीता के समक्ष उपस्थित होकर मुद्रिका प्राप्त करना, आदि । अन्य छोटे प्रसंगों का दृश्यांकन न तो अधिक महत्व रखता है और न उनके प्रदर्शन की परम्परा ही मिलती है । मन्दोदरी और धान्यमालिनी का रावण को अशोक–वाटिका में समझाने का यत्न करना इतना महत्व नहीं रखता है कि उसे अशोक–वाटिका के प्रसंग के प्रमुख दृश्यों की सूची में रखा जा सके । इसके अतिरिक्त विचाराधीन प्रसंग में मन्दोदरी और धान्यमालिनी द्वारा रावण के आलिंगन का उल्लेख है जबकि इस कथांकन में ऐसा नहीं दिखता है । अतः रावण के सामने बैठी स्त्री को सीता के रूप में पहिचानने में सन्देह नहीं प्रतीत होता है ।

मण्डप की विपरीत दिशा में देखते हुए पुरुष पात्र ऐसे व्यक्ति होने चाहिए जो रावण के अधीन हों, उनकी वहां उपस्थिति आवश्यक हो और जो वहां चल रही वार्ता से निरपेक्ष भी हों । राजा के साथ प्रायः सदैव साथ रहने वाले ऐसे व्यक्ति उनके प्रहरी और अन्य परिचर होते हैं । अतः इनकी पहिचान रावण के ऐसे ही भृत्यों से की जा सकती है ।

छोटे वानरों में से एक पेड़ पर चढ़ रहा है और दूसरा सामान्य रूप से बैठा हुआ है । इनका प्रदर्शन हनुमान से भिन्न कहीं अन्य पात्रों के रूप में किया गया नहीं प्रतीत होता, वरन् ऐसा लगता है कि शिल्पी ने अशोक–वाटिका में हनुमान के अशोक–वृक्ष पर चढ़ने, उसमें छुपकर

बैठने और रावण को निकट से देखने की उत्सुकता में किंचित् नीचे उतर आने की तीन भिन्न चेष्टाओं में दर्शाया है । ऐसे उच्चित्रण की परम्परा इस प्रसंग के अन्य स्थलों से मिले प्रस्तर–फलकों और चित्रों में भी पायी गयी है ।[6]

2. अब कमल–नयन बालक के हाथी से लड़ने वाले दूसरे दृश्य के अभिज्ञान की चर्चा कर ली जाये । किसी आदमी का गज से मल्ल, वह भी बालपन में ? कंस के हाथी से कृष्ण के लड़ने की याद दिलाता है । यह कथा श्रीविष्णु पुराण,[7] महाभारत – खिलभाग हरिवंश[8] और श्रीमद्भागवत पुराण[9] आदि ग्रन्थों में विस्तार से मिलती है । हरिवंश के अनुसार[10] –

‘‘नारद जी ने भगवान नारायण से कहा कि – पूर्व में आपके द्वारा मारे गये कालनेमि, हयग्रीव आदि दैत्य कंश, केशी, कुवलयापीड गज और चाणूर एवं मुष्टिका नामक मल्लों के रूप में मथुरा में रहकर भगवत–भक्तों को मार रहे हैं । अतः आप पृथ्वी पर अवतरित होकर इनका वध करें।

जब भगवान देवकी ओर रोहणी के गर्भ से दो अंशों में जन्म लेने के लिए तैयार हो गये, तब नारद जी ने मथुरा पहुंच कर कंस को उसके आसन्न काल की सूचना भी दे दी– ‘तुम्हारी छोटी बहिन देवकी का आठवां गर्भ तुम्हारे लिए मृत्युरूप होगा’ ।

यह सुनकर कंस ने देवकी के गर्भों के मूलच्छेद का निश्चय कर लिया । छः गर्भों को तो उसने मार डाला लेकिन सातवें को महामाया ने वसुदेव (देवकी के पति) की दूसरी पत्नी रोहणी के गर्भ में स्थापित कर दिया । इसी बीच देवकी के गर्भ में प्रविष्ट होकर श्रीकृष्ण आठवें माह में ही प्रकट हो गये । जब तक कंस को कुछ खबर लगे कृष्ण के पिता वसुदेव ने उन्हें नन्द गोप के घर पहुंचा दिया और उनकी जगह यशोदा की कन्या ले आये । उधर रोहिणी के गर्भ से बलभद्र का पहले ही जन्म हो चुका था ।

नन्द बाबा के घर पल रहे वसुदेव के दोनों पुत्रों संकर्षण और कृष्ण की चमत्कारिक लीलाएं कंस को सशंकित करने लगीं –

‘‘पूतना मारी गयी, कालियानाग परास्त हुआ, धेनुकासुर और प्रलम्बासुर का वध हो गया और – – – – – – – –।’’

यह सब सुनकर कंस ने दोनों कुमारों को किसी भांति मारने के लिए धनुर्यज्ञ के उत्सव में बुलाया और साथ ही केशी अश्व को उनका काम तमाम करने भी भेजा । कृष्ण ने केशी को दो हिस्सों में चीर कर मार डाला और कंस का बुलावा स्वीकार करके दोनों कुमार मथुरा पहुंचे ।’’ बात की बात में कृष्ण ने कंस का धनुष तोड़ डाला तब तो कंस का भय सिर पर चढ़ कर बोलने लगा । उसने चाणूर और मुष्टिका नामक महामल्लों और कुवलयापीड हाथी के महावत को बुलवा कर आदेश दिया कि गोप कुमारों के रंगशाला में आने पर दोनों मल्ल उन्हें मार डालें और उससे भी पहले महावत मदमत्त गज को रंगशाला के द्वार पर ही उन पर हूल दे, जिससे वे वहीं काल के गाल में समा जायें।

दूसरे दिन महाबली कंस जब सब भांति सजे प्रेक्षागार में सिंहासन पर विराज गया और वाद्यों की तुमुल ध्वनि के साथ मल्लों के गरजने–ताल ठोकनें के शब्द उठने लगे, रंगशाला की ओर बड़ी उतावली में बढ़ रहे अंगराग, गोपाल वेश और गजरे से विभूषित सुन्दर मुख और अर्गला जैसी मोटी बांहों वाले उन वीर कुमारों को सहसा महावत द्वारा उकसाये गये मतवाले गजराज ने रोक लिया।

सूंड़ सिकोड़ कर मारने के लिए बढ़ रहे कुवलयापीड को देखकर बालकृष्ण हँस पड़े । गर्जना करते हुए हाथी के निकटतर आने पर ताली और ताल पीटकर, वक्ष से लगाकर उसकी सूंड़ को हूल दिया ।

संनिकृष्टे ततो नागे गर्जमाने यथा घने ।
सहसोत्पत्य गोविन्दश्चक्रे तालस्वनंः प्रभूः ।।
विष्णु पर्व 29.27

क्रीड़ा करते हुए कृष्ण द्वारा कभी पैरों और कभी दांतों के बीच से निकल कर अंगों के मथे जाने से कुवलयापीड घायल होकर चिंघाड़ता हुआ घुटनों के बल गिर गया । बालकों के समान खिलवाड़ करके कृष्ण ने उसके ललाट पर पैर टिका कर उसका एक दांत उखाड़ लिया । फिर, इसी दांत से मार–मार कर उसे जर्जर कर दिया ।

स तस्य प्रमुखे पादं कृत्वा कुम्भादनन्तरम् ।
दोर्भ्यां विषाणमुत्पाट्य तेनैव प्राहरत् तदा ।।
विष्णु पर्व 29.34

बलराम ने उसकी पूंछ पकड़ कर बड़े वेग से खींचा । तद्नन्तर श्री कृष्ण ने उसी दांत से महावत को और फिर फाटक के खम्भों आदि से दोनों वीरों ने हाथी के पाद–रक्षकों को मार कर रंगशाला में प्रवेश किया ।

उपर्युक्त कथा की पृष्ठभूमि में प्रश्नगत कलाकृति के विषय में विचार करने पर उसका अभिज्ञान स्वतः स्पष्ट हो जाता है । यह दृश्य कंस की रंगशाला के द्वार पर कुवलयापीड हाथी के बाल–कृष्ण और बलराम द्वारा मारे जाने के प्रसंग का रूपांकन है । हाथी के मस्तक पर हाथ रखकर वक्ष से ढकेलते हुए उसे गिराने के लिए उद्यत तथा दोनों हाथों

से गजदन्त थामकर उसे गिराने वाले सर्वांग सुन्दर बालरूप वीरवर स्वयं कृष्ण हैं । इस दृश्य को निश्चिन्त भाव से देख रहे दूसरे पात्र के दायें हाथ में प्रदर्शित आयुध का ऊपरी भाग हल के फाल और मुठिया की तरह है । यह आयुध बलराम का सुविख्यात अस्त्र है । अतः उन्हें बलराम के रूप में पहचाने में कोई सन्देह नहीं रह जाता ।

इन रथिकाओं के कंस की रंगशाला के द्वार पर कुवलयापीड हाथी से बलराम–कृष्ण के लड़ने के दो प्रकरण – (1) कृष्ण द्वारा हाथी को वक्ष से ठेलने और (2) घायल होकर घुटने के बल गिरे हुए हाथी का दांत उखाड़ने का यत्न करते हुए कृष्ण – यह इंगित करते हैं कि कदाचित् उक्त प्रसंग के पूर्व और परवर्ती प्रकरणों में से कुछ अन्य प्रमुख दृश्य, यथा–दोनों कुमारों के रंगशाला के द्वार पर पहुंचने, उखाड़े हुए गजदंत से कुवलयापीड और उसके महावत के मारे जाने, बलरम द्वारा हाथी की पूंछ खींचने तथा गजदन्त लेकर श्री कृष्ण के रंगशाला में प्रवेश करने के प्रकरण, भी दर्शाये गये होंगे किन्तु प्रश्नगत वास्तु–खण्ड भग्न हो जाने के कारण अब उपलब्ध नहीं रह गये हैं ।

3. तीसरी कृति में सर्प–फणों की छत्र–छाया में विराजमान मनोहर पुरुष को देखते ही 'ब्रज के दाऊ' बलराम याद आते हैं । दिव्य सर्प शेषनाग या अनन्त के अवतार, विष्णु के एक रूप, बलराम वसुदेव की दूसरी पत्नी रोहिणी (सर्पमाला) के पुत्र थे । उनके मस्तक पर महान सर्पों की छत्र–छाया रहती थी । प्राचीन प्रतिमाओं में बहुधा उन्हें ऐसा ही दर्शाया गया है ।[11]

बलराम की पहिचान हो जाने पर उनके साथ सट कर खड़े दिव्य पुरुष का अभिज्ञान करना सहज स्वाभाविक है । बलदाऊ के कन्धे में हाथ डालकर क्रीड़ा करने का सौभाग्य श्री कृष्ण के अतिरिक्त और किसे सुलभ हो सकता है । किन्तु, यह युगल जोड़ी किस आनन्दोत्सव में निमग्न है, यह गुत्थी सुलझाने के लिए उनसे सम्बंधित साहित्य में ऐसे प्रकरणों की तलाश करनी होगी, जिसमें उन्हें मौज मनाते हुए वर्णित किया गया हो । ऐसा उल्लेख हरिवंश में पिण्डारक तीर्थ की यात्रा के विवरण में विस्तार से मिलता है ।[12] तद्नुसार –

> द्वारिका में रहते समय एक बार श्री कृष्ण और बलराम अपनी–अपनी पत्नियों सत्यभामा और रेवती, यादव कुमारों और गणिकाओं के साथ पिण्डारक तीर्थ की यात्रा पर निकले तो समुद्र–जल में क्रीड़ा करने भी गये । पत्नियां और गणिकाएं गाने बजाने और नाचने के साथ तरह–तरह के खेल करने लगीं ।
>
> तद्नन्तर श्रीकृष्ण ने विश्वरूप होने के कारण अप्सराओं को क्रीड़ा–युवतियों में प्रविष्ट होने और नाच–गान, एकान्त परिचर्या, अभिनय योग, वाद्य–वादन आदि समस्त कलाएं दिखाने के निर्देश दिये । क्रीड़ा–युवतियों में उनके प्रवेश करते ही महासागर दिव्य प्रभा से उद्दीप्त हो उठा। वे दिव्यांगनाएं समस्त कलाएं करने लगीं ।
>
> मधु पीकर मनोहर लग रहे, अंगों में चन्दन चर्चित और अलसायी हुई मधुमाती आंखों वाले, सुललित गति से चल रहे बलराम जी चन्द्रमा के समान शोभा पाने लगे । उनके एक कान में निर्मल और दूसरे में कमल–कुण्डल शोभित थे । उनकी प्रिया रेवती मन्द मुस्कान और बाँकी चितवन के साथ उनकी ओर सुखपूर्वक निहार रहीं थीं और बलराम जी उनके साथ आनन्दमय हो रहे थे ।
>
> तदनन्तर श्री कृष्ण की आज्ञा से रेवती–बलराम को प्रणाम करके मोहनी अप्सराएं वाद्य–लय पर ललित रास करती हुईं उत्तम गीत गाने और श्रीकृष्ण–बलराम की लीलाओं का संकीर्तन करने लगीं ।
>
> परम शोभायमान मधुपानमत्त बलराम, रेवती के साथ ताल देते हुए, मधुर स्वर में सम स्थान पर गीत गाने लगे । उन्हें देखकर श्री कृष्ण ने भी सत्यभामा के साथ गान आरम्भ कर दिया –

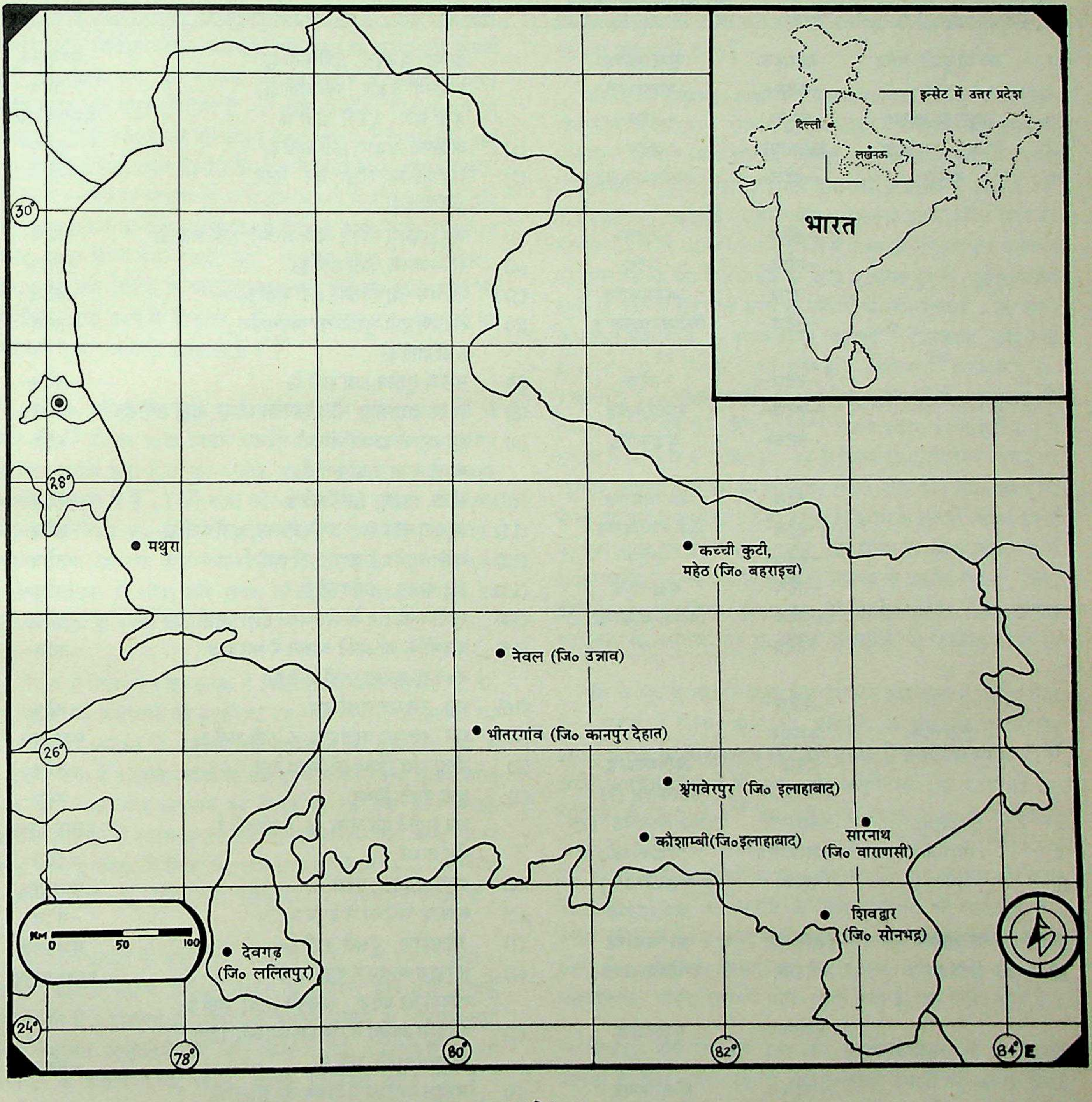
कादम्बरीपानमदोत्कटस्तु बलः पृथुश्रीः स चुकूर्द रामः ।
सहस्ततालं मधुरं समं च स भार्यया रेवतराजपुत्र्या ।।
तं कूर्दमानं मधुसूदनश्च दृष्ट्वा महात्मा च मुदान्वितोभूत ।
चुकूर्द सत्यासहितोमहात्मा हर्षागमार्थं च बलस्य धीमान् ।।
विष्णु पर्व 89.16–17

हरिवंश में श्री कृष्ण सम्बंधी विभिन्न प्रसंगों का विस्तृत विवरण मिलता है किन्तु उपर्युक्त क्रीड़ा के अतिरिक्त कोई ऐसा प्रकरण नहीं मिलता है, जिसमें बलराम और श्री कृष्ण ने अपनी पत्नियों और परिजनों के साथ सामूहिक रूप से आनन्द मनाया हो । अतएव शिवद्वार से मिले तीसरे कथांकन के इस प्रसंग से समीकृत होने की संभावना व्यक्त की जा सकती है । बलराम के हाथ में उनका विख्यात आसव–पात्र अथवा उनके सुख्यात आयुधों हल या मूसल की जगह पुष्प का प्रदर्शन उत्सव के अवसर के सर्वथा अनुकूल है । इस प्रसंग की पृष्ठभूमि में बायें पार्श्व की रमणी का सत्यभामा और दायें पार्श्व में भग्न आकृति से रेवती (?) का अभिज्ञान तर्कसंगत लगता है । देव–पुरुषों और देवियों के निचले पार्श्वों में विविध मुद्राओं में दर्शायी गयी स्त्रियां ऊपर वर्णित क्रीड़ा–युवतियां जान पड़ती हैं ।

IV

शिवद्वार क्षेत्र से प्रकाश में आये ऊपर वर्णित तथा पूर्व प्रकाशित और इस अंक में विवेचित कथा–फलकों की प्राप्ति से सोनभद्र जनपद का नाम भी उन विशिष्ट स्थलों की सूची में जुड़ गया है जहां से भारतीय संस्कृति के दो प्रमुख प्रतीकों और लोकप्रिय कथा–नायकों राम और कृष्ण के कथानकों से सम्बंधित कलाकृतियां पायी गयी हैं । उत्तर प्रदेश के ऐसे

उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रमुख रामकथा फलक स्थल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नेवल (जि० उन्नाव)
भीतरगांव (जि० कानपुर देहात)
श्रृंगवेरपुर (जि० इलाहाबाद)
कौशाम्बी(जि०इलाहाबाद)
सारनाथ (जि० वाराणसी)
शिवद्वार (जि० सोनभद्र)
देवगढ़ (जि० ललितपुर)
KM 0 50 100

मानचित्र -1

तालिका – 1

उत्तर प्रदेश में प्राप्त प्रमुख रामकथा फलकों का विवरण

क्रम सं०	स्थल का नाम	जिला	बाल्मीकि रामायण का सम्बन्धित काण्ड		दृश्य एवं काल	सामग्री
1.	कच्ची कुटी, महेठ	बहराइच	सुन्दरकाण्ड		हनुमान युद्धस्त, 5वीं शती ई०	मृण्फलक
2.	–तदेव–	–तदेव–	बालकाण्ड		अहिल्या उद्धार, 5वीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
3.	मथुरा संग्रहालय	मथुरा	–तदेव–		श्रृंगी ऋषि , दूसरी शती ई०	प्रस्तर फलक
4.	देवगढ़ दशावतार मन्दिर	ललितपुर	–तदेव–	(1)	अहिल्या उद्धार, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	अयोध्याकाण्ड	(2)	राम लक्ष्मण, सीता, वन - गमन, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	–तदेव–	(3)	राम लक्ष्मण सीता, अत्रि आश्रम, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	–तदेव–	(4)	राम लक्ष्मण, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	अरण्यकाण्ड	(5)	लक्ष्मण - शूर्पणखा , 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	किष्किन्धाकाण्ड	(6)	लक्ष्मण द्वारा सुग्रीव का माल्यार्पण , 6 ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	–तदेव–	(7)	नशे में सुग्रीव,6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	सुन्दरकाण्ड	(8)	रावण द्वारा सीता जी को प्रलोभन देना , 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	युद्धकाण्ड	(9)	हनुमान जी द्वारा संजीवनी पर्वत का ले जाना, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	अरण्यकाण्ड	(10)	सीता - हरण, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	किष्किन्धाकाण्ड	(11)	हनुमान का राम से प्रथम मिलन, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	–तदेव–	(12)	बालि सुग्रीव संग्राम, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	युद्धकाण्ड	(13)	सेतु बन्धन , 6ठीं शतीं ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	किष्किन्धाकाण्ड	(14)	सुग्रीव का राम के शरणागत होना , 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	–	(15)	बाल्मीकि का अपने आश्रम में भारद्वाज को कथा सुनाना, 6ठीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	–	(16)	राम - लक्ष्मण वार्तालाप	–तदेव–
5.	भीतरगांव	कानपुर देहात	–	(1)	राम - लक्ष्मण वार्तालाप, 5–6ठीं शती ई०	मृण्फलक
			अरण्यकाण्ड	(2)	सीता द्वारा रावण को भिक्षा देना	–तदेव–
			उत्तरकाण्ड (?)	(3)	युद्ध करते विष्णु	–तदेव–
6.	श्रृंगवेरपुर	इलाहाबाद	किष्किन्धाकाण्ड (?)		राम सुग्रीव एवं अन्य, 5–6ठीं शती ई०	प्रस्तर फलक
7.	सारनाथ	वाराणसी	युद्धकाण्ड		सेतु बन्धन	–तदेव–
8.	नेवल	उन्नाव	युद्धकाण्ड(?)	(1)	वानर समूह, –तदेव–	मृण्फलक
			सुन्दरकाण्ड	(2)	अशोक वाटिका में हनुमान (?)	–तदेव–
9.	कौशाम्बी	इलाहाबाद	अरण्यकाण्ड	(1)	सीताहरण, दूसरी शती ई०	मृण्फलक
10.	शिवद्वार	सोनभद्र	अयोध्याकाण्ड	(1)	भारद्वाज आश्रम में दशरथ की रानियों का प्रवेश, लगभग 10वीं शती ई०	प्रस्तर फलक
		–तदेव–	युद्धकाण्ड	(2)	भारद्वाज आश्रम में राम लक्ष्मण और सीता, लगभग 10वीं शती ई०	–तदेव–
		–तदेव–	सुन्दरकाण्ड	(3)	अशोक वाटिका में रावण का सीता जी को प्रलोभन देना , लगभग 10वीं शती ई०	–तदेव–

महत्वपूर्ण प्राप्ति-स्थलों का विवरण एवं उनकी स्थिति क्रमशः तालिका -1 तथा मानचित्र -1 में अवलोकनीय है* ।

मानचित्र से यह स्पष्ट है कि **राम-कथा-फलक** मुख्यतः मध्य-पूर्व उत्तर प्रदेश के नेवल (उन्नाव), भीतरगांव (कानपुर देहात), श्रृंगवेरपुर आदि (इलाहाबाद), शिवद्वार-क्षेत्र (सोनभद्र), सारनाथ (वाराणसी) और कच्ची कुटी (बहराइच) तथा बुन्देलखण्ड और बृज क्षेत्र में क्रमशः देवगढ़ (ललितपुर) और मथुरा से मिले हैं ।[13] इनके निरूपण के लिए सामग्री के रूप में मिट्टी और प्रस्तर का प्रयोग किया गया है । प्राग्धारा के इसी अंक में श्री शीतला प्रसाद तिवारी के लेख में उल्लिखित सोनभद्र जनपद के शिवद्वार-क्षेत्र के फलक पर भ ारद्वाज आश्रम में राम, लक्ष्मण और सीता के आगमन का जो प्रसंग चित्रित है वैसा ही दृश्य बिहार में अफसद नामक स्थान से भी एक 'स्टको' पर निरूपण मिला है ।[14] किन्तु, दशरथ की तीन रानियों के भारद्वाज आश्रम में उपस्थित होकर ऋषि का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त करने के निरूपण से युक्त दूसरा फलक, इस तरह का अब तक प्राप्त, अकेला उदाहरण है ।[15]

अशोक-वाटिका के कुछ दृश्य देवगढ़ और नेवल आदि से भी मिले हैं ।[16] इन पर थोड़ा विचार कर लेना समयोचित होगा । देवगढ़ से मिला रावण द्वारा सीता को अशोक वन में धमकाने का दृश्य बहुत विरूपित स्थिति में है । इसमें बायीं ओर धमकाने की मुद्रा में खड़े पुरुष और उसके निकट एक स्त्री को दर्शाया गया है । स्त्री की मुद्रा से ऐसा लगता है कि वह उक्त विशालकाय पुरुष से विमुख है । इस दृश्य के अशोक वाटिका में सीता और रावण की वार्ता से सम्बंधित होने की संभावना मात्र ही व्यक्त की गयी है ।

नेवल से मिले भग्न मृण्फलक में किसी तोरण जैसी संरचना पर बैठे हुए वानर की उपस्थिति ही अवशिष्ट रह गयी है, जिसके आधार पर इसे अशोक वाटिका में हनुमान की उपस्थिति के दृश्य के रूप में पहिचाना गया है । इसके अतिरिक्त इस दृश्य में और क्या कुछ दर्शाया गया होगा, यह मात्र अनुमान का विषय ही रह गया है । जबकि अशोक-वाटिका में रावण द्वारा सीता को समझाने/धमकाने के दृश्यांकन वाला सोनभद्र जनपद से मिला फलक उत्तर प्रदेश से प्रकाश में आया ऐसा एकमात्र उदाहरण है, जिसमें इस प्रसंग का पूर्ण निरूपण उपलब्ध है ।

सातवीं शताब्दी के नालन्दा[17] और अफसद[18] के राम - कथा - फलक, सोनभद्र जनपद से मिले फलक की अपेक्षा, सादे और पूर्ववर्ती प्रतीत होते हैं । सोनभद्र के फलकों के पार्श्व-स्तम्भों के अभिप्राय तथा उनमें प्रदर्शित आकृतियों के अंग-विन्यास एवं वस्त्राभूषण आठवीं शताब्दी के उदाहरणों की अपेक्षा अधिक विकसित प्रतीत होते हैं । अतएव शैलीगत आधार पर इन्हें 9वीं-10वीं शती ई० में रखा जा सकता है ।[19]

सोनभद्र जनपद के फलकों से पूर्व अन्य स्थलों से प्राप्त रामकथा से सम्बंधित कलाकृतियाँ गुप्तकाल (5-6वीं शताब्दी) की हैं । हमारी जानकारी के अनुसार 9वीं-10वीं शती ई० का कोई अन्य ऐसा उदाहरण अब तक उत्तर प्रदेश में अन्यत्र कहीं से प्रकाश में नहीं आया है । इस क्षेत्र विशेष की गुप्तोत्तर कला एवं धार्मिक परम्परा के अध्ययन के लिए ये अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत हैं ।

उत्तर प्रदेश में **कृष्ण-कथा** के रूपांकन मुख्यतः मोरध्वज (बिजनौर), भीतरगांव (कानपुर), देवगढ़ (ललितपुर), चन्दौसी (मुरादाबाद), संकिसा, कम्पिल (फरुखाबाद), मथुरा, मनवाडीह (सीतापुर), गढ़वा (इलाहाबाद), भुइली (मिर्जापुर) और वाराणसी से प्रकाश में आये हैं ।[20] ये दृश्य प्रस्तर-फलकों, स्तम्भों और मृण्फलकों पर निरूपित मिले हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि सामान्यतः इन दृश्यों में कृष्ण की गोकुल और वृन्दावन की लीलाओं के कंस के वध तक के प्रसंग रूपायित हुए हैं । कुवलयापीड हाथी के वध का दृश्य भी उपर्युक्त कृतियों में सम्मिलित है । इस प्रसंग के अंकन भीतरगांव[21] (गुप्तकालीन), बादामी[22] (कर्णाटक, छठीं शती ई०), नालन्दा[23] (बिहार, 7वीं शती ई०), ओसिया[24] (राजस्थान, 8-9 वीं शती ई०) ग्वालियर[25] (मध्य प्रदेश, 9वीं शती ई०), खजुराहो[26] (म० प्र० 10वीं शती ई०) और भुइली[27] (मध्य प्रदेश, 12वीं शती ई०) से प्रकाश में आ चुके हैं । शिवद्वार क्षेत्र से मिला दृश्य शैलीगत आधार पर लगभग आठवीं शती ई० में उच्चित्रित प्रतीत होता है । कला की दृष्टि से तो यह एक अनुपम कृति है ही । एक ही प्रसंग के एक से अधिक दृश्यों के एक साथ प्रदर्शन ने इसे दुर्लभ बना दिया है। अन्य उदाहरणों में कुवलयापीड वध को एक ही दृश्य के माध्यम से दर्शाया गया है, किन्तु शिवद्वार के शिल्पी ने इस प्रसंग को विशेष महत्व देकर क्रमशः घटनाक्रम के अनुसार एक से अधिक रथिकाओं में निरूपित किया है।

कंस के वध के बाद के बहुत कम दृश्य प्राचीन कला में चित्रित मिले हैं । गढ़वा से मिला, भीम और जरासन्ध के युद्ध का गुप्तकालीन प्रस्तर-फलक अपवादस्वरूप और ऐसे दृश्यों में सर्वाधिक पुराना है।[28] इसके अतिरिक्त देवगढ़ से कृष्ण और अर्जुन का इसी काल का एक निरूपण भी मिला है ।[29] इस दृष्टि से प्रस्तुत लेख में उल्लिखित तीसरा दृश्य अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है । द्वारिका पहुंचने के उपरान्त रेवती और सत्यभामा और गोपियों के साथ कंस-वध के बाद बलराम और कृष्ण के द्वारिका-निवास की अवधि के क्रिया-कलापों पर आधारित है । हमारी जानकारी के अनुसार ऐसा अंकन अब तक अन्यत्र प्रकाश में नहीं आया है । शैलीगत आधार पर यह फलक, राम-कथा-फलक का समकालिक, अर्थात लगभग 9वीं-10वीं शती ई० का प्रतीत होता है ।

शिवद्वार क्षेत्र से मिले राम और कृष्ण कथानक के विचाराधीन फलकों के भिन्न काल-क्रम दो अलग-अलग स्थानों पर अलग-अलग समय (8वीं से 10वीं शती ई० के मध्य) में यहां वैष्णव देवालयों के निर्मित रहे होने की ओर इंगित करते हैं । इनसे यह भी सिद्ध होता है कि यह क्षेत्र इस अवधि में वैष्णव धर्म के महत्वपूर्ण केन्द्र के रूप में भी प्रतिष्ठित रहा होगा ।

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* इस सन्दर्भ में दशावतार पट्ट, रावणानुग्रह मूर्तियां तथा राम और हनुमान की स्वतन्त्र प्रतिमाएं विचार में नहीं ली गयी हैं।

आभार

प्रस्तुत लेख से सम्बंधित फलकों का मौके पर छायांकन कर उत्कृष्ट चित्र उपलब्ध कराने के लिए हम अपने सहकर्मी श्री राम गोपाल मिश्र, मानचित्र बनाने हेतु श्री मनमोहन डिमरी, टंकण हेतु सु० गीता और श्री शशि भूषण राय के आभारी हैं ।

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उ० प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन,
रोशन–उद्–दौला कोठी,
कैसरबाग, लखनऊ

Scribes and Engravers of the Gāhaḍavāla Records

A.K. Singh

This paper attempts to briefly develop a profile of the professional category consisting of scribes and engravers which find mention in the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions. Ninety - nine inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāls including those of the feudatories and individuals have been reported so far. Among them only sixty-five mention their scribes, engravers and the like. The relevant inscriptions of Gāhaḍavāla in all refer to two poets, twenty-five scribes and six engravers, and sometimes mention to their predecessors, as well as role, occupation and the designation as applied to scribes and engravers. This information is tabulated below.

The two poets of the Gāhaḍavāla charters were Kunda and Manoratha. Kunda, the composer of the Sāranāth stone inscription of Kumāradevī, is described as a lion to the *tirthika*-elephant, a Rohans mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight languages and an intimate friend of the King of Vanga. He composed Sāranāth eulogy of Kumāradevī, charming with strings of letters beautifully engraved *'sundaravarṇṇagumpha rachanāramyāṁ praśastiṁ vyadhat.'* Possibly, it is the effect of his Vanga friend that influenced the writing which possesses eastern mark. The next poet Manoratha was the son of the illustrious Sīda who composed a Buddhist inscription of Bodhgayā (V.S. 124?). He is eulogized as the swan of the *Kāyastha* family *'Kāyasthavaṁsahaṁsa.'*

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The relevant epigraphic data explicates significant details concerning scribes, their family, occupation, title and designation that have been catalogued here. The years within the brackets, just after the personal names, indicate the dates in Vikrama Samvat of their written inscriptions,

1. **Mahananda** (V.S.1148). He was the *thakkuraśrī* wrote Chandravati copper-plate inscription of Chandrādeva.

2. **Hridayadhara** (1150). Inscription of the chandrāvati plate of Chandrādeva was written by Hridayadhara of the *Kāyastha* family, the son of the illustrious Sivastambha.

3. **Sahadeva** (1154, 1164, 1171, 1175, 1176). He was the *Karanika thakkuraśrī* who wrote five charters-Bengāl Asiātic Society's plate of Chandradeva and Madanapāla, Bahuvarā inscription of Madanapāla, Allāhābād Museum, Kamauli, and Don Buzurg grants of Govindachandra.

4. **Vijayadāsa** (1161, 1162). He was the son of the *pandita* Kuke wrote Basahi, and Banaras copper-plate inscriptions of Govindachandra. These inscriptions also mention the authority who approved the charters. Basahi grant was written after the approval of the *pandita* Jāgūka, the *mahattaka* (a village head man or a member of the *Pañchāyat* board)[1] Valhāṇa and the *pratihāra* (a

door keeper) Gautam while Banaras grant also includes Rālhadevī, the mother of Govindachandra, in the approval committee.

5. **Tribhuvanapāla** (1166). Rāhan Copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla and Govindachandra was written by Tribhuvanapāla with the consent of *mahattaka* the illustrious Gāṅgeya.
6. **Jalhana** (1171, 1172). He wrote two grants of Govindachandra-Banaras Bhadāinī Temple, and Kamuali copper- plates. In the first plate he is styled as *karanika* while in the other as the *Kāyastha thakkura śri of the Vāstavya or Śrīvāstavya family 'Śrīvāstavya kulobhūtakāyasthathakkurasri Jalhanena'.*
7. **Vāsudeva** (1174). Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Govindachandra was written by *Karanika* Vāsudeva.
8. **Gāgūka** (1176(2), 1178). Inscriptions of the three Kamauli copper-plates of Govindachandra were written by Gāgūka who finds mention at first as only the *thakkuraśrī* and subsequently as the *karanika thakkura śrī.*
9. **Śrīdhara** (1177). He was the *karanika thakkura* wrote Chhatarapur copper-plate inscription of Govindachandra.
10. **Kīthana** (1182). Kamauli charter of the Govindachandra was written by *Kīthana* a son of *Kāyastha* Ulhana, of the Vāstavya family.
11. **Viśvarūpa** (1182, 1184, 1186, 1195). The four copper- plate inscription of Govindachandra profess to have been written by the *thakkura* śrī Viśvarūpa.
12. **Viśvabhūpa** (1183). He was the *karanika thakkura śrī* wrote Maner copper-plate inscription of Govindachandra.
13. **Surāditya** (1186). The *Kāyastha* Surāditya wrote Sahet- Mahet copper-plate inscription of govindachandra.
14. **Viṣṇu** (1189, 1198). Inscriptions of Pali copper-plate of Govindchandra and Ralhadevi, and one of the Kamauli copper- plate of Govindachandra were written by the *ṭhakkura* Viṣṇu.
15. **Gāgeka** (1190). The *ṭhakkura* Gāgeka wrote Banaras copper- plate inscription of Govindachandra and Asphoṭachandra.
16. **Nārāyaṇa** (1191). He was the *ṭhakkura* wrote Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Singar Vatsarāja.
17. **Dhandhūka** (1197, 1201). Kamauli, and Machhalishahar copper-plate inscriptions of Govindachandra were written by the *Kāyastha* Dhandhūka. He was the *ṭhakkura.* His brother's name was Budhaika.
18. **Vīvīka** (1199, 1201, 1203, 1231, 1232). He wrote five copper-plate inscriptions-one of Govindachandra known from Gaghā, two of Rājyapāla, and two Kamauli charters of Jayachachndra. Inscriptions of Govindachandra and Rājyapāla refer to him as the *karaṇika ṭhakkura śrī* but epigraphs of Jayachcchandra describe him as the *akṣapaṭalika ṭhakkura.*
19. **Vidyādhara** (1207). He was the son of Dhandhūka wrote Banaras copper-plate inscription of Govindachandra.
20. **Śrīpati** (1211, 1217, 1223, 1226, 1228, 1230, 1232(3) 1233(6), 1234, 1236(3), 1237). He wrote one Kamauli copper- plate inscription of Govindachandra, two charters of Vijaychandra and seventeen charters of Jayachchandra.
21. **Kusumapāla** (1224). Kamauli copper-plate inscription of vijayachandra and the yuvarāja Jayachchandra was written by the *thakkura śrī* Kusumapāla.
22. **Jayapāla** (1225). He wrote the Royal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Vijayachandra and Yuvarāja Jayachachandra.
23. **Jagadhara** (1229, 1239). Two records of Jayachchandra known from Asai were written by the *paṇḍita* Jagadhara, the son of the *Kayastha paṇḍita* Śrīdhra.
24. **Bhogāditya** (1253). Machhalishahar copper-plate inscription of Harishachandra mentions its writer as the *mahākṣapaṭalika ṭhakkura śrī* Bhogāditya.

25. **Sukhākara** (1294). The fragmentary stone inscription of queen Uddalladevi was written by the *paṇḍita* Sukhākara.

II

Inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas also furnish information regarding their engravers, listed here.

1. **Mādhava** (1156). He was the son of illustrious Gaṅgādhara incised Chandrāvati-plates of Chandradeva and claims that he made the image of illustrious Chandra-Mahādeva which put to 'shame the other image.'
2. **Sunarakkudana** (1160). He was the son of Sātehara and, probably, engraved Rāhan copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla and Govindachandra.
3. **Hāleka** (1176). The royal record refers to *sūtradhāra* Hāleka who incised Don Buzurg plates of Govindachandra.
4. **Vāmana.** Sāranāth stone inscription of Kumāradevī was engraved by *śilpi* Vāmana.
5. **Someka** (1231, 1232). The two charters of Jayachchandra, which were written by the *akṣapaṭalika ṭhakkura śrī* Vīvīka, engraved by the blacksmith (*lohāra*) Someka.
6. **Ghuḍhastika** (1239). One of the Asai grant of Jayachchadndra was engraved by goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*), the *ṭhakkuraśrī* Ghuḍahastika, the son of *sādhu* Jayapāla.

III

It is interesting to note that some scribes and engravers mention name of their father and other family member. This helps in understanding their family background. In an instance the son of a *'sādhu'* is found holding up an engraver's role. The term *'sādhu'* is not necessarily indicating for professional category. In other instances, two generations of a family represented by Dhandhūka and his son Vidyādhara are found associated with the same profession of 'writing'. Such instances extend the possibility of performance of the same act by professional scribes through generations. Probably, professions were hereditary because the child had better facilities of learning the art and craft under the care and guidance of his elder family members hence proficiency of their professions resulted from their family background. A few other scribes also mention the names of their father. For instance, Hṛidayadhara was the son of Śivastambha. Vijayadāsa's father was Kuke. Jagadhara was the son of Śrīdhara. Similarly among engravers, Gaṅgādhara was the father of Mādhava, Sātekara was the father of Sunarakkunḍaṇa, and Ghudahastikars father was *'sādhu'* Jayapāla.

Vijayadāsa, Sukhākara and Jagadhara are mentioned as *'paṇḍita'* or the son of a *'paṇḍita'*. Interestingly an inscription of Jayachchandra (V.S. 1239) refers to scribe Jagadhara as *'kāyastha paṇḍita'*. Scribes Hridayahara, Surāditya, Dhandhūka, Jalhaṇa, Kīthana were *Kāyastha'* by caste or by occupaation. In general, *'Kāyastha'* was employed for writing the documents. Harisena (10th century A.D.) used the words *'Lekhaka'* (writer) and *'Kāyastha'* which according to him are synonymous[2]. Brijendra Nath Sharma opines that even by the 12th century A.D., the *'Kāyasthas'* did not form a separate class all over Northern India, though in some regions they had already begum to form an occupational caste[3]. However, the occurrence of the *'paṇḍita'* designation for a *'Kāyastha'* in the above mentioned instance seems significant.

The designation and title of the scribes of the Gāhadavāla records mentioned above are notable in signifying a variety of roles. These, among others consist of *'ṭhakkura'* (a rank indicating or feudal status), *'Karaṇika'* (the officer responsible for documentation of royal charters or the writer of legal documents), *'Karaṇika-ṭhakkur'* (a *Karaṇika* who enjoyed the role of a *ṭhakkura*), *'akṣapaṭalika'* (Officer incharge of accounts and records), *'mahāksapaṭalika'* (record keeper and accountant). Mahaṇada, Viśavarūpa, Gāgeka, Gāgūka, Jalhaṇa, Kusumapāla and Viṣṇu were the scribes who were adorned with the title *'ṭhakkura'*. On the other hand Jalhana and Vasudeva occur only as *'karaṇika'*. But interestingly, for Sahadeva, Viśvabhupa and Vīvika both the titles-e.g. *'karaṇika'* and *'ṭhakkura'* are found employed. The designations *'akṣapaṭalika'* and *'ṭhakkura'* were enjoyed by Vīvika in V.S. 1231. However, Śrīpati and Bhogāditya are both mentioned as *'ṭhakkura'* with the difference that they rose to the position of *'mahākṣapaṭalika'*. The gradual evolution in designation of an individual is also recorded where one Śrīpati is mentioned at first in V.S. 1211 only as an illustrious *(Śrī)* member; then in the year 1217 the figures as *'ṭhakkuraśrī'*, and in 1223 he rises to the role of *'mahākṣapaṭalika'* as well as *'ṭhakkura.'* This shows that some scribes acquired a risen status and position and probably played a dominant role in the society and administration by holding royal offices.[4] Other scribes, like Vijayadāsa, Surāditya and Kīthaṇa bear no epithet and designation. Similarly for Jayapāla only *'Śrī'* illustrious is mentioned which indicates a possibility that they were ordinary scribes.

The engraver were artisans sometimes sytled as the *'sūtradhāra', 'śilpi,' 'suvarṇakāra'* and *'lohāra'.*[5] One of the engraver Ghudahastika had the epithet the *'ṭhakkura śrī'* applied to him which shows that engravers' profession was elevated and it also attracted higher ranked persons.

The span of activity of a particular scribe or engraver, possibly, may be understood with the help of reference to one and the same person in the inscriptions of different dates. For instance, Viśvarūpa is known from the inscriptions dated in V.S. 1182 to 1195, Vīvīka 1199 to 1232 while Śrīpati served three generations of the king and worked under the instructions of Govindachandra, Vijayachandra and Jayachchandra. He finds mention in twenty inscriptions as a scribe dated in V.S. 1211 to 1237.

The records of the Gāhaḍavālas also describe the merit and skill of the professionals. Surāditya was proficient in all *śāstras 'sarvvaśāstravit'.* Jalhaṇa is compared as Chitragupta *'vidvāśchitraguptopamogunaih'.* Vidyādhara was jewel of earth *'dharanitalabhūshana'.* The writing of the Hridayadhara is mentioned as 'smooth as a fresh leaf' and 'adorned with lines in which the lettering is quite clear'. Artisans were also not merely the narrow specialists in their trade and vocation. For instance, Mādhava was expert of engraving even as he practised the art of image making, and proved his work as an sculptor.

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सुल्तानपुर में पुरातात्विक सर्वेक्षण

राकेश तिवारी

उत्तर प्रदेश में स्थित सुल्तानपुर जिला पुरातात्विक शोध की दृष्टि से कुछ समय पूर्व तक उपेक्षित रहा है। उन्नीसवीं शती के अन्तिम चरण में यहां के पुरास्थलों के सर्वेक्षण का शुभारम्भ जनरल कनिंघम ने किया।[1] तत्सम्बंधी संक्षिप्त रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित कराते हुए उन्होंने इस क्षेत्र के और अधिक सर्वेक्षण की आवश्यकता भी बतायी, किन्तु अगले 120 वर्षों तक इस जिले के इक्के-दुक्के स्थलों की यदा-कदा चर्चा ही होती रही, इसके विधिवत् सर्वेक्षण की आवश्यकता बनी रही।

इस शताब्दी के आठवें दशक में इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के पुराविदों ने सीमित सर्वेक्षण में यहां के कुछ स्थलों से मध्याश्म कालीन (मीसोलिथिक) उपकरण प्राप्त होने का उल्लेख किया है।[2] तदुपरान्त, 1984 से काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के रवीन्द्र कुमार ने इस जनपद में मानव बस्तियों के उद्भव और विकास की प्रक्रिया के अध्ययन के लिए व्यापक सर्वेक्षण प्रारम्भ किया।[3]

अपनी विरासत के संरक्षण और प्रकाशन में स्थानीय निवासियों की बढ़ती हुई अभिरुचि ने भी इस दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान किया। यहां के कुछ पुरास्थलों के विषय में समाचार पत्रों में लेख प्रकाशित करा कर[4] और व्यक्तिगत रूप से[5] प्रयत्न करके इन संस्कृति-प्रेमियों ने इनके सर्वेक्षण एवं परिरक्षण के लिए राज्य और केन्द्र सरकार के पुरातत्व विभागों का ध्यान आकृष्ट कराया। परिणामतः जून 1986 में उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन[6] और भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण ने क्रमशः यहां के कुछ क्षेत्र का सर्वेक्षण किया। तद्नन्तर भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण ने कुड़वार के टीले और उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन ने शनिचरा के मन्दिर के मलबे के उत्खनन का कार्य कराया।[7]

प्रस्तुत लेख में उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन द्वारा सर्वेक्षित ग्रामों (मानचित्र 1) के नामों के वर्णानुक्रम में उनके पुरातात्विक महत्व का समेकित विवरण निम्नवत् प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

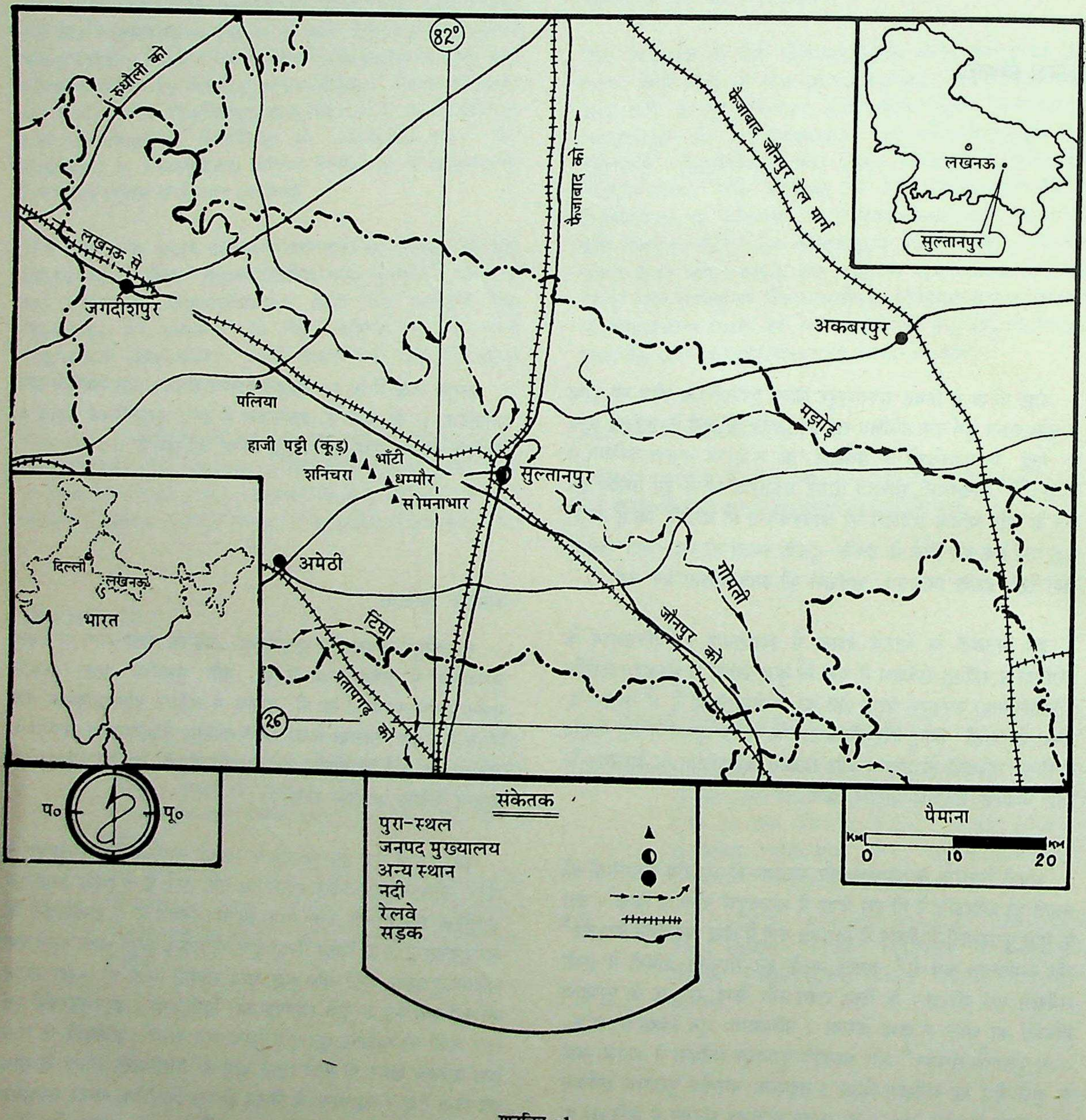
II

अहिरन पलिया

सुल्तानपुर जनपद में, सुलतानपुर-लखनऊ मोटर-मार्ग पर जिला मुख्यालय से लगभग 34 कि.मी. और मुसाफिर खाना तहसील मुख्यालय से लगभग 4 कि.मी. दक्षिण में अहिरन पलिया नामक गांव स्थित है। इसे "पलिया चन्दा" भी कहा जाता है। स्थानीय परम्परा के अनुसार इस गांव का प्राचीन नाम "आभीर पल्ली" था, जो कालान्तर में अहिरन पलिया कहलाने लगा।

इस गांव में एक छोटे तालाब के किनारे सामान्य तल से लगभग 3 मीटर ऊँचा और 20 मीटर व्यास का एक टीला है। इसके ऊपर एक आधुनिक मन्दिर और एक भग्न संरचना स्थित है। ग्रामीणजनों के कथनानुसार टीले के निकट स्थित कुएं की सफाई कराते समय उसमें एक आदमकद प्रस्तर-मूर्ति और कुछ अन्य सामग्री मिली थी। इस प्रतिमा को वहीं एक पेड़ के नीचे स्थापित कर दिया गया। तद्नुसार वर्षा एवं गांव वालों की आंशिक खुदाई से अन्य भग्न प्रस्तर- प्रतिमाओं के साथ कुछ वास्तु- खण्ड भी मिले जिन्हें कुएं से मिली उक्त प्रतिमा के साथ रख दिया गया। कालान्तर में निकट ही एक आधुनिक मन्दिर बनवाकर ग्रामीणों ने आदमकद मूर्ति और अन्य मूर्तियां उसमें स्थापित कर दीं।

सुल्तानपुर के सर्वेक्षित पुरा-स्थल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मानचित्र -1

यह मन्दिर 'बजरंग बली मन्दिर' कहलाता है और मुख्य प्रतिमा हनुमान जी की प्रतिमा समझी जाती है । मन्दिर के पीछे पुराना स्कूल कही जाने वाली भग्न हो चुकी संरचना की दीवारों में भी कुछ मूर्तियां जड़ी हुई हैं।

टीले के पूर्वी भाग में स्थित पूर्वाभिमुख बजरंगबली मन्दिर में प्रतिष्ठित, कुएं से निकली, भूरे बलुए पत्थर से निर्मित मूर्ति लगभग 1.80 मीटर ऊँची और 0.63 मीटर चौड़ी है (फलक 92) । इसमें द्विभुज स्थानक देवता को किरीट मुकुट, कुण्डल, कंकण और उत्तरीय से विभूषित और कवच, चोलक व उपानह (उदीच्य वेश) धारण किये हुए दर्शाया गया है । कन्धे तक उठे उनके दायें हाथ में अक्षमाला प्रदर्शित है। व्याख्यान मुद्रा में उठे उनके बायें हाथ की कुहनी के नीचे लम्बी कटार दर्शायी गयी है । मस्तक के पीछे पद्म-प्रभाममण्डल शोभायमान है । परिकर के निचले उभय पार्श्वों पर एक-एक पौधे के ऊपर दायीं ओर पद्म-कलिका और बायीं ओर शंख निरूपित हैं ।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के मुकुट, कवच, चोलक, उपानह और कटार **सूर्य** के सुज्ञात लक्षण हैं । किन्तु सामान्यतः उनके साथ दर्शाये जाने वाले दण्ड एवं पिंगल आदि यहां अनुपस्थित हैं । दायें हाथ की अक्षमाला ब्रह्मा और बायें हाथ की व्याख्यान-मुद्रा शिव के प्रतीक प्रतीत होते हैं । परिकर के निचले पार्श्वों पर प्रदर्शित पद्म और शंख विष्णु के आयुध हैं । इस प्रकार सूर्य की इस प्रतिमा में, **ब्रह्मा-विष्णु-शिव-सूर्य** चार देवताओं के लक्षणों का समन्वय दिखता है ।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के पार्श्वों में **उमा-महेश** की 50x32 से.मी. माप की एक प्रस्तर-प्रतिमा स्थापित है (फलक 93) । इसमें जटाजूट, कुण्डल, केयूर, कंकण, कटिसूत्र और नाग-पट्ट आदि से विभूषित चतुर्भुज शिव को ललितासन में विराजमान दर्शाया गया है । उनके पिछले दोनों हाथों में क्रमशः त्रिशूल और पुष्प प्रदर्शित हैं । अगले बायें हाथ से वे उमा का चिबुक उठा रहे हैं । अगला बायां हाथ उमा को आलिंगनबद्ध करने की मुद्रा में दर्शाया गया है । उनकी बायीं जंघा पर विराजमान द्विभुज उमा का बायां हाथ शिव की जंघा पर और दायां हाथ निचले पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित त्रिभंग कार्तिकेय के सिर पर आधारित है। उमा-महेश के निचले दायें पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित-मालाधारी विद्याधरों के मध्य परिकर पर क्रमशः दो और तीन शिवलिंग निरूपित हैं ।

आधुनिक मन्दिर में लगे लगभग 1.57 मीटर ऊँचे और लगभग 48 से.मी. चौड़े **स्तम्भ** विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं (फलक 94, 95) । पत्र-वल्ली, फुल्ल-शाखा, मिथुन-शाखा, स्तम्भ शाखा आदि से सज्जित ये स्तम्भ किसी पंच शाखा प्रवेशद्वार के भग्नांश हैं । इनके निचले और ऊपरी भाग घट-पल्लव से और मध्य भाग कीर्तिमुख से सज्जित हैं । मिथुन या रूप शाखा पर चार युगल गाढ़ालिंगन की मुद्रा में निरूपित हैं ।

मन्दिर के पीछे स्थित भग्न विद्यालय की दीवार में लगा लगभग 90x44 से.मी. माप का अलंकृत प्रस्तर-खण्ड प्राचीन मन्दिर के उपर्युक्त स्तम्भों के ऊपर के **उत्तरंग** का अर्धांश जान पड़ता है (फलक 96) । इसे क्रमशः ऊपर से नीचे की ओर सिंह मुख, किंकणिका, विद्याधर युगल, पुष्प और पत्रवल्ली से सुसज्जित किया गया है । बायें पार्श्व में परिचारिका और व्याल आकृतियां प्रदर्शित हैं ।

भग्न विद्यालय की दीवार में लगी **सूर्य** प्रतिमा का अधोभाग उल्लेखनीय है (फलक 97) । अवशिष्ट भाग 5 0 x 48 से.मी. माप का है। इसमें उत्तरीय एवं उदीच्यवेशी स्थानक देवता की पहचान सूर्य से करना सहज है । उनके निचले दायें तथा बायें पार्श्वों में उनकी एक-एक पत्नियां और पैरों के बीच एक अन्य पत्नी प्रदर्शित हैं, जिन्हें छाया, निक्षुभा और महाश्वेता देवी के रूप में पहिचाना जा सकता है । दाएं और बाएं पार्श्वों में प्रदर्शित सूर्य-पत्नियों के सामने दायीं ओर सूर्य के गण पिंगल और बायीं ओर दण्ड प्रदर्शित हैं ।

मन्दिर के दक्षिण में लगभग 1.42 x 0.35 x 0.31 मीटर माप का अलंकृत स्तम्भ (फलक 98) तथा भवन व विद्यालय की दीवारों में जड़े 88x 38 से.मी. और 65 x 15 से.मी. माप के अलंकृत प्रस्तर-खण्ड भी प्राचीन देवालय के भग्नावशेष हैं । इन पर प्रदर्शित घट-पल्लव, पत्रवल्ली, मुरली वादक, मृदंग-वादक, योद्धा, दर्पणधारिणी, नर्तक- नर्तकी और विशेषतः द्विभुजी वींणाधारिणी सरस्वती निरूपित हैं । गायक - नर्तकवृन्द दर्शनीय हैं (फलक 99) । टीले के ऊपर अन्य भग्न प्रस्तर-खण्ड भी पड़े हैं ।

शैलीगत आधार पर अहिरन पलिया के ये अवशेष लगभग 10वीं शती ई० के प्रतीत होते हैं । उपर्युक्त विवरण से सुस्पष्ट है कि अहिरन पलिया गांव में स्थित टीले के स्थान पर लगभग 10वीं ई० में एक से अधिक मन्दिर स्थित रहे होंगे । यहां उपलब्ध प्राचीन ईंटें इन मन्दिरों के ईंटों से निर्मित रहे होने की ओर इंगित करती हैं । इसके प्रवेश द्वार, उत्तरंग और मंदारक प्रस्तर निर्मित रहे होंगे । इस मन्दिर में कदाचित् कुएं से निकली सूर्य की समन्वयात्मक प्रतिमा मुख्य प्रतिमा के रूप में प्रतिस्थापित रही होगी । इस प्रकार यह मन्दिर सम्भवतः सूर्य, ब्रह्मा, शिव और विष्णु के सम्मिलित स्वरूपों से युक्त देवता को समर्पित रहा होगा । मन्दिर में रखी उमा-महेश की प्रतिमा से स्पष्ट है कि यहां सूर्य के अतिरिक्त शिव-उपासना भी होती रही होगी । स्थल पर पड़ी एक अन्य भग्न विष्णु प्रतिमा विष्णु की उपासना का साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत करती है । इस प्रकार सूर्य, ब्रह्मा, विष्णु और शिव की उपासना का यह स्थल प्राचीन भारत के चार प्राचीनतम् सम्प्रदायों के समन्वय का दुर्लभ उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है ।

कूंड़

ग्राम हाजी पट्टी के निकट एक मनोरम सरोवर के किनारे कूंड़ का

सुख्यात मन्दिर स्थित है । यह स्थल जिला मुख्यालय से लगभग 24 कि.मी. और धम्मौर ग्राम से लगभग 6 कि.मी. की दूरी पर स्थित है । यहां तक पहुंचने के लिए भाटी गांव होकर जाना होता है । वर्षा के अतिरिक्त अन्य मौसमों में कूंड़ तक पहुंचना सहज है ।

यहां **“सगरा”** नाम से ज्ञात एक सरोवर है । इसके चारों ओर उसकी खुदाई के समय निकली मिट्टी से ऊँचा बांध बनाया गया है । सरोवर में पश्चिमी–दक्षिणी भाग से पानी के आने के उत्तर–पूर्वी कोने पर जल–निकास का प्राविधान किया गया है । सरोवर के पश्चिम–दक्षिण में, गांव के उत्तर और मार्ग के दायीं ओर एक छोटा टीला स्थित है । सामान्य तल से इसकी उँचाई लगभग 10 मीटर और विस्तार लगभग 10x5 मीटर क्षेत्र में है (फलक 100) । इस पर बहुसंख्यक सादी और कुछ अलंकृत ईंटों का ढेर है (फलक 101) । कुछ प्रस्तर–खण्ड भी पड़े हुए हैं । ढेर के बीचों–बीच ग्रामीणों ने खजाना पाने के लालच में खुदाई की है । परिणामस्वरूप खजाना तो पता नहीं मिला या नहीं, वहां स्थित प्राचीन मन्दिर के गर्भगृह की वास्तु–योजना आधे से अधिक स्पष्ट हो गयी है । तद्नुसार मन्दिर का गर्भगृह वर्गाकार जान पड़ता है । पश्चिमी भाग में मन्दिर के वेदीबन्ध का इष्टिका–निर्मित निचला भाग भी दिखता है । इन साक्ष्यों के अनुसार इस स्थल पर ईंटों से निर्मित प्राचीन मन्दिर के निर्मित रहे होने का सहज अनुमान होता है । कदाचित् इसका प्रवेश-द्वार प्रस्तर निर्मित रहा होगा । बताया गया है कि यहां की अवशिष्ट प्रतिमाओं को कूंड़ के मन्दिर में स्थापित कर दिया गया है । इस क्षेत्र में टीले के आस–पास बहुत सी ईंटें बिखरी हुई हैं । ग्रामीणों के कथनानुसार सरोवर के अन्य दिशाओं में भी प्राचीन कालीन मन्दिर थे जो कि अब पूर्णतः ध्वस्त हो गये हैं ।

सरोवर के पूर्वी भाग के दक्षिणी अर्धांश में एक ऊँचे टीले पर कूंड़ का आधुनिक मन्दिर आस–पास के क्षेत्र में सबसे अधिक उंचाई पर अवस्थित होने के कारण दूर से आकर्षित कर लेता है । सामान्य तल से मन्दिर तक जाने के लिए बने ऊपर उठते सोपान भव्य लगते हैं । सोपानों, उसके किनारे की दीवारों और मन्दिर की ऊँची दीवारों में यत्र–तत्र अनेक अलंकृत और सादी ईंटें तथा अलंकृत और सादे प्रस्तर–स्तम्भ दृष्टव्य हैं । स्पष्टतः आधुनिक मन्दिर के निर्माण के समय यहां उपलब्ध प्राचीन मन्दिर के ध्वंसावशेषों में उपलब्ध ईंटों तथा अलंकृत और सादे प्रस्तर–खण्डों का पुर्नप्रयोग किया गया है । मन्दिर के भीतरी प्रांगण में भी अनेक अलंकृत स्तम्भ, मकर– प्रणालियाँ और खण्डित प्रस्तर–पट्ट रखे हैं । इनमें से कुछ तो पूर्वोल्लिखित मन्दिर–स्थल से लाये गये हैं और अन्य कदाचित् यहां स्थित एक अन्य प्राचीन मन्दिर के ध्वंसावशेष से लिये गये हैं । इस प्रकार स्पष्टतः मध्यकाल में इस स्थान पर किसी धर्मात्मा ने एक जलाशय खुदवाकर उसके किनारे एक से अधिक देवालय बनवाये । ये जलाशय और मन्दिर अपने मूल रूप से बड़ा ही मनोरम एवं पावनदृश्य उपस्थित करते होंगे ।

कूंड़ के मन्दिर में स्थापित प्रतिमाएं और अलंकृत प्रस्तर–खण्ड, वास्तु एवं मूर्तिकला की दृष्टि से उल्लेखनीय हैं । मन्दिर के अन्दर दायें पार्श्व में द्विभुज **स्थानक सूर्य** की 1.35 मीटर उँची और 0.72 मीटर चौड़ी प्रस्तर–प्रतिमा स्थापित है (फलक 103) । इसमें समभंग मुद्रा में खड़े किरीटमुकुट, कुण्डल, कंकण, यज्ञोपवीत, कटिसूत्र और मेखला से सुसज्जित भगवान सूर्य को उदीच्यवेश में कवच और उपानह धारण किये हुए दर्शाया गया है । उनकी दोनों बाहों पर अवलम्बित उत्तरीय घुटनों तक लहरा रहा है । उनके दोनों हाथों में फुल्ल–पद्म सुशोभित हैं। सूर्य देव के पैरों के निचले पार्श्वों में उनकी पत्नियां छाया और निक्षुभा त्रिभंग मुद्रा में और एक हाथ में पद्–कलिका लिए हुए दर्शायी गयी हैं। कन्धों के पार्श्व में धनुर्धारी ऊषा–प्रत्यूषा नामक पत्नियां प्रदर्शित हैं । छाया और निक्षुभा के पार्श्वों में अश्वनी कुमार और सामने दण्ड–पिंगल तथा सूर्य के पैरों के बीच महाश्वेता देवी विराजमान हैं । अश्वनी कुमारों के पैरों के पास बैठे हुए गण और उनके ऊपर मालाधारी–विद्याधर प्रदर्शित हैं । परिकर के पार्श्व, गज और सिंह व्यालों से, सज्जित हैं। परिकर के ऊपरी भाग में मालाधारी–विद्याधर – मिथुन निरूपित हैं । सूर्य के सिर के ऊपरी पार्श्वों में ब्रह्मा एवं विष्णु अपनी अर्द्धांगिनियों के साथ आसनस्थ हैं । शैली के अनुसार यह प्रतिमा लगभग 11वीं शती ई० में निर्मित प्रतीत होती है ।

मन्दिर में सबसे बायीं ओर गरुड़ पर आरूढ़ **विष्णु** की एक 1.24 मीटर ऊँची और 67 से.मी. चौड़ी प्रस्तर–प्रतिमा स्थापित है (फलक – 104) । इसमें प्रदर्शित मानव–रूपी गरुड़ पर ललितासन में विराजमान चतुर्भुज भगवान विष्णु का मस्तक, मुकुट, मुख–भाग और भुजाएं भग्न हैं । वे कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, कौस्तुभ, बाजूबन्ध, यज्ञोपवीत, कटिसूत्र और वनमाला से सुसज्जित हैं । गरुड़ के दायें हाथ पर अवलम्बित उनका दांया पैर जंघा के मध्य से भग्न है । पिछले दायें हाथ के पास गदा का अवशिष्ट भाग दर्शनीय है । मस्तक के पीछे पद्म–प्रभामण्डल शोभायमान है । मुकुट, सर्प–कुण्डल, और सर्प–माल आदि से विभूषित गरुड़ को उड़ने की मुद्रा में दर्शाया गया है । उनका बायां पैर और हाथ भग्न है । उनके दायें और बायें पार्श्वों में त्रिभंग–मुद्रा में दोनों हाथ जोड़ कर घुटने मोड़ कर बैठी हुई उपासिकाएं निरूपित हैं । परिकर के मध्य–पार्श्वों पर सिंह और गज–व्याल शोभित हैं । विष्णु की भुजाओं के पीछे दायीं ओर धनुष और तीर लेकर त्रिभंग मुद्रा में खड़े राम (?) तथा बायीं ओर कदाचित् उनके एक अन्य अवतार प्रदर्शित हैं । विष्णु के प्रभामण्डल के ऊपर योगासन में बैठे चतुर्भुज सूर्य–नारायण दर्शनीय हैं । उनके पिछले दोनों ओर मालाधारी–विद्याधर और चौरीधारी परिचारक हैं । प्रभामण्डल के दायीं ओर ललितासन में विराजमान चतुर्भुज कूर्चधारी ब्रह्मा का अगला दायां हाथ अभय–मुद्रा में ऊपर उठा हुआ है । अन्य हाथों में वे क्रमशः स्रुव, पुस्तक और कमण्डलु धारण किये हुए हैं । जटाजूटधर पितामह कण्ठहार, कंकण और यज्ञोपवीत से सज्जित हैं । प्रभामण्डल के बायीं और ललितासन में बैठे चतुर्भुज शिव जटाजूट, कुण्डल, कण्ठहार और यज्ञोपवीत आदि से सज्जित हैं । उनका अगला दायां हाथ अभय मुद्रा में ऊपर उठा हुआ है।

परिकर के ऊपरी छोर और दोनों पार्श्वों पर विष्णु के दस अवतार प्रदर्शित हैं । ब्रह्मा के सिर के बायीं ओर मत्स्य और शिव के बायीं ओर कूर्म अवतार दर्शाये गये हैं। सूर्य-नारायण के दायें और बायं विद्याधरों के पार्श्वों में क्रमशः प्रदर्शित वराह और नरसिंह अवतारों के पार्श्व में क्रमशः वामन और परशुराम (?) अवतार निरूपित हैं । इसके किनारें दायीं ओर दाशरथी राम और बायीं ओर बलराम (?) अवतार तथा मत्स्य और कूर्म अवतारों के नीचे क्रमशः बुद्ध और कल्कि अवतार दृष्टव्य हैं। इस प्रकार इस प्रतिमा में विष्णु की प्रतिमा के साथ चार प्रमुख वैदिक देवताओं सूर्य, ब्रह्मा, शिव और विष्णु तथा विष्णु के विभिन्न अवतारों के साथ बुद्ध का रूपांकन तत्कालीन समाज की समन्वयात्मक प्रवृत्ति का उत्तम साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत करता है । यह प्रतिमा तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से लगभग 11वीं शती ई० में निर्मित प्रतीत होती है ।

मन्दिर के अन्दर रखी लगभग 12वीं शती ई० में निर्मित विष्णु की एक अन्य प्रस्तर-प्रतिमा 1.05 मीटर ऊँची और लगभग 60 से.मी. चौड़ी है (फलक 107) । इसमें चतुर्भुज स्थानक विष्णु को किरीट-मुकुट, कण्ठहार, कौस्तुभ, ग्रैवेयक, यज्ञोपवीत, कटिसूत्र और वनमाला आदि से सुसज्जित दर्शाया गया है । उनके चारों हाथ भग्न हैं । परिकर के पार्श्वों पर मत्स्यावतार, कूर्मावतार, वराह, नरसिंह, वामन, परशुराम(?) दाशरथी राम, बलराम, बुद्ध और कल्कि अवतार तथा व्याल आकृतियां निरूपित हैं । विष्णु के निचले पार्श्वों में गरुड़ एवं अन्य परिचारक-परिचारिकाएं प्रदर्शित हैं । इस प्रतिमा के निकट ही 67x30 से.मी. माप का एक भारपुत्र-युक्त भार-पट्ट भी रखा हुआ है जो कि किसी मन्दिर के स्तम्भ के शीर्ष -भाग में लगा रहा होगा (फलक 106) ।

मन्दिर के प्रागंण में रखे **विष्णु-प्रतिमा** के भग्न परिकर पर विष्णु अवतार उत्कीर्ण हैं (फलक 108) । परिकर के अवशिष्ट ऊपरी भाग की माप 86x60 से.मी. है । इसके दायें और बायें पार्श्वों में क्रमशः चुतुर्भुज ब्रह्मा एवं शिव अपनी-अपनी अर्द्धांगिनियों के साथ निरूपित हैं । विष्णु अवतारों में मत्स्य, कूर्म, वराह, वामन एवं नरसिंह दृष्टव्य हैं । इनके साथ मालाधर-विद्याधर युगल निरूपित हैं । परिकर के शीर्ष पर योगीश्वर विष्णु आसनस्थ दर्शाये गये हैं ।

सूर्य की उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के बायें पार्श्वों में 70x48 से.मी. माप की **जैन तीर्थंकर के माता-पिता** की प्रस्तर-प्रतिमा स्थापित है (फलक 102)। इसमें कैवल्य वृक्ष के नीचे दायीं ओर पुरुष और बायीं ओर स्त्री को ललितासन में बैठे दर्शाया गया है । चतुर्भुज पुरुष-आकृति का अगला दायां हाथ और पैर अंशतः भग्न हैं । पिछले दायें हाथ में पुष्प-कलिका और बायें हाथों में पुस्तक और कमण्डलु धारण किये हुए और जटाजूट, कण्ठमाल, कुण्डल, यज्ञोपवीत और उत्तरीय से सुसज्जित हैं उनका दायां पैर पद्म-पीठ पर आधारित है। उनके बायें हाथ में बीजपूरक है । बायें हाथ से वे बायीं जंघा पर बैठे बालक को संभाले हुई हैं । उनका दांया पैर पद्म-पीठ पर अवलम्बित है । माता-पिता के नीचे उपासक- उपासिकाएं प्रदर्शित हैं । कैवल्य-वृक्ष के ऊपर पद्म-कलिका के ऊपर अर्द्ध-चन्द्र पर बायें हाथ में कलश लिये और दायां हाथ अभय मुद्रा में उठाये पुरुष आकृतियां रूपांकित हैं । शैली के अनुसार यह प्रतिमा लगभग 11वीं शती ई० से सम्बद्ध की जा सकती है ।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमाओं के अतिरिक्त मन्दिर के प्रांगण में त्रिभंगी स्त्री आकृति से युक्त **प्रस्तर-स्तम्भ** (माप 57 x 23 x 27 से.मी.), अलंकृत स्तम्भ (माप 1.37 x 24 x 17 से.मी.), मकरमुख प्रणाली एवं अन्यान्य भग्न प्रस्तर-पट्ट संग्रहीत हैं ।

कूंड़ के मन्दिर और भाटी ग्राम के बीच मार्ग से दक्षिण दिशा में ईटों का छोटा सा ढेर है । यह स्थल मन्दिर से लगभग आधा कि.मी. की दूरी पर मन्दिर और भाटी ग्राम से लगभग समान दूरी पर स्थित है । यहां बिखरी ईंटों, यत्र-तत्र पड़े पाषाण - पट्टों और उत्तरंग से सुस्पष्ट है कि यहां नवीं-दसवीं शती ई० में एक इष्टिका निर्मित मन्दिर स्थित रहा होगा । इसका प्रवेश द्वार प्रस्तर निर्मित और आकर्षक रहा होगा । उत्तरंग के साक्ष्यानुसार मन्दिर के पंचशाखा प्रवेशद्वार क्रमशः फुल्ल शाखा, रूप शाखा, फुल्ल शाखा, पत्र वल्ली शाखा और चन्द्रशालाओं से सुसज्जित था (फलक 108) । ललाट बिम्ब पर गरुड़ारूढ़ चतुर्भुज विष्णु प्रदर्शित हैं । उनके पिछले बायें हाथ में गदा और पिछले दायें हाथ में चक्र प्रदर्शित है । अगले दोनों हाथ भग्न हैं । उत्तरंग के अवशिष्ट भाग की माप 1.60 x 0.39 मीटर है । इस साक्ष्य के अनुसार यह उत्तरंग विष्णु के मन्दिर से सम्बद्ध प्रतीत होता है ।

गढ़ा (कुड़वार)

सुल्तानपुर नगर से लगभग 15 कि.मी. की दूरी पर विकासखण्ड कुड़वार के निकट वणनपुर ग्राम के समीप गोमती नदी के दायें तट पर गढ़ा का विस्तृत टीला स्थित है । यह टीला गोमती के किनारे-किनारे लगभग 1 कि.मी. की चौड़ाई में विस्तृत है । टीले के पूर्वी दिशा में एक स्थानीय नाला टीले की पूर्वी सीमा निर्धारित करता है ।

टीले पर गोमती के किनारे की कगार में और विभिन्न ऊँचे स्थानों पर मध्यकालीन वास्तु-संरचनाओं की अवशिष्ट दीवारों के भाग दिखते हैं। यदा-कदा कुषाण-कालीन ईंटें भी मिलती हैं । कुछ मध्यकालीन ईटों पर पत्रवल्ली आदि गढ़ने दिखती हैं । टीला कई स्थानों पर बरसाती पानी के बहाव से कट गया है ।

टीले पर बहुसंख्यक प्राचीन पात्रावशेष बिखरे हुए हैं । इनमें काले लेपित पात्र (ब्लैक स्लिप्ड वेयर), लाल रंग के पात्र (रेड वेयर), सादे सिलेटी पात्र (प्लेन ग्रे वेयर), उत्तरी कृष्ण मार्जित पात्र (एन.बी.पी. वेयर) और ओपदार पात्र (ग्लेज्ड वेयर) उल्लेखनीय हैं । इनमें मुखयतः उन्नतोदर तश्तरियां (कान्वेक्स साइडेड डिसिज), कटोरे (बाउल्स), प्याले (बीकर), छिद्रित पात्र (परफोरेटेड पात्र), हांडी, टोटियां (स्पाउट्स) और ढक्कन (लिड) के अवशेष सम्मिलित हैं । इनके अतिरिक्त कांच के टुकड़े भी यत्र-तत्र बिखरे हुए हैं ।

उपर्युकत साक्ष्यों से ऐसा लगता है कि गढ़ा के स्थान पर लगभग 7वीं शती ई.पूर्व से मानवीय गतिविधियां प्रारम्भ हुई, जो उत्तर मध्य काल तक अनवरत् रूप से चलती रही हैं ।

भाटी ग्राम

धम्मौर ग्राम से कूंड़ तक जाने वाले मार्ग पर धम्मौर से 4 कि.मी. की दूरी पर भाटी ग्राम स्थित है । इस गांव तक जीप व अन्य वाहनों से पहुंचना सहज है । यहां गांव के बीच में पेड़ के नीचे मध्यकालीन मूर्तियों के कुछ अत्यन्त भग्न अंश रखे हैं। इसी तरह भाटी ग्राम के पूर्वी भाग में खुले स्थान पर एक शिवलिंग और अन्य प्रस्तर-खण्ड रखे हैं ।

भाटी ग्राम के लिये जहां से मुख्य मार्ग से रास्ता निकलता है । उसी कोने पर एक प्राचीन सरोवर है, उसके किनारे अपेक्षाकृत ऊँचे स्थान पर ईंटों के ढेर हैं । इनमें सादी और अलंकृत दोनों तरह की ईंटें पायी जाती हैं । कुछ ईंटों पर पत्रवल्ली गढ़नें उकेरित दिखती हैं और कुछ ईंटों की विशिष्ट बनावट से स्पष्टतः पता चलता है कि उनका प्रयोग वहां स्थित प्राचीन इष्टिका मन्दिर के शिखर-आमलक के संयोजन के लिये किया गया होगा । इस प्रकार स्थल पर एक से अधिक पूर्व मध्य कालीन मन्दिर स्थित रहे होंगे ।

बाबा महेश्वरनाथ का मन्दिर एवं टीला

ऊपर उल्लिखित धम्मौर-ग्राम से पूर्व दिशा में खेतों के बीच में बाबा महेश्वरनाथ नामक मन्दिर है । सुल्तानपुर-धम्मौर मोटर-मार्ग पर धम्मौर के पहले ही एक छोटी नहर के बगल से दायीं ओर कुछ दूर पैदल चलकर इस स्थल तक पहुंचना सहज है ।

इस स्थल पर वट के विशाल वृक्ष के नीचे एक आधुनिक मन्दिर में प्राचीन प्रस्तर-निर्मित शिवलिंग स्थापित है । वट-वृक्ष की जड़ों के मध्य अनेक अत्यन्त भग्न प्रस्तर-खण्ड, किसी प्राचीन प्रतिमा के परिकर के अंश जिसमें मालाधर और व्याल आकृतियां प्रदर्शित हैं (माप 30 x 24 से.मी.) तथा अन्य खण्डित प्रतिमाएं संग्रहीत हैं । एक अन्य भग्न प्रस्तर-खण्ड पर एक आसनस्थ प्रतिमा उत्कीर्ण है (माप 16x14 से.मी.)। मन्दिर के आस-पास निर्मित ईंटों की फर्श में प्राचीन ईंटें प्रयुक्त दिखती हैं । इनकी माप सामान्यतः 30 x 22 x 5 से.मी. है जो कि उनके पूर्व मध्यकाल से सम्बद्ध होने के अनुमान को बल प्रदान करती है।

उपर्युक्त साक्ष्यों से ऐसा लगता है कि यहां लगभग 9-10वीं शती ई. में कम से कम एक इष्टिका-मन्दिर अवश्य रहा होगा जो कालान्तर में भग्न हो गया । यहां उपलब्ध प्राचीन ईटें और प्रतिमाएं उसी मन्दिर से सम्बद्ध रही होंगी ।

ठाकुर बाबा मन्दिर : ग्राम शनिचरा

धम्मौर गांव से लगभग 2 कि.मी. उत्तर-पश्चिम, जिला मुख्यालय से लगभग 16 कि.मी. की दूरी पर, शनिचरा नामक ग्राम स्थित है । धम्मौर से यहां तक पहुंचने के लिए कच्चा मार्ग है जिस पर सभी मौसमों में जीप द्वारा पहुंचना सहज है । मार्ग से बायीं ओर छोटे से सरोवर के निकट स्थित इस ग्राम के पश्चिमी भाग में ठाकुर बाबा नामक पूजा-स्थल स्थित है । यहां लगभग 20x10 मीटर क्षेत्र में लगभग 3 मीटर ऊंचा एक टीला स्थित था । इसमें बहुसंख्यक सादी और अलंकृत ईंटों का ढेर दिखते थे (फलक 113) । टीले के पश्चिमी भाग में नीचे अलंकृत ईंटों से निर्मित वास्तु का अवशिष्ट भाग दिखता है । टीले के ऊपरी उत्तरी भाग में कुछ प्रस्तर-प्रतिमाएं रखी हैं । यहां स्थापित मुख्य प्रतिमा ग्रामीणों द्वारा ठाकुर बाबा के नाम से पूजी जाती है ।

शनिचरा गांव के उपर्युक्त टीले के पश्चिमी पार्श्व के निचले भाग का अवशिष्ट इष्टिका - वास्तु उल्लेखनीय है (फलक 114) । 26 x 20.5 x 5 और 32 x 22.5 x 5.5 से.मी. माप की ईंटों से निर्मित इस संरचना में ईंटों में काट कर बनायी गयी गहरी चन्द्रशालाओं में प्लास्टर अथवा लेप का कुछ अंश अवशिष्ट है । यह वास्तु-संरचना, टीले की अलंकृत और सादी ईंटें; प्रस्तर प्रतिमाएं एवं अन्य प्रस्तर-खण्ड इस ओर इंगित करते हैं कि लगभग 8वीं-9वीं शती ई० में यहां एक इष्टिका-मन्दिर निर्मित कराया गया होगा, यहां रखी एक अलंकृत प्रस्तर-चौखट इसका प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करती है । यहां की इष्टिकाओं में उकेरित चन्द्रशालाओं के स्वरूप और सीतापुर जनदप के कलपा देवी एवं फतेहपुर जनपद के सरहन बुजुर्ग के लगभग 9वीं शती ई० के इष्टिका-मन्दिरों की चन्द्रशालाओं में पर्याप्त समानता दिखती है । टीले पर रखी प्रतिमाएं इसी मन्दिर में स्थापित रही होंगी । कालान्तर में मन्दिर के ध्वस्त हो जाने पर ध्वंसावशेष के ऊपरी भाग को समतल कर के उस पर मन्दिर की अवशिष्ट प्रतिमाओं को स्थापित करके उनकी पूजा की जाने लगी ।

ठाकुर बाबा के नाम से पूजी जा रही आदमकद प्रस्तर-प्रतिमा लगभग 1.68x0.85 मीटर माप की है (फलक 115) । इसमें द्विभुज स्थानक देवता को त्रिभंग - मुद्रा में दर्शाया गया है । वे जटाजूट, कर्ण-कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, कण्ठमाल, बाजूबन्ध, यज्ञोपवीत, धोती, मेखला, कटिसूत्र और नुपूर से सुसज्जित हैं । ऊपर उठा दायां भग्न हाथ कदाचित् अभय मुद्रा में रहा होगा । बायां हाथ कुहनी के नीचे से भग्न है इसलिये इसकी मुद्रा, आयुध स्पष्ट नहीं हैं । देवता के निचले पार्श्वों में स्त्री-पुरुष परिचारक दर्शाये गये हैं । इन्हें नमस्कार मुद्रा में बैठे, त्रिभंग मुद्रा में खड़े और माला लिये हुए प्रदर्शित किया गया है । इनके मुख-भाग भग्न हैं । प्रतिमा के ऊपरी पार्श्वों में मालाधर-विद्याधर मिथुन, त्रिभंगी चौरीधारी परिचारिकाएं और बौनी स्त्रियां दर्शायी गयी हैं । इनके बीच में एक स्तूप जैसी संरचना निरूपित हैं । परिकर के पार्श्वों के मध्य भाग एक-एक सिंह व्याल से सज्जित हैं । देवता के सिर के पीछे सादा अण्डाकार प्रभामण्डल है । यद्यपि इस प्रतिमा की पहचान के लिए स्पष्ट प्रतीक नहीं दिखते हैं फिर भी इसके **शैव प्रतिमा** (?) होने की अधिक सम्भावना है । शैली के अनुसार इसे 8-9वीं शती ई० से सम्बद्ध किया जा सकता है ।

उपर्युक्त मुख्य प्रतिमा के दायें पार्श्व में स्थापित चतुर्भुज **स्थानक विष्णु** की प्रस्तर–प्रतिमा लगभग 77x48 से.मी. माप की है (फलक 117)। इसमें किरीट मुकुट,कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, कण्ठमाल, केयूर, कंकण, यज्ञोपवीत, धोती, कटिसूत्र, मेखला और वनमाला से सुसज्जित समभंग मुद्रा में खड़े देवता का अगला दायां हाथ वरद् मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है । उनके अन्य हाथों में क्रमशः गदा, चक्र और शंख शोभित हैं । घुटनों से नीचे का भाग अंशतः भग्न है । विष्णु के निचले पार्श्वों में त्रिभंगी चौरी धारी परिचारक, परिचारिका और नमस्कार मुद्रा में दोनों हाथ जोड़ कर बैठी हुई उपासिकाएं विराजमान हैं । पार्श्वों में मालाधार–विद्याधर उड़ते हुए दर्शाये गये हैं । यह प्रतिमा भी 9वीं शती ई. में निर्मित प्रतीत होती है।

मुख्य प्रतिमा के बायें पार्श्व में स्थापित लगभग 90x50.5 से.मी. माप की **सूर्य–प्रतिमा** का ऊपरी बायां पार्श्व भग्न है (फलक 116) । इसमें समभंग स्थानक सूर्य को किरीट मुकुट, कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, यज्ञोपवीत, कटिसूत्र, मेखला और कंकण से सुसज्जित तथा उदीच्यवेश में दर्शाया गया है । उनकी बांहों पर अवलम्बित उत्तरीय घुटनों तक लहरा रहा है । दोनों हाथ में फुल्ल–पद्म सुशोभित हैं । बायां हाथ कुहनी तक भग्न है । बांयी कुहनी के नीचे कटार प्रदर्शित है . निचले दायें और बायें पार्श्वों में एक हाथ में पद्म–कलिका लिये त्रिभंग मुद्रा में छाया और निक्षुभा तथा ऊपर दायें पार्श्व में धनुष–संधान करती ऊषा नामक सूर्य की पत्नियां दर्शायी गयी हैं । ऊपरी बायें पार्श्वों में उनकी एक अन्य पत्नी प्रत्यूषा निरूपित रही होगी किन्तु प्रतिमा का उक्त भाग भग्न हो गया है। सूर्य के दोनों पैरों के बीच नीचे महाश्वेता देवी विराजमान हैं । छाया और निक्षुभा के सामने सूर्य के गण दण्ड और पिंगल प्रदर्शित हैं । दण्ड–पिंगल और महाश्वेता देवी के मुख–भाग भग्न हैं । यह प्रतिमा भी लगभग 9वीं – 10वीं शती ई० में निर्मित प्रतीत होती है ।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमाओं के साथ रखी प्राचीन मन्दिर के प्रवेश–द्वार की चौखट अपने उत्कृष्ट अलंकरण के कारण दर्शनीय है (फलक 118)। 1.71 x 0.36 x 0.29 मीटर माप के इस प्रस्तर निर्मित **उदुम्बर** पर मध्य में उत्कीर्ण पद्म और पत्रों की गढ़न अत्यन्त सुन्दर है । उसके दोनों ओर एक–एक क्रीड़ारत् गज दर्शाये गये हैं । उनके पार्श्वों में फुल्ल–पुच्छयुक्त गतिवान मकर–व्यालों पर आरूढ़ परिचारक–परिचारिका विराजमान हैं । दोनों सिरों पर सिंहों का रूपांकन अत्यन्त प्रभावशाली है । इस प्रकार यह प्रस्तर – खण्ड पूर्व मध्य कालीन वास्तु – कला का उत्तम उदाहरण है ।

ठाकुर बाबा मन्दिर की वास्तु–योजना के अध्ययन के लिये कालान्तर में उत्तर प्रदेश राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन द्वारा इसके मलबे की सफायी में भी अनेक महत्वपूर्ण पुरावशेष पाये गये हैं । इनमें कुछ प्रस्तर–अभिलेख , खण्डित प्रतिमाएं तथा प्रस्तर और मृण्मय उपकरण (फलक 123) सम्मिलित हैं ।

लगभग 9वीं शती ई० के अभिलेख विशेष रूप से अपनी अत्यन्त सुन्दर कलकारी की दृष्टि से दर्शनीय हैं । इन लेखों में उल्लिखित भोजदेव (**भो** – – –) और महोदय (**महो** – –) को क्रमशः प्रतिहार नरेश भोजदेव और कन्नौज से समीकृत किया गया है । इसके अतिरिक्त इनमें द्रविण नरेश (द्रामिड अधिराज) का भी उल्लेख मिला है ।[8]

प्रतिमाओं में गरुड़ पर आरूढ़ विष्णु की भग्न प्रतिमा का निचला भाग, अनुचरियों और मांगल्य विहग के साथ कच्छप वाहिनी यमुना और रूप शाखा का भग्नांश सम्मिलित है (फलक 119–121) । त्रिभंगी यमुना के बायें हाथ में घट शोभित है । एक परिचारिका उनके सिर के ऊपर छत्र की छाया कर रही है ।

प्रस्तर उपकरण स्पष्टतः पत्थर की कुल्हाड़ी (फलक 122) है । ऐसे उपकरण सामान्यतः नव पाषाण युगीन संस्कृतियों से सम्बद्ध किये जाते हैं, किन्तु शनिचरा से जिस सन्दर्भ में इसकी प्राप्ति हुई है उसे नवाश्म संस्कृतियों से सम्बद्ध मानने की कोई संभावना नहीं है । इसके मिलने से यह संभावना बनती है कि कदाचित् आस–पास कहीं नवाश्म युगीन (?) स्थल स्थित रहा हो और किसी प्रकार यह यहां पहुंच गया हो।

ग्राम सोमनाभार

सुल्तानपुर नगर से लगभग 16 कि.मी. पश्चिम में धम्मौर नामक ग्राम है । धम्मौर से पूर्व ही मुख्य मार्ग से बायीं ओर सोमनाभार ग्राम के लिए एक कच्चा रास्ता है । मुख्य मार्ग से इस गांव की दूरी लगभग 2 कि.मी. है । सुल्तानपुर से धम्मौर तक पक्के मोटर–मार्ग से पहुंचना सहज है ।

सोमनाभार ग्राम में स्थित सरोवर के निकट **नारसिंहन बाबा** नामक एक पूजा –स्थल है । यहां एक स्थान पर पूर्व मध्यकालीन ईंटों का एक छोटा ढेर दिखता है इसके पास ही ग्रामीणों द्वारा निर्मित एक आधुनिक कक्ष में चार पाषाण–प्रतिमाएं स्थापित हैं । ऐसा लगता है कि इस स्थान पर लगभग 9वीं शती ई० में एक से अधिक प्राचीन इष्टिका मन्दिर निर्मित करा कर यह प्रतिमाएं उनमें स्थापित की गयी होगीं । सूर्य–प्रतिमाओं की प्रमुखता मन्दिर के सूर्य को समर्पित किये जाने की संभावना के साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत करती है । कालान्तर में उक्त मन्दिर के भग्न हो जाने पर ये प्रतिमाएं इधर–उधर पड़ी रह गयी होंगी जिन्हें ग्रामीणों ने एक कक्ष बनवा कर उसमें स्थापित कर दिया और वर्तमान समय में वहीं इनकी पूजा होती है ।

सर्वाधिक सुन्दर और भव्य प्रतिमा द्विभुज **स्थानक सूर्य** की है (फलक 109)। घुटनों के नीचे और पिछले अर्द्धांश से नीचे भग्न इस प्रतिमा के अवशिष्ट भाग की माप 1.46 x 0.68 मीटर है । इसमें किरीट मुकुट, कुण्डल, एकावली, कण्ठहार, कंकण और मेखला से सुसज्जित भगवान सूर्य के कन्धों तक उठे दोनों हाथों में पद्मकलिकाएं शोभायमान हैं। दोनों हाथों पर अवलम्बित लहराता हुआ उत्तरीय दर्शाया गया है । बायें हाथ की कुहनी के नीचे प्रदर्शित कटार की मूठ के नीचे का भाग भग्न हो चुका है। परिकर सादा है । मन्दिर की दीवार में जड़ी यह प्रतिमा

शैलीगत विशिष्टताओं के अनुसार लगभग 8वीं शती ई० में निर्मित प्रतीत होती है ।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के दायें पार्श्व की पश्चिमी दीवार में **सूर्य-पुत्र रेवन्त** की एक दुर्लभ प्रस्तर-प्रतिमा जड़ी हुई है (फलक 111) । इसमें किरीट मुकुट, कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, बाजूबन्ध, कंकड़ एवं उपानह धारी अश्वारोही रेवन्त को दायें हाथ में चसक-पात्र और बायें हाथ से अश्व की रास थामें दर्शाया गया है । शास्त्रीय विधान के अनुरूप आखेट-प्रिय सूर्य-पुत्र के आगे और पीछे कूर्च और कृपाणधर अश्वारोही भी दर्शाये गये हैं । रेवन्त के पीछे से एक परिचारिका उनके सिर पर छत्रछाया कर रही है । उनके आगे कलश और शंख (?) धारिणी परिचारिकाएं दृष्टव्य हैं। कूर्चधारी गण के पार्श्व में एक शंखवादक और एक छत्रधारिणी का प्रदर्शन किया गया है । कृपाणधारी गण के पार्श्व में चौरी और मालाधार परिचारक दर्शाये गये हैं । तीनों अश्वों के अगले बायें और पिछले दांये पैर के नीचे एक-एक वराह दबे हुए हैं । रेवन्त और अगले गण के अश्व के पिछले पैर के नीचे दबे वराहों पर झपटते हुए एक-एक श्वान दर्शनीय हैं । इस प्रतिमा के ऊपरी भाग में दायें से बांये के क्रम में क्रमशः नवग्रह, गज-लक्ष्मी और सप्तमातृकाओं को विराजमान दर्शाया गया है । प्रतिमा के निचले भाग में निरूपित उड़ते हुए 12 गन्धर्वों में कुछ के दोनों हाथ नमस्कार-मुद्रा में जुड़े हैं । कुछ गन्धर्वों के दायें हाथ अभय मुद्रा में उठे हुए हैं । एक के हाथ में पद्मनाल है । तीन गन्धर्व मृदंग-वादन में लीन है।

रेवन्त की अनेक प्रतिमाएं उत्तर भाग के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से प्रकाश में आयी हैं किन्तु सोमनाभार ग्राम की उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा की तरह सप्त मातृकाओं, नवग्रहों, गजलक्ष्मी और गायकवृन्दों से सुसज्जित प्रतिमाएं दुर्लभ हैं । इस प्रकार यह प्रतिमा वास्तुशास्त्रीय दृष्टि से मूल्यवान निधि है । शैली के अनुसार इसे लगभग 9वीं शती ई० में निर्मित माना जा सकता है ।

ऊपर उल्लिखित सूर्य-प्रतिमा के बायें पार्श्व में चतुर्भुज भगवान **विष्णु** की खण्डित प्रस्तर-प्रतिमा दीवार में जड़ी हुई है (फलक 110)। इस मूर्ति के घुटने से नीचे का भाग भग्न है । अवशिष्ट भाग की माप 86 x 59 से.मी. है । किरीट मुकुट, कुण्डल, कण्ठहार, श्रीवत्स, यज्ञोपवीत, धोती, मेखला, बाजूबन्ध, कंकण और वनमाला से सुसज्जित विष्णु का अगला दायां हाथ भग्न है । पिछले दांये हाथ में गदा और बायें हाथों में चक्र और शंख शोभित हैं । प्रभामण्डल सादा है । सिर के पार्श्वों में मालाधर-विद्याधर-मिथुन शोभायमान हैं । यह प्रतिमा भी लगभग 9वीं शती ई० से सम्बद्ध की जा सकती है ।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के बायें पार्श्व की दीवार में एक **मातृका-पट्ट** लगा हुआ है (फलक 112) । 71x32.5 से.मी. माप के इस प्रस्तर-निर्मित पट्ट पर दायें से बायें क्रमशः वींणाधर वीरभद्र, ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी और कौमारी को नृत्य करते हुये दर्शाया गया है । जटाजूटधरी चतुर्भुज वीरभद्र सर्प-कुण्डल, कण्ठमाल और बाघम्बर से सज्जित हैं । वे अगले दोनों हाथों में वींणा लेकर नाच रहे हैं । उनका पिछला बायां हाथ अभय-मुद्रा में उठा हुआ है और निचले बायें हाथ में त्रिशूल सुशोभित है । उनके निचले बायें पार्श्व में नन्दी विराजमान हैं ।

तीनों मातृकाएं कुण्डल, एकावली और साड़ी से सुसज्जित और एक जैसी नृत्य-मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित हैं । जटाजूटधारिणी 'ब्रह्माणी' के तीन मुख दृष्टव्य हैं । चौथा मुख पृष्ठ-भाग में माना जाता है । चतुर्भुजी माता का अगला दायां हाथ अभय मुद्रा में उठा हुआ है । पिछले दांये हाथ में चौरी, बांये हाथों में स्रुव और कमण्डलु शोभित हैं ।

III

सुल्तानपुर जनपद के पुरास्थलों के उपर्युक्त विवरण से स्पष्ट है कि विचाराधीन क्षेत्र में पूर्व मध्य काल में यहां थोड़े-थोड़े अन्तराल पर, प्रायः तालाबों/सरोवरों के किनारे, बहुसंख्यक मन्दिर स्थित थे । सादी और अलंकृत ईंटों के इन मन्दिरों के द्वार-स्तम्भ, उदुम्बर और उत्तरंग प्रस्तर-निर्मित थे । इनमें शैव, वैष्णव, सौर और जैन देव-प्रतिमाओं के अतिरिक्त मातृका-पट्ट भी प्रतिष्ठित किये गये थे । कदाचित् इस क्षेत्र के विशेष महत्व के कारण ही शनिचरा में अंकित कराये गये अभिलेख में महोदय (कन्नौज) के प्रतिहार राजा भोजदेव का उल्लेख मिलता है । इन साक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति से विदित होता है कि अन्य पुरास्थलों पर भी ऐसे अवशेष दबे होने की पूरी संभावना है । मूर्ति-कला एवं शास्त्र की दृष्टि से अहिरन पलिया की मुख्य मूर्ति, शनिचरा की शैव-प्रतिमा, सोमनाभार की रेवन्त और कूंड की युगलिया मूर्ति उल्लेखनीय हैं ।

अहिरन पलिया की आदमकद मुख्य प्रतिमा में सूर्य के साथ ब्रह्मा, विष्णु और शिव के लक्षण दिखाये गये हैं । इस प्रकार यह मूर्ति इन चार प्रमुख देवताओं ब्रहमा-विष्णु शिव-सूर्य का समन्वित स्वरूप है। ऐसी मूर्तियों की उपासना की शास्त्रीय परम्परा और तद्नुरूप अनेक प्रतिमाएं मिलती हैं ।[9] उदाहरण के लिये लिम्बो जी माता मन्दिर (उत्तरी गुजरात)[10] दूलादेव मन्दिर (खजुराहो, मध्य प्रदेश)[11] हर्षनाथ मन्दिर (राजस्थान)[12] और राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय नयी दिल्ली में संग्रहीत[13] ऐसी प्रतिमाएं उल्लेखनीय हैं । इन में समन्वयक प्रतिमा के निरूपण के लिए देवता को त्रिमुख, अष्ट भुज, चारों देवताओं के वाहन और अन्य लक्षणों से युक्त दर्शाया गया है । किन्तु अहिरन परिया की प्रतिमा में एकमुख और द्विभुज देवता के स्वरूप में ही चारों देवताओं का प्रतीकांकन उसे दुर्लभ बना देता है ।

सूर्य के पुत्र रेवन्त की अनेक प्रतिमाएं विभिन्न स्थलों से ज्ञात हैं किन्तु कुछ ही उदाहरणों में उनका इतना उत्कृष्ट शिल्पांकन देखने को मिलता है, जैसा कि सोमनाभार की प्रतिमा में निरूपित है । इसमें

शास्त्रीय विधान के अनुरूप उदीच्यवेशी अश्वारूढ़ रेवन्त के आखेट के प्रसंग को दर्शाया गया है । परिचरों के साथ चल रहे आसव-पात्र संभाले सूर्य-पुत्र के साथ कुत्तों, अश्वों के पैरों के नीचे दबे वराह, एक परिचर द्वारा कन्धे पर लदी हुई मृगया दृष्टव्य हैं । इस दृश्य के ऊपर और नीचे नवग्रह, गज-लक्ष्मी और मातृकाओं आदि का अंकन दुर्लभ है ।

शनिचरा की मुख्य प्रतिमा, आकार और शिल्प की दृष्टि से समकालीन कला की उत्कृष्ट कृति है । यद्यपि इसके मुख-भाग, हाथ और पैर आदि अंशतः भग्न हो चुके हैं, फिर भी, अवशिष्ट भाग से इसकी सुगढ़ता और अनुपात आदि स्पष्टतः परिलक्षित होते हैं ।

कूंड़ के मन्दिर में प्रतिष्ठित युगलिया-मूर्ति अपने समय की मूर्ति-कला का परिचय देने के अतिरिक्त इस क्षेत्र में जैन धर्म का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है । उल्लेखनीय है कि समीपवर्ती नरही ग्राम से भी इस धर्म से सम्बन्धित मूर्तियां ज्ञात हैं ।[14] किन्तु कूंड़ की युगलिया मूर्ति जैसा उदाहरण यहां के अन्य किसी स्थल पर उपलब्ध नहीं है ।

शनिचरा ग्राम के ठाकुर बाबा मन्दिर की अवशिष्ट अलंकृत जगती पीठ की चन्द्रशालाओं की तुलना मोटे तौर पर फतेहपुर जनपद के सरहन बुजुर्ग और धमना खुर्द तथा सीतापुर जनपद के कलपा देवी के इष्टिका मन्दिरों की चन्द्रशालाओं से की जा सकती है ।[15] शैलीगत आधार पर ये मन्दिर 9वीं शती ई० से सम्बद्ध किये जाते रहे हैं । शनिचरा से मिले अभिलेखों में प्रतिहार नरेश भोजदेव (शासन काल 836-885 ई०) के नामोल्लेख से इसकी सुनिश्चित पुष्टि हो गयी है । यह साक्ष्य ऐसे देवालयों के काल-निर्धारण के लिये मानक हो सकते हैं ।

इस क्षेत्र में इन पुरावशेषों की प्राप्ति के सन्दर्भों पर विचार करने पर एक ऐसा परिदृश्य उभरता है जिसमें यह क्षेत्र 9वीं शती ई० से लगभग 12वीं शती ई० तक अत्यन्त समुन्नत दिखायी पड़ता है । उस समय धम्मौर का समीपवर्ती भू-भाग वनस्पतियों से परिपूर्ण और जगह-जगह स्थित सरोवर कमल के सुन्दर फूलों से भरे रहे होंगे, प्रातः और सन्ध्या काल परिन्दों की चहचहाट से जीवंत रहते होंगे । यहां पहुंचकर आज भी इसकी झलक देखी जा सकती है । संभवतः यह सोच कर कि ऐसे ही पवित्र स्थलों पर देवता वास करते हैं देवालयों के निर्माण के लिये इस क्षेत्र का चयन किया गया । इस सन्दर्भ में बृहत्संहिता का निम्नांकित श्लोक[16] उद्धरणीय है :-

सलिलोद्यानयुत्तेषु कृतेष्वकृतकेषु च ।
स्थानेष्वेषु सान्निध्यमुपगच्छन्ति देवताः ।।
सरःसु नलिनीछत्रनिरस्तरविरश्मिषु ।
हंसासांक्षिप्तकह्लरवीथीविमलवारिषु ।।
हंसकारण्डवक्रौञ्चचक्रवाकचविराविषु ।
पर्यन्तनिचुलच्छायाविश्रान्तजलचारिषु ।।

आभार

लेखक सर्वेक्षण में सहयोग हेतु श्री प्रह्लाद कुमार सिंह; शनिचरा-नरही के पुरावशेषों की जानकारी के लिये श्री गिरीश चन्द्र सिंह; अच्छे चित्रों के लिये श्री राम गोपाल मिश्र और मानचित्र बनाने हेतु श्री मनमोहन डिमरी का आभारी है ।

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डा० राकेश तिवारी
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रोशन–उद्–दौला कोठी,
कैसरबाग, लखनऊ

पंचाख्यानरोपत्र

शीतला प्रसाद तिवारी

भारतीय भाषा, इतिहास, कला, धर्म एवं संस्कृति के प्रायः सभी आयामों के प्रति, अठारहवीं शताब्दी से लेकर आज तक की प्राच्य–विद्या सम्बंधी पुनर्जागरण की विश्वजनीन प्रवृत्ति के फलस्वरूप, जहां एक ओर यहां की कला का 'मार्गी', अथवा 'क्लासिकल' स्वरूप अपने पूरे डिण्डिमाधिरोहण के साथ उभर कर सामने आया है, वहीं दूसरी ओर, काक–गोलाक्षिन्याय के अनुरूप अनेकों कलाविदों और कला–संग्राहकों के द्वारा यहां की बहुमूल्य कला–कृतियां भी विश्व के कोने–कोने तक पहुंच गयी हैं । आज दिन यहां की देव–प्रतिमाओं, यक्ष–यक्षिणी की मूर्तियों और लघु–चित्र भरी पाण्डुलिपियों के प्रति अपने भौतिक रूप से विकसित किन्तु सांस्कृति रूप से क्षुत्क्षाभ–कण्ठ – जिज्ञासुओं की लिप्सा इस कदर बढ़ चुकी है कि विश्व में इनका क्रय–विक्रय स्वयं में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कोटि का व्यापार बन चुका है । विषयान्तरण भय–वश हम इस कुख्यात ठिकानों वाले व्यापार–क्षेत्र की चर्चा पुरातत्व विभाग के अधिकारियों को सौंप कर यहां केवल यही कहना पर्याप्त समझते हैं कि हमारे उपरोक्त विषय का इकलौता पत्रा (पत्र) भी भारतीय कला की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सरणि में संग्रहीत बहुतेरी पुराकृतियों में से एक है ।

'पंचाख्यान' अथवा 'पंचतंत्र' की विश्व–विख्यात कहानियों से सम्बंधित, किसी लघु – चित्र – युक्त पाण्डुलिपि के इस अकेले पत्रे का मूल भाग, न्यूयार्क के ब्रुकलिन संग्रहालय के एशिया विभाग में संरक्षित है । हमें इस लघु–चित्र की अनुकृति (फोटो कापी) श्रीमती एमी जी० पोस्टर (क्यूरेटर, एशिया विभाग, ब्रुकलिन संग्रहालय) के सौजन्य से इस आशय के साथ प्राप्त हुई थी कि 'चित्र के ऊपरी भाग में लिखे गये लेख का पाठ स्पष्ट नहीं हो सका है और यदि हम इस सम्बंध में उनकी कुछ मदद कर सकें तो अति सुन्दर होगा[1] ।' संक्षेप में, वर्षों पूर्व श्रीमती पोस्टर को पढ़कर दिये गये इस लघु चित्र के लेख और तद्विषयक टिप्पणी का प्रारूप ही इस निबन्ध का अपना विषय है, जिसे पंचतंत्र की लोकप्रियता को देखते हुये और श्रीमती पोस्टर को इसे प्रकाशित करने में हो रहे थोड़े विलम्ब के कारण उनकी ही अनुमति द्वारा यहां पर पहली बार प्रकाश में लाया जा रहा है ।

पंचाख्यान नाम की किसी आज तक अनुपलब्ध और अभी भी अज्ञात पाण्डुलिपि के इस इकलौते पत्र के लेख को संपादित करके तथा इस आधार पर चित्रित की गयी कहानी की पहचान आदि करने से पूर्व, एक शब्द हमारे काव्य–समीक्षक और चित्रकला–समीक्षक जिज्ञासुओं के बीच शायद ही बैठ पाने वाले तालमेल के बारे में कह देना विषय का अवान्तरण न होगा ।

काफी पहले, भारतीय साहित्य, कला और चित्रकला आदि के ख्यातनामा आचार्य स्वर्गीय राय कृष्णदास जी ने 'कवि और चितेरे की डांडा मेंड़ी' नाम से एक लेख प्रकाशित किया था (जिसका प्रकाशित–संदर्भ दुर्भाग्यवश हमें तत्काल नहीं मिल पा रहा है) जिसमें कविओं की अपनी वर्णना और चित्रकारों की आलेखना के बीच यदा–कदा पायी जाने वाली विसंगतियों की चर्चा की थी । संक्षेप में वही बात, कभी–कभी पाण्डुलिपियों का पाठ–मात्र पढ़ लेने में सिद्ध–हस्त विद्वानों और उसी पाठ के चित्रानुवाद में केवल चित्रकला मात्र का अनुशीलन करने वाले समीक्षकों के बीच भी देखने में आती है । होता यह है कि जहां कभी–कभी लेख और काव्य–पाठ के विशेषज्ञ इस प्रकार की पाण्डुलिपियों में लिखित चित्रों के प्रति स्वतः चित्र–लिखित जैसे मूल और मौन रहते हुये भी उसके कवित्त, घनाक्षरी अथवा सवैय्या की एक टांग छोटी होने की बात को लेकर घण्टों

चाक्य-चिक्य करते हैं वहीं, इस प्रकार की पाण्डुलिपियों में प्राप्त चित्रों के समीक्षकगण इनके लेखों को इस तरह नजरअन्दाज कर जाते हैं जैसे कोई निरक्षर यह सब कुछ देखने के बाद भी पन्ना पलट जाय।

खैर ! संयोग की बात यह है और इस सुखद संयोग की सदाशयता का श्रेय श्रीमती पोस्टर को है कि उनके द्वारा प्रस्तावित, ब्रुकलिन संग्रहालय के इस प्रकार के चित्रों का शीघ्र ही प्रकाश में आने वाला संकलन, उपरोक्त विसंगतियों से मुक्त है । उन्होंने, जहां तक हमारी जानकारी का प्रश्न है, अपने संग्रहालय में संरक्षित, प्रायः सभी लेख-युक्त चित्रों को पढ़ने-पढ़ाने का अथक प्रयास किया है और इस प्रकार से, अमुक-अमुक चित्रों की कला के अनुशीलन वाले संदर्भ में उनके लेखों की अपनी उपादेयता को भी पूरा महत्व दिया है । वैसे हमारे इस निबंध में पंचाख्यान वाले पत्र के लेख के संपादन और इस विषय की कहानी की पहचान वाले पक्ष पर ही अधिक बल दिया गया है क्योंकि इस प्रकार की कलाकृतियों के साथ सही न्याय करने के लिए एक से अधिक न्याय-मूर्तियों की अपेक्षा होती है ।

अस्तु, लेख-वाचन और पाठ-संपादन की उपादेयता के इस क्रम में हम सबसे पहले पंचाख्यान - पत्र के लेख का पाठ प्रस्तुत करेंगे, पुनः इसके आधार पर चित्र में आंकलित विषय की अभिज्ञा निर्धारित करेंगे और उपसंहार के तौर पर स्थानीय भाषाओं में मिलने वाले पंच-तंत्र अथवा पंचाख्यान के इस प्रकार के संस्करणों की सरसरी समीक्षा भी प्रस्तुत करेंगे ।

तदनुसार पंचाख्यान संज्ञक इस लघु - चित्र का शीर्षस्थ लेख इस प्रकार है :

" ।। पंचा अख्यान रो पत्र ।। १२२।। तदी सींघ कंम्र मारो चीतततो उणीथी द्रोह न करे से ।। तदी दमनक कय ।। राजा जणी सु मया करे जणी रे लछमीवे ।। भाई पुत्र बंधु एवी मुषवेतो ई णांहे पण परा काढ जे।। लुगाईयण गावे से जणी सोना हे कांई कीजे ज्य कान तोडे[2] ।। "

अनुवाद

पंचाख्यान का पत्र १२२। तब सिंह कहता है कि मेरा चित्त तो उससे द्रोह नहीं करता । पुनः दमनक कहता है कि राजा जिनसे प्रेम करता है उन्हीं के पास लक्ष्मी आती है । [बिना राजा की कृपा के] चाहे वे उसके भाई बंधु ही क्यों न हों और वे चाहे उसके लिये प्राण ही क्यों न देते हों [कुछ नहीं होता] । किन्तु, जैसा कि लुगाइयां (स्त्रियां) अपने [लोक गीतों में] गाती हैं, 'ऐसे सोने से क्या काम जो कान ही तोड़ दें' ।

टिप्पणी

जैसा कि **अख्यानरो सींघ, कय, मारो उणीथी जणी** और **ई णांहे** आदि से स्पष्ट होता है, यह लेख राजस्थान की मेवाड़ी अथवा बांगरू भाषा में लिखा गया है । इससे एक ओर तो इस चित्र के उस क्षेत्र में बनाये जाने की संभावना व्यक्त होती है दूसरी ओर यह भी स्पष्ट होता है कि पंचाख्यान अथवा पंचतंत्र की लोकप्रियता के कारण इसके अनेकों संस्करण क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं अथवा बोलियों में भी उपलब्ध हो चुके थे। इस लेख की संख्या १२२ यदि इस प्रकार के पत्रों की संख्या समझी जाय तो हमें मानना पड़ेगा कि मूलरूप में पंचाख्यान की इस पांडुलिपि में इस प्रकार के सैकड़ो लघु-चित्र रहे होंगे । क्योंकि, जैसा हम आगे देखेंगे, इस पत्र की विषय-वस्तु, पंचतंत्र की कहानियों के कथामुख यानी प्रारंभ को ही चित्रित करती है और यदि इसके अन्य चार तंत्रों में भी इसी अनुपात में चित्र बनाये गये थे, तब इन चित्रों की कुल संख्या 500 से अधिक रही होगी । फिलहाल, किसी ठोस प्रमाण के बिना यह सारी बात केवल अनुमान पर आधारित है और इस बारे में अभी और अधिक शोध की आवश्यकता है[3] ।

उपरोक्त लेख के आधार पर पंचाख्यान के इस पत्र की विषय-वस्तु और इसमें अलिखित पात्रों की अभिज्ञा निर्धारित करने से पूर्व पंचतंत्र कहानियों की **'पंचाख्यान'** संज्ञा पर विचार करना विषय की दृष्टि से अवान्तरित न होगा ।

जैसा कि फ्रैन्कलिन एजर्टन महोदय ने अपने दो भागों में प्रकाशित पंचतंत्र विषयक शोध-प्रबंध की भूमिका में लिखा है, **पंचतंत्र** कहानियों की **पंचाख्यान** अथवा **पंचाख्यानक** संज्ञा का उल्लेख पहली बार इन कहानियों के उस अज्ञातनामा संपादक के संस्करण में देखने को मिलता है जिसे कोसगार्टन महोदय ने **'टेक्सटस सिम्पिली सियोर'** कह कर उद्धृत किया है ।[4] कोस गार्टन के विचार से, कालान्तर (लगभग 12वीं शती के आस-पास) में जैनाचार्य पूर्णभद्र ने भी पंचतंत्र की कहानियों के अपने सम्पादन वाले संस्करण को **'पंचाख्यान'** कह कर ही अभिहित किया है । एजर्टन (जिन्होंने इन सभी संस्करणों की सविस्तार चर्चा की है) के विचार से पंचाख्यान नाम से विख्यात पंचतंत्र के इन सभी संस्करणों की लोक-प्रियता मध्यदेश, गुजरात और राजस्थान आदि के पश्चिमी प्रदेशों में बहुतायत के साथ देखने में आती है । उनके अनुसार, इन क्षेत्रों में संस्कृत भाषा के मूल-संस्करणों के साथ-साथ, पंचतंत्र अथवा पंचाख्यान के क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं और बोलियों में किये गये अनुवाद भी देखने में आते हैं [5] । संयोगवश हमारे पंचाख्यान के इस पत्र और इसके लेख से भी इसी बात की पुनर्पुष्टि होती है । पुनः, इस सम्बंध में विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय एक बात यह भी है कि इस प्रकार के क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में किये गये पंचाख्यान अथवा पंचतंत्र के अनुवादों में (जैसा कि हम आगे स्पष्ट करेंगे) कहानियों की अपनी

शब्दावली का अक्षरशः अनुवाद न करके उनकी अपनी कथावस्तु के भावार्थ पर अधिक बल दिया गया है ।

इस पत्र के लेख और उसके शीर्षक से यद्यपि यह बात स्पष्ट है कि हमारे लघु-चित्र की कथा-वस्तु पंचाख्यान के किसी तंत्र पर आधारित है और वह तंत्र सिंह, दमनक और ऐसे ही एक अन्य पात्र (जिसका उल्लेख यहां नहीं किया गया है) से सम्बंधित भी है, किन्तु इन सभी पात्रों की कथा का व्यवस्थित क्रम पांच तंत्रों में से किस तंत्र के अधीन वर्णित हुआ है और इस प्रकार से इस लघु-चित्र का उप-शीर्षक क्या होगा, यह सभी बातें केवल पंचतंत्र के प्रकाशित संस्करण को देखने के बाद ही पूरी तरह स्पष्ट हो पाती हैं ।

तदनुसार, लेख में वर्णित सिंह और दमनक के आधार पर जब हम पंचतंत्र की कथाओं का विहंगावलोकन करते हैं तो हमें शीघ्र ही स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि हमारे लघु-चित्र की कथा-वस्तु का सन्दर्भ इस ग्रंथ के **मित्र-भेद** नामक तंत्र से सम्बंधित है जिसे दूसरे रूप में **सिंह-गो-वृष-कथा** के नाम से भी जाना जाता है । इसी तरह पंचतंत्र कहानियों की एक मुख्य बात जिसकी चर्चा यद्यपि इस पत्र के लेख में नहीं की गयी है लेकिन वह लघु-चित्र को देखने पर समझ में आती है वह है इन कहानियों की प्रस्तावना अथवा **'कथा मुख'** अंश वाले चित्रण की बात ।

इस प्रकार, जब हम इस लघु-चित्र के शीर्षस्थ लेख और इस पत्रे पर चित्रित कथावस्तु और उस कथा के पात्रों की अपनी अभिज्ञा पर विचार करने की दृष्टि से देखते हैं तो हमें ज्ञात होता है कि चित्रकार ने अपनी कथावस्तु को यहां पर दो भागों में विभाजित किया है । एक भाग में चित्र में निर्दिष्ट धरातल के सबसे ऊपरी छोर पर दायीं ओर तीन महिलायें, बायीं ओर एक मंडप के नीचे छत्र धारण किये अपने अमात्य सहित सुखासन में बैठे हुये राजा और आठ अन्य पुरुष-चित्र तथा एक ऊंची - नीची रेखा द्वारा विभाजित किये गये दूसरे भाग में वन-प्रदेश के सिंह और श्रृगाल आदि जीवों का चित्रण किया गया है (फलक 88)

उपरोक्त दो विभागों में से वन-वर्ग वाले भाग में सिंह (जिसे चित्र के लेख में केवल सिंह कह कर सम्बोधित किया गया है किन्तु कहानियों के पाठ में पिंगलक कहा गया है) की उपस्थिति दो बार और श्रृगाल (दमनक) तथा बैल (संजीवक) की उपस्थिति मात्र एक बार दिखायी गयी है । चूंकि मित्र-भेद वाले इस तंत्र में खलनायक के रूप में श्रृगाल की भूमिका प्रमुख है; संभवतः इसीलिये हमारे चित्र के लेख में उसका सम्बोधन व्यक्तिगत रूप से नाम लेकर किया गया है, जबकि सिंह और गो-वृष दोनों मित्रों का सम्बोधन जाति-गत (सिंह) और सर्वनाम **(उणीथी)** के माध्यम से किया गया है ।

जिस प्रकार चित्र के लेख की शुरुआत दमनक द्वारा संजीवक के विरुद्ध भेद की बात कहने और सिंह (पिंगलक) द्वारा उसका प्रतिकार करने से की गयी है उसी प्रकार कहानी के निदर्शन में भी नीचे वाले भाग में, और जीवों के अतिरिक्त, पहले एक बार दमनक और पिंगलक को आमने- सामने दिखाया गया है फिर, दूसरी बार इसी भाग के ऊपर वाले अंश में पिंगलक और संजीवक को आमने सामने दिखाया गया है । अगर नीचे वाले अंश में मित्र-भेद के बीज-वपन का निदर्शन है तो ऊपर वाले अंश में उसी तंत्र की चरमिति ।

चित्र के इन दो भागों में से, जैसा कि हमने ऊपर लिखा है, वन-वर्ग वाले चित्रों के विपरीत, दूसरा भाग मनुष्य - वर्ग का है । वैसे इस वर्ग के चित्रणों के बारे में यद्यपि हमारे पत्र के लेख में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है किन्तु पंचाख्यान अथवा पंचतंत्र के प्रकाश में उपलब्ध और लोक-प्रिय संस्कृत वाले संस्करण की सहायता से इन पात्रों की अभिज्ञा भी काफी हद तक निर्धारित की जा सकती है ।

इस प्रकार, चित्र में बायीं ओर एक मण्डप के नीचे छत्र-धारण किये बैठे मंत्रणा करते हुये राज-पुरुष की अभिज्ञा राजा अमर शक्ति से, इसी मंडप के नीचे बैठे हुये दो अन्य पात्रों और मंडप के सामने एक बैठे और एक खड़े हुये पुरुष-पात्र की अभिज्ञा राजा उमर शक्ति के मंत्रियों से, इससे भी नीचे बायीं ओर को मुख किये व्याख्यान मुद्रा में बैठे हुये पुरुष-पात्र की अभिज्ञा आचार्य विष्णु शर्मा से तथा उनके सामने खड़े हुये तीन राजकुमारों की अभिज्ञा कुमार वसुशक्ति, उग्रशक्ति और अनेकशक्ति से की जा सकती है । मण्डप की परिधि में ही राजा अमर शक्ति की ओर उन्मुख होकर बैठे उनके सचिव की अभिज्ञा कहानियों के पाठ की सहायता से मंत्रिवर सुमति से की जा सकती है । इसी तरह चित्र में केवल लक्षण के माध्यम से दर्शायी गयी और अनुपात में अन्य पात्रों की अपेक्षा ऊंचाई पर निरुपित की गयी तीन महिलायें जहां एक ओर इस चित्र के लेख की **'जणी सोना हे कांई कीजे ज्य कान तोड़े'** वाली लोकोक्ति का निदर्शन करती हैं, वहीं दूसरी ओर परोक्ष में कहानियों के पाठ में वर्णित दाक्षिणात्य जनपद के **'महिला रोप्य'** नगर की स्थिति का भी संकेत जैसा करती हुई जान पड़ती हैं। संक्षेप में, पंचतंत्र कहानियों के कथामुख वाले पाठ में कतिपय श्लोकों और विशेषणों के अतिरिक्त कहानी से सम्बंधित जितनी बात कही गयी है, उस सारी बात का, उन सभी पात्रों का सुन्दर एवं सफल चित्रण हमारे इस पंचाख्यान के पत्र में कर दिया गया है। कहानियों के मूल पाठ से सारांश रूप में उद्धृत किये गये इस वाक्य से चित्र की अभिज्ञा सम्बंधी सभी बातें और भी स्पष्ट होकर सामने आ जाती हैं :-

" तद्यथानु श्रूयते - अस्ति दाक्षिणात्ये जनपदे महिलारोप्य नाम नगरम् । तत्र .... अमर शक्तिर्नाम राजा बभूव । तरुय त्रयाः पुत्राः .... वसु शक्ति रुग्रशक्तिरनेक शक्तिश्चेति नामानों बभूवुः । राजा ताञ्शास्त्र विमुखान लोक्य सचिवानाहूय प्रोवाच-एतेषां यथा बुद्धि-प्रबोधनं भवति तथा कोप्युपायो-उनुष्ठीयताम् । .... अथ तन्मध्यतः सुमतिर्नाम सचिवः

प्राह – तदत्रास्त्रि विष्णु शर्मानाम ब्राह्मणः सकल–शास्त्र – पारंगमश्छात्र संसदि लब्ध कीर्ति : । तस्मै समर्पयतु एतान् ।"

इस प्रसंग में जहां तक 'महिलारोप्य' नगर की आधुनिक पहचान की बात है, हमारे इस पत्र के चित्रकार ने, एम० आर० काले प्रभृति विद्वानों द्वारा इसकी अभिज्ञा टालमी के 'मलिर्फ' और मद्रास नगर के 'मयिल पुर'[7] से की जाने वाली धारणा के विरुद्ध इसे केवल एक काल्पनिक नगर माना है और संभवतः इस नाम के शब्दार्थ अथवा लक्ष्यार्थ के अनुरूप अपने चित्र में महिलाओं को केवल उच्च स्थान पर आरोपित किया है । दूसरे शब्दों में ऐसे किसी भी नगर को जहां पर महिलाओं की संस्थिति उच्चासन पर दिखायी या आरोपित की जाय, 'महिला रोप्य' नगर कहा जा सकता है ।

पंचतंत्र कहानियों के पाठ और इस लघु–चित्र के लेख की सहायता से चित्रगत पात्रों की अभिज्ञा निर्धारित करने के पश्चात् एक बात यह देखने के लिये शेष रह जाती है कि राजस्थान की क्षेत्रीय–भाषा में किया गया पंचतंत्र अथवा पंचाख्यान के मूल का हमारे इस पत्र का अनुवाद कितने अंशों में अपने सन्दर्भ के मूल पाठ का अनुशरण करता है और कितने अंश ऐसे हैं जहां शाब्दिक अनुवाद का ध्यान न रखते हुये कहानी के भावार्थ को प्रधानता दी गयी है ।

इस प्रकार, कहानियों के मूलपाठ और हमारे चित्र वाले लेख के राजस्थानी अनुवाद, दोनों की तुलना करने पर ज्ञात होता है कि लेख के तीन वाक्यों में से दो में संस्कृत पाठ की छाया मिलती है जबकि तीसरा वाक्य स्वयं में पूरी तरह स्वतंत्र है और स्थानीय लोकोक्ति पर आधारित है । इस तुलना के अनुसार लेख का 'तदी सींघ कय । मारो चीत तो उणीथी द्रोह न करे मूल–पाठ के **"सिंह आह । भद्र तथापि तस्योपरि मम चित्तं न प्रदुष्यति"[8] और 'तदी दमनक कय। राजा जणी सु मया करे जणी रे त्नछमी वें' इत्यादि, वाक्य मूल पाठ के "दमनक आह ।**

यस्मिन्नेवाधिकं चक्षुरा रोपयंति पार्थिवः
अकुलीनः कुलीनो वा स श्रियो भाजनं नरः ।"[9]

आदि अंशों के छाया–गत अनुवाद प्रतीत होते हैं ।

इसके विपरीत, चित्र के इस लेख का तीसरा वाक्य **'लुगाइयण गावे से जणी सोना हे कांई की जे ज्य कान तोडे'** जैसा कि हम ऊपर कह चुके हैं, पंचतंत्र की कहानियों के मूल–पाठ से सर्वथा भिन्न है । एम० आर० काले द्वारा संपादित पंचतंत्र के संस्करण में दमनक द्वारा कही गयी बातों में इस प्रकार का कोई भी दृष्टान्त नहीं मिलता जबकि एजर्टन के संशोधित संस्करण में उपरोक्त वाक्य वाली बात सोने के माध्यम से न कही जाकर एक मदोन्मत्त किन्तु निरर्थक हाथी की तुलना देकर कही गयी है । अस्तु, सारी बात का सारांश यह है कि चित्र के लेख की यह उक्ति पंचतंत्र के पाठ की भाषा पर आधारित न होकर, राजस्थान के क्षेत्र में बोली और समझी जाने वाली लोकोक्ति पर ही अधिक आश्रित है ।

पुनः इस लोकोक्ति के हमारे पंचाख्यान वाले चित्र में निदर्शन की दृष्टि से देखने पर ज्ञात होता है कि इसमें आरोपित महिलाओं के जिस समूह की अभिज्ञा हमने परोक्ष तौर पर 'महिला रोप्य' नगर से की थी, वही लुगाइयां (अथवा महिलायें) यहां पर इस लोकोक्ति को भी दर्शाती हुई दिखायी गयी हैं । क्योंकि चित्र में यदि दो महिलायें अपनी सोने की जंजीर और कान के आभूषण को छूकर सोने जैसी धातु की कर्कशता व्यक्त कर रही हैं तो तीसरी महिला अपने लोकोक्ति – वाचक हाथ के भाव से उसी बात की पुनर्पुष्टि करती दिखायी गयी है ।

यहां पर लोकोक्तियों की चर्चा आने पर यद्यपि यह बात माननी पड़ती है कि अभी तक भारतीय भाषाओं में बिखरी अनेकों लोकोक्तियों का सामान्य रूप से और हिन्दी एवं उसकी ग्रामीण बोलियों में प्रयुक्त लोकोक्तियों का विशेष रूप से कोई भी संशोधित एवं यथा–क्रमबद्ध संकलन प्रकाश में देखने को नहीं आता, फिर भी, जहां तक पंचाख्यान में निरूपित हमारी इस लोकोक्ति का सम्बंध है, हमें इस आशय की एक लोकोक्ति महाकवि जायसी के **पद्मावत** में देखने को अवश्य मिलती है । यहां पर बिल्कुल ऐसे ही सन्दर्भ में जायसी ने लिखा है कि :–

" कान टूट जेहि अभरन
का लइ करब सो सोन ।"[10]

पंचाख्यान के इस पत्र में वर्णित लेख और चित्रों की कथावस्तु के सन्दर्भ को विराम देने से पूर्व, इसी प्रसंग में यह कह देना नितान्त आवश्यक है कि हम अपने इस लेख में, किसी असमर्थतावश, चित्रों के वर्ण्य–विषय के अतिरिक्त, इनकी रंग योजना और इनमें निरूपित पात्रों की अपनी वेश–भूषा की विविधता आदि की कोई भी चर्चा नहीं कर पाये हैं । स्पष्ट है कि इन सभी बातों की चर्चा, इस चित्र की रंगीन फोटो प्रति मिलने के बाद ही संभव थी, जो हमें यथा–समय उपलब्ध न हो सकी ।

आभार

मैं बुकलिन संग्रहालय, न्यूयार्क के समस्त कर्मियों और विशेष रूप से एशिया विभाग की क्यूरेटर श्रीमती एमी जी. पोस्टर का व्यक्तिगत रूप से आभारी हूं, जिन्होंने न केवल पंचाख्यान श्रृंखला के विच्छित्र लघुचित्रों के इस पृष्ठ की ओर सर्वप्रथम मेरा ध्यान आकृष्ट किया अपितु इस शोध–पत्रिका में प्रकाशन हेतु आवश्यक अनुमति प्रदान करने के साथ निःशुल्क फोटो कापी और फोटो प्रिन्ट भी उपलब्ध कराने की कृपा की ।

सन्दर्भ और टिप्पणी

1. व्यक्तिगत पत्राचार ।
2. श्रीमती पोस्टर द्वारा भेजे गये छाया–चित्र के आधार पर, लघु–चित्र के इस लेख का पाठ यहां पर पहली बार प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है।
3. जैसा कि नीचे (टिप्पणी सं० 4) में उद्धृत **पंचतंत्र** के संशोधित संस्करण के अनुशीलन से ज्ञात होता है, संभवतः **कथामुख** से प्रारंभ होकर **मित्र–भेद** के प्रसंग तक आने वाले पाण्डुलिपि के अपने गद्यांश की संख्या भी 122 रही हो ।
4. एजर्टन, एफ० 1924. **दि पंचतंत्र रिकान्स्ट्रक्टेड** अमेरिकन ओरियन्टल सोसायटी, न्यू हावेन, भाग 2, पृष्ठ 28 और आगे।
5. **वही,** पृष्ठ 29–30 आदि ।
6. **पंचतंत्र आफ विष्णु शर्मा,** सं० एम० आर० काले, दिल्ली, 1982, पृष्ठ 1–2.
7. **पंचतंत्र,** सं० एम० आर० काले, बम्बई, 1912, टिप्पणी भाग, पृष्ठ 345.
8. एजर्टन का उपरोक्त संस्करण, भाग 1, पृष्ठ 86.
9. **वही,** पृष्ठ 87.
10. मलिक मुहम्मद जायसी कृत **पद्मावत,** सं० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, चिरगांव, झांसी, सं० 2042, 87.8/5

डा० शीतला प्रसाद तिवारी
एपिग्राफी ब्रान्च, भा० पु० स०,
ओल्ड यूनिवर्सिटी आफिस बिल्डिंग
मैसूर, कर्नाटक, भारत – 57005

Salvage archaeology :

Transplantation of Papanasi Group of Temples (23 Nos.), District Mahaboob Nagar, Andhra Pradesh : Srisailam Project

H.N. Singh

Ancient temples of India have been the repository of the rich traditions of our culture. However, very recently their pristine character and ancient locations faced the veritable threat of obliteration due to the launching of the *Srisailam Hydro-Electric Project* of Andhra Pradesh, the living present thus endeavouring to obtain priority over the 'dead past'.

The enormity and magnitude of the submersible areas can be gauged from the fact that this Hydro-Electric Project had enveloped nearly 100 villages covering a sprawling stretch of land admeasuring 649.21 Sq. Kms. or 1,62,320 acres. In this context it may not be out of place to mention here that the submersible area under the Nagarjuna Sagar Project had covered only 57 villages and 30,000 acres of land. In the extra Indian context, the maximum water-level of the great Aswan Dam covers an area of 300 *sq. miles* of Egyptian and Sudanese territory. In this connection, it may be recalled that, like this Srisailam Project, the above mentioned Hydro-Electric Projects, viz., Nagarjuna Sagar and Aswan Dam, too, had threatened with submergence of numerous historical sites and monuments, which, however, were physically lifted from their original locations and subsequently reconstructed at higher elevations and conspicuously preserved for posterity. Apart from executing deftly the transplantation works of the ancient Buddhist and other secular monuments at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, Archaeological Survey of India had also actively participated in salvaging the vast archaeological treasures located in the Nubian Valley which is now submerged under the water of the Aswan High Dam.

Reverting back to the threats of inundation of the ancient historical sites and monuments including some splendid temples under the Srisailam Project, three important locations are indeed worth mentioning, i.e., Alampur, Kudali and Sangameshwar. The subject temples, represented by a group of 23 temples, which, too were threatened with submergence, were anciently situated on the bank of river Tungabhadra near the first named location, i.e., Alampur in Mahaboobnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. These have now since been re-constructed near Alampur at a place which is much away from the highest flood level of the reservoir. It may further be added that the Papanasi group (23 nos.) of temples is located at the southern extremities of the Alampur township and village at a distance of about 03 km.

It may not be out of place to mention here that this part of Andhra Pradesh had held a significant position to the

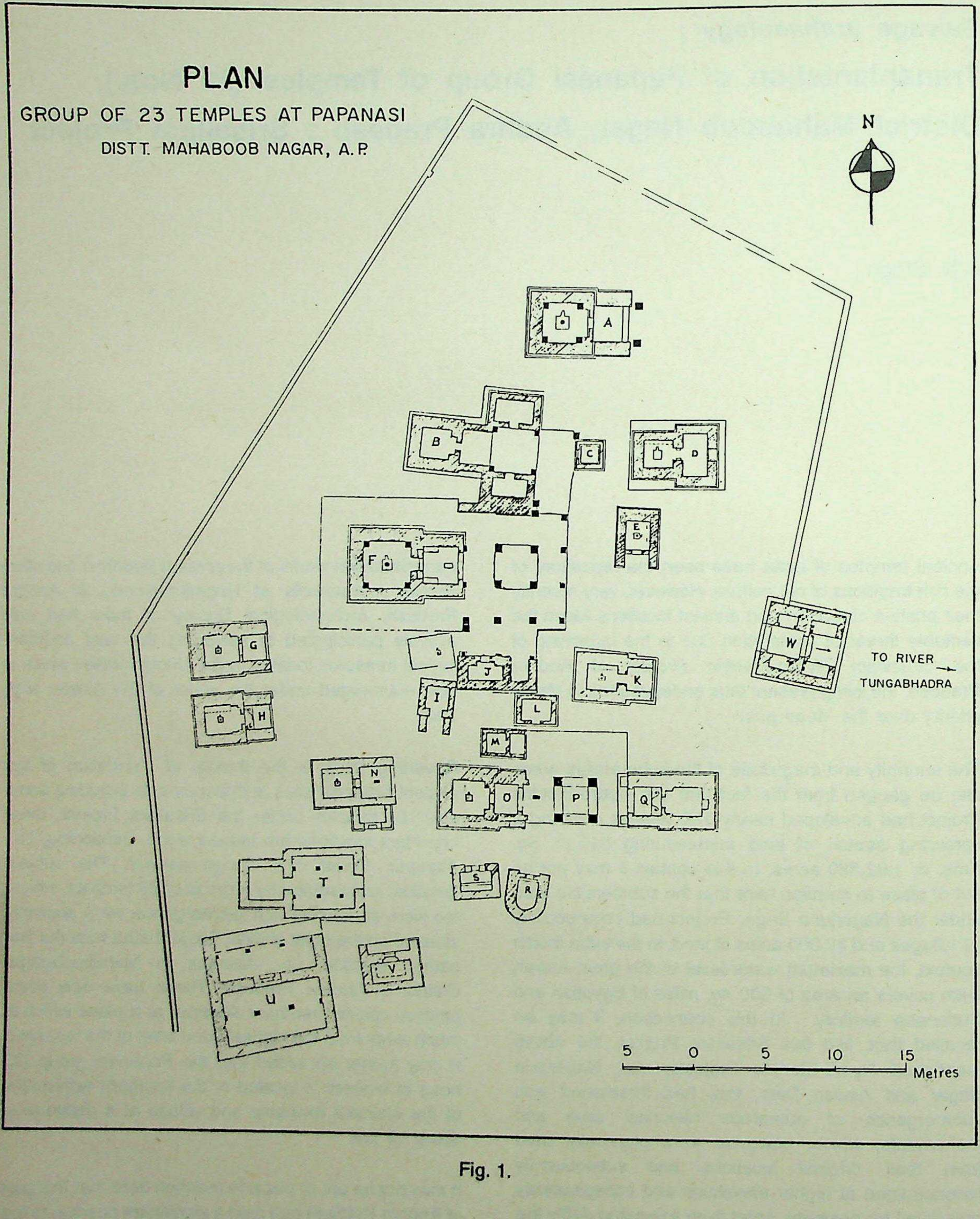
PLAN
GROUP OF 23 TEMPLES AT PAPANASI
DISTT. MAHABOOB NAGAR, A.P.
N
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
S
T
U
V
W
TO RIVER
TUNGABHADRA
5
0
5
10
15
Metres

Fig. 1.

Telugus throughout their glorious history, the sacred rivers - Krishna and Tungabhadra - and their numerous serpentine tributaries meandering through gorgeous hills and dales, attracting human endeavour and achievement from the prehistoric times to the present times. This area, comprising such place as Alampur, Kudali and Sangameshwaram, had been for ages the centre of Andhra culture, religion and history, as manifested in innumerable temples, *mathas* and *Vidyapeethas* located here. Many rulers had fought for the possession of this area. One glance at it would convince everyone of its strategic importance with all its geo- political significance. Even to this day it has retained its historical pre-eminence, the harmony of the culture and history of the sub-regions of Rayalaseema and Telangana reflecting here.

Unique Feat (Figs. 1 to 3)

Against the facts delineated in the preceding lines, the arduous task of dismantling, conveying and reconstructing the temples at the new site bespeaks of the unique feat performed by Archaeological Survey of India. Before embarking upon the job of dismantling, all the temples were comprehensively documented and their architectural members were duly numbered. The present location (new site) is situated near the ancient site (old site) but has been laid-out at a higher elevation much away from the highest flood level of the full reservoir. Thus, while doing so, even the ancient environment, too, has been preserved and recreated at the new site. Perched anciently at the edge of the high cliff and once overlooking the holy river Tungabhadra, the temples even to-day at their new location (new site) are overlooking the same river Tungabhdra. It is an evidence of the preservation of its ancient setting and environment, too. In addition to this, while rebuilding these temples, the old and ancient architectural members alone have been used. Aside these, before dismantling the temples stone by stone, the orientations of all these temples were meticulously plotted on the map and now at the new site the same orientation has been reproduced. Apart from this, even the ancient plinth-levels of different temples have been maintained at the new location. In other words, all ancient features of the old location have been reproduced in toto at the new site, too, without any deviation and change. Reproduction of the original orientation of the 23 nos. of temples and the meticulous maintenance of their original plinth- levels are some of the unique feats registered in the execution of these reconstruction and preservation works at Papanasi by Archaeological Survey of India.

The dismantling works at the old site and then the exercise of conveying the dismantled components of the temples to the new site but at a higher altitude was commenced and completed during the year 1982-83. Prior to this, the most essential and sacred "KALAKARSHANAM CEREMONY". of Lord *Papavinasa* of Papanasi group (23 nos.) of temples was done on Ist-2nd May, 1980. Before the commencement of the reconstruction - work, *Bhoomi - Pooja* was performed on 29-11-85, whereafter rebuilding excercise was taken- up in full swing. In other words, the work of the reconstruction of the dismantled temples at Papanasi in Survey No. 537 (new site) was commenced in the month of December 1985 and was finally completed in the month of December 1986. However, since most of the temples were duly rebuilt at the new site by October 1986, the consecretion ceremony, i.e., "PAPANASESWARA LINGA PUNAH PRATHISTAPANA" was performed on *"Vijayadasami Day"*, Sunday, the 12th October 1986 at 07.12- P.M. as per the noble tradition of the holy *Agam Sastram.*

Tirthakshetra

The group (23 nos.) of temples has been referred to as one of the Tirthas by Palkuri Somanatha Kavi when it was known by the name of *Papavinasani Tirtha.*

The Temples

The various temples at *Papavinasani Tirtha* are reputed to have been built under the regime of the Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas of Kalyani. Most of the temples belong to *Phamsana* order. The central shrine called Papavinaseswara is of *Trikuta type.* Another notable feature is this that the temples are built on varied plans, such as, square, rectangular, apsidal. Some of the temples have richly decorated doorways.

The insides of the ceiling slabs of the *rangamandapa* are carrying *Astadikpalas, Siva-Nataraja,* the *Dasavataras* and *Siva- Kalyanasundara.* Among the sculpures mention may, however, be made of *Ganesa, Mahishasura Mardini, Saptamatrikas,* et al.

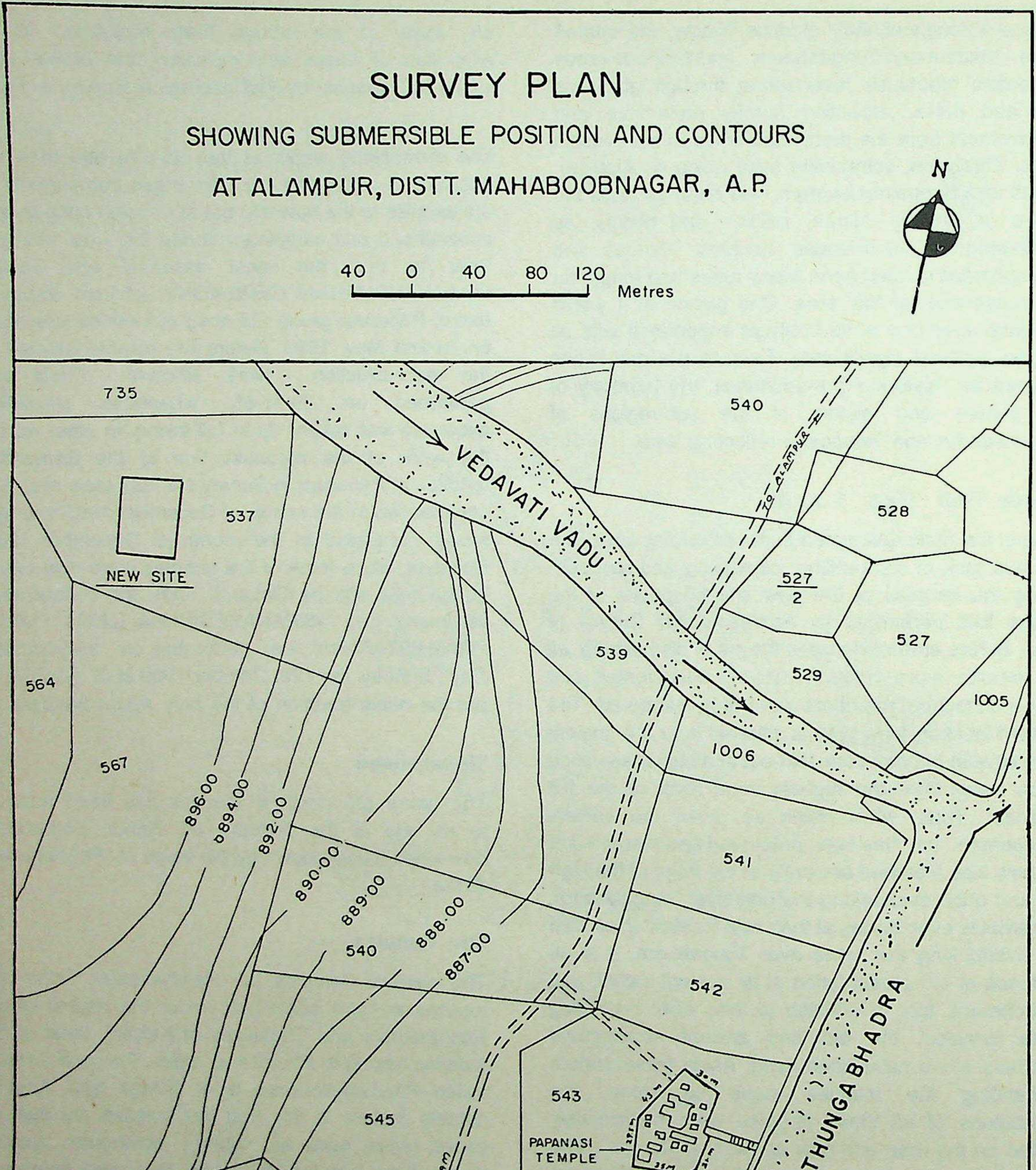
SURVEY PLAN
SHOWING SUBMERSIBLE POSITION AND CONTOURS
AT ALAMPUR, DISTT. MAHABOOBNAGAR, A.P.
N
40 0 40 80 120
Metres
735
540
537
NEW SITE
VEDAVATI VADU
TO ALAMPUR
528
527/2
527
539
529
1005
564
1006
567
896·00
894·00
892·00
890·00
889·00
888·00
887·00
541
540
542
543
545
PAPANASI TEMPLE
OLD SITE
RIVER THUNGABHADRA
TO SINGAVARAM
566
HYDRAULIC PARTICULARS OF SRISAILAM PROJECT
885·00 Full RESERVOIR LEVEL
899·50 MAXIMUM WATER LEVEL

Fig. 2.

Majority of the pillars are of plain character except those in the *Mukh-Mandapas* of the *Trikutalaya* shrines which are, however, embellished with miniature carvings of exquisite beauty, depicting various themes of *Ramayana* and *Puranas.* Generally the pillars are cubical at the bottom but octogonal in the middle. However, the cubical portions of the pillars are betraying richly carved *Kirti-Mukhas.*

Majority of the temples are carrying *Pidha* type of *Sikhara* (i.e., stepped pyramidal type) with a circular *Amalaka* and a finial on the top. One of the smaller shrines is apsidal on plan with vaulted SIKHARA. Two shrines have wagon type (*Sala*) *sikhara*. However, the *sikhara* of one of the temples is characterized by the formation of receding tiers of straight lines, the facing of which is devoid of any ornamental mouldings. According to Dr.K. Krishnamurthy, this type of *sikhara* is a local variety and frequently seen over smaller shrines in late Vijayanagar period and this feature, therefore, dates this temple rather to the late period.

The constructional devices are characterized by very simple and plain coursed ashlar layers of local TAKI stones. The ornamental elements in the form of mouldings, pilasters, niches and plinths are completely absent.

The temple complex has also yielded a couple of inscriptions which are datable between 9th and 12th-13th centuries A.D., which, *ispo facto,* provide the vital clue in respect of the age/period of these temples. It is noticed further that a few pillars supporting a verandah of the temple are betraying lable- inscriptions of 12th - 13th century A.D., besides depicting vivid scenes from Puranas. Mention may also be made of an inscription found on one of the pillars supporting the verandah of the temple, which is containing old Telugu-Kannada characters of the 9th century A.D. This inscription seems to represent the earliest known epigraph found at this temple site so far.

Before dilating upon the details of the reconstruction-work, it is worthwhile to delineate briefly the salient structural features of all the 23 nos. of temples, which are named and numbered alphabetically, viz. A to W.

Temple : A

This shrine consisting of a *garbha-griha* and an *antarala* is systematically designed and exquisitely sculptured. The stone door frame is decorated with the beautifully carved figure of the *Gajalakshmi* in the centre. The *vimanam* is of the 'Dravida' type.

Temple : B

It is a *trikutalya* type of temple. Like Temple : A, 'Dravida' type of *vimanam* is provided to each of the three shrines. Besides the main shrine, the other two shrines are represented by the *Saptamatrikas* and the *Devi* shrine. There is an *antarala* and *maha- mandapa* in front of the shrines. There is also a covered corridor in between the Temple : B and Temple: C, which joins with Temple : F, too.

Temple : C

This small temple is situated in front of the adjoining Temple: B. It is distinguished by a *garbha-griha* only surmounted with *vimanam*(sikhara).

Temple : D

It is the shrine of the *Gadhadhara.* According to Dr. K. Krishnamurthy, traditionally the *pindas* are offered to this God, which practice even survives to this day. It has got a *garbha - griha* and an *antarala* without the *sikhara* portion.

Temple : E

It consists of a small *garbha-griha* and an *antarala* with a small sized *sikhara.*

Temple : F

This big temple, which consists of a *garbha-griha* and *antarala* and a sprawling 16 pillared *maha-mandapam* with the 'Dravida' style *sikhara,* is the main shrine in the Papanasi group of 23 temples. It is known and worshipped as the temple of *Papanaseswara.* Its *garbha-griha* enshrines the sacred *Siva-linga.*

Temple : G and Temple : H

Both the temples are almost of the same size. Each of them is consisted of a garbha-griha surmounted with the sikhara of 'Dravida' style.

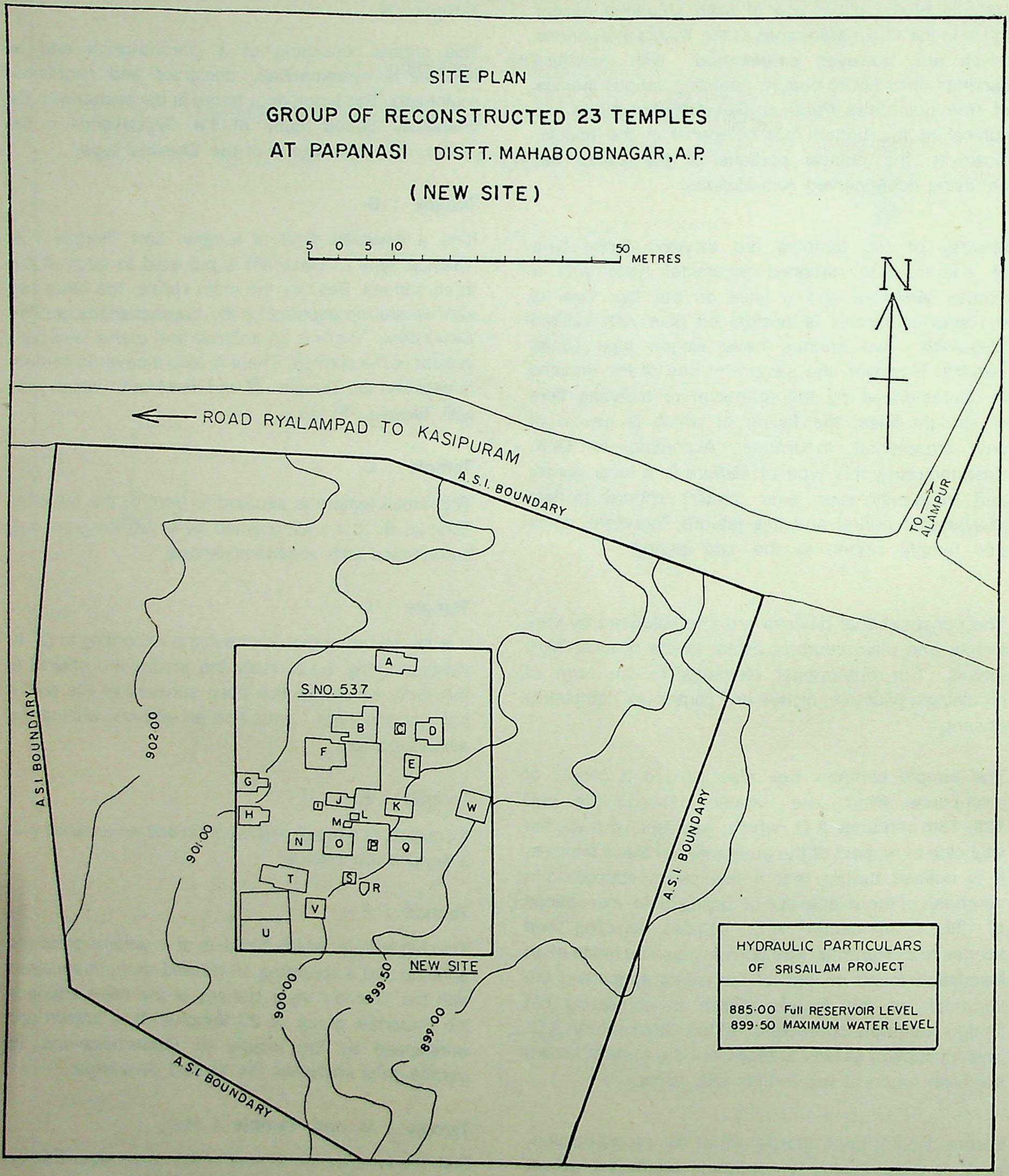
SITE PLAN
GROUP OF RECONSTRUCTED 23 TEMPLES
AT PAPANASI DISTT. MAHABOOBNAGAR, A.P.
(NEW SITE)
5 0 5 10 50 METRES
N
ROAD RYALAMPAD TO KASIPURAM
A.S.I. BOUNDARY
TO ALAMPUR
A.S.I. BOUNDARY
S.NO. 537
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
S
T
U
V
W
902.00
901.00
A.S.I. BOUNDARY
NEW SITE
900.00
899.50
899.00
A.S.I. BOUNDARY
HYDRAULIC PARTICULARS OF SRISAILAM PROJECT
885.00 Full RESERVOIR LEVEL
899.50 MAXIMUM WATER LEVEL

Fig. 3.

Temple : I

This small temple consists of *garbha-griha,* and an *antarala* with a matching *sikhara.*

Temple : J

This shrine is also small but in two portions comprising of the *garbha-Griha,* shrines of *Ganesa* and *Sapatamatrikas.*

Temple : K and Temple : L

Both the shrines are small in dimensions. Of these, each one consists of *garbha-griha* and an *antarala* surmounted with the 'Dravida' style *vimanam.*

Temple : M

It is the smallest shrine in the group of 23 temples of Papanasi. it is represented by a *garbha-griha* and an *antarala* with a small *sikhara* on the top.

Temple : N

It is a big shrine which is provided with two side entrances. Like other temples, it is also consisted of a *garbha-griha* and an *antarala* surmounted with the *sikhara.*

Temple : O

It is also a big temple which is comprised of a *garbha-griha* and an *antarala* with the *sikhara* of 'Dravida' style. It is connected to the adjoining temple : p. It has got the carved figure of *Gajalakshmi* on the stone door frame.

Temple : P

It is represented by an open *mandapa* shrine, which is distinguished by inscribed pillared hall with a row of sculptured panels on the ceiling slabs, which are revealing vivid stories of *Dasavataras, Dikapals* and *Parvati Kalyanam,* et al. This shrine is situated between the Temple : O and Temple : K. Level-wise, this is the lowest most shrine among the group of 23 temples at Papanasi.

Temple : Q

Connected to the adjoining Temple : P in the front, this big temple is constituted of a *garbha-griha* and an *antarala.* Further, it is distinguished by a beautifully carved figure of *Gajalakshmi* on the stone door frame, which is also embellished on either sides with the deftly chiselled figures of Dwarapalakas. The shrine is surmounted with the *'Dwarapalakas'* The shrine is surmounted with the 'Dravidian' style *sikhara.*

Temple : R

This shrine is apsidal on plan, which seems to reflect the architectural tradition of the Buddhism. It has got a *grabha- griha* with an apsidal *sikhara.*

Temple : S

It is a small shrine composed of a *grabha-griha* surmounted with the 'Dravidian' type of *sikhara.*

Temple : T

Unlike Temple : S, it is a big temple. It is composed of a *garbha-griha,* an *antarala* and pillared *maha-manadapa* capped with a *sikhara* of the 'Dravidian' style.

Temple : U

It is a fairly big shrine consisting of a pillared hall as a *garbha-griha* and a verandah as an *antarala.* It is devoid of the *sikhara* design. It is representing the shrine of *Narasimha,* besides also functioning as the *Pakasala* (Kitchen-Hall) for the preparation of *Prasadam,* et al.

Temple : V

It is a very small shrine, which is composed of a *garbha-griha,* an *antarala* and a *mandapa,* crowned with a modest *sikhara.*

Temple : W

It is actually the gatweay (entrance) shrine amongst the group of 23 temples of Papanasi. It may be recalled that the entire temple complex at its original location (old site) faced the river Tungabhadra to its east and suitable flight of steps was provided to approach the temples from the river bank, for which purpose Temple: W functioned as the gateway. Anciently it was perched at the edge of the steep cliff of the river bank. It is distinguished by four segments - two on each sides. While *Ganesa* is on one side, *Anjaneya* is installed on the other side. It is devoid of the *sikhara* design.

Further, it is also necessary to put on record that all the 23 temples are betraying varying plinth-levels and orientations presumbaly because they were built from time to time during very very long span of years of nearly four hundred years stretching from c. 9th cent. to 12th-13th centuries A.D. and even beyond. This position is better revealed when we mention the plinth-levels of all the 23 temples as under :

PLINTH-LEVELS OF PAPANASI GROUP OF TEMPLES (23 Nos.)

S.No.	Temple	Levels	Remarks.
1.	A	289.200 M.	Plinth-level with reference to the contour-line.
2.	B	289.005 "	
3.	C	289.950 "	"
4.	D	287.835 "	"
5.	E	287.770 "	"
6.	F	288.340 "	"
7.	G	287.790 "	"
8.	H	287.765 "	"
9.	I	288.340 "	"
10.	J	288.350 "	"
11.	K	287.875 "	"
12.	L	287.910 "	"
13.	M	287.490 "	"
14.	N	287.815 "	"
15.	O	287.770 "	"
16.	P	287.765 "	"
17.	Q	287.755 "	"
18.	R	287.655 "	"
19.	S	287.965 "	"
20.	T	288.015 "	"
21.	U	288.245 "	"
22.	V	287.985 "	"
23.	W	288.060"	"

Recording

As pointed out above, all the 23 temples before dismantling were comprehensively documented by way of drawing and photography works. The plan and elevation of each temple along with its plinth-level and orientation was exhaustively prepared by the Draftsman/Surveyor. In other words, the length, breadth and height of each individual temple with reference to its plan, elevation, orientation and plinth-level were appropriately plotted by the D'man/Surveyor on the drawing sheets, which provided immense help and guidance during the rebuilding exercise of the individual temples at the new site. In addition to this, the plan of the cluster of the temple forming the group known as Papanasi group of 23 temples was also got prepared with a view to reflect the orientation vis-a-vis their inter-relationship at the new site. This exercise was deemed necessary with a view to project and to reproduce the original pattern, orientation and plinth-levels of all the 23 shrines without any deviation at the new site. After accomplishing the task of drawing the plan, elevation and the orientation of all the 23 temples, each and every architectural/structural stone member of the individual temple was serially/individually numbered in such a manner that the numbers written on the stones synchronised with the numbers recorded on the drawing of the relevant stone/architectural member. Ths arduous task was undertaken with a view to dismantle the architectural/structural stone members serially and systematically enabling us thereby to re-construct them at the new site in the same serial order of number. Also, the pre- dismantling drawing works were got checked/verified at the old site by an officer with a view to ensure avoidance of any factual errors in respect of the measurement of each and every stone of the respective individual temples. While recording the drawing works, it was also ensured by us that the necessary details of all the walls, pillars, door-jambs, lintel-beams, plinths, ceilings, *sikharas,* et al, are meticulously incorporated by the D'man. Apart from this, the details of the inner and outer surfaces of the stones of the walls of the *garbha-griha, antarala* and *sikhara,* etc. were properly drawn and were also simultaneously allotted their assigned serial numbers.

The next important task of superscribing the individual numbers on the surface of the various stone members was done by writing the numbers in the synthetic paints. It may be recalled that two shades of synthetic paints were used for writing the individual numbers on the stones with a view to differentiate and reflect the inner and outer sides of the stones of the walls/structures.

Contemporaneously the numbers suberscribed in synthetic paints on the surface of the individual stones were also prefixed with the alphabets E,W,N,S denoting the directional position (i.e., East, West, North, South) of the architectural members of the stones of the walls/structures. This task of writing the numbers in the synthetic paints was accomplished before undertaking the dismantling work. Since the synthetic paint has a tendency to peel off due to weathering, it is suggested to chisel the numbers on the individual stone; however, in this exercise it is necessary to ensure that the chiselling-work is very shallow, which can be subsequently removed once the reconstruction-work is completed.

Apart from the drawing-works as discussed above, the group of 23 temples at the old site of Papanasi was also subjected to photographic documentation primarily as the proof of their physical existence and secondly as the specific clue in enabling us to re-assemble them at the new site, which was situated at a higher altitude. In the case of photographic recording, first of all, the individual temples numbering 23 and named as temples A to W were photographed individually from various directions so that the complete structure is authentically reflected in the photographs. In addition to this, temples which were juxtaposed to each other and thereby forming a chain/bunch of a couple of temples were also thoroughly photographed from the various angles with a view to record and re-translate their inter-relationship at the new site in toto so that no deviation creeps in at the time of their re-construction at the new site. Thereafter, the entire group of 23 temples was also photographed to record the incidence of the individual temples vis-a-vis their inter- relationship. As stated above, a couple of temples are extensively decorated with exquisitely carved figures of Gods and Goddesses, besides the other decorated motifs. Considering the immense value of the various sculptures, it was thought absolutely necessary to have complete photographic documentation of these priceless art pieces. The departmental Photographer, therefore, took tremendous pains to photograph these sculptures at the old site from every possible angle, which proved to be extremely helpful at the time of their re-assembling at the new site.

Dismantling (Pls. 72-74)

After recording - work, the dismantling - work was commenced at the old site. This work was carried out necessarily in a most orderly manner. While removing the architectural/structural members, stone by stone, course by course vis-a-vis temple-wise, evidently, the dismantling work was started from the top of the temple, i.e., *sikhara.* Since the temples were of modest dimensions it was not very difficult to remove them manually. Moreover, in the ancient times, too, these temples were built through sheer man power only. The involvement of modern mechanical automatic equipment and devices like crane and trusses were not found necessary to remove the individual stones of the various temples, unlike the dismantling work of the Kudavelli Sangameshwara Swamy temple, where huge frame-work of trusses was erected for the removal of the architectural members of the temple. In view of this, the devices easily procurable locally in the countryside were fruitfully availed, which proved to be not only economical but convenient, too. A bullock-cart or a hand- cart was found to be immensely easy in the loading, conveying and unloading of the architectural stone members of the temple because of their in-build versatility and maneuverability. Apart from the bullock-carts and hand-carts, locally available paddy hay, wooden as well as aluminium ladders, rope of varying thickness, iron crow-bars of varying length and thickness, old and used tyres, old and used gunny-bags stuffed with paddy hay, etc, were used for the careful removal of the stone members. In addition to this, tripod, chain pulley block, wooden logs, iron/G.I. pipes, etc, were also used in removing and bringing down the architectural members of the respective temples. The paddy hay, old and used tyres, old and used gunny-bags stuffed with paddy hay had functioned to serve as cushions in the dismanting exercise.

A word of special mention is necessary in respect of the use of the hand-carts, which was found to be very useful and sturdy, because the wheel was made out of one piece of solid wood (without spokes); in addition to this, its wheel was very very thick in width (in section) and too dwarf (small) in height. Thus, on account of its very very low (dwarf) chasis, it was found to be very easy and safe to load (at the old site), convey and unload (at the new site) stone members of the temples. It was a local innovation, which is why it was nicknamed by us as the "Papanasi-Cart".

Conveying

After accomplishing the works of recording and dismantling, the next work, which was taken-up, was obviously the transportation of the numerous architectural/stone members of all the 23 temples from the old site to the new site which was situated on a higher plane of land. Firstly to ensure that the stone members do not break in transportation and secondly because the distance from the old site to the new site was not far off it was, therefore, decided to convey the stone members of the dismantled temples by the bullock-carts and hand-carts which were locally available in the countryside. While conveying, the stone members were used to be sufficiently cushioned with the locally available paddy hay or old and used gunny-bags stuffed with paddy hay. With a view to avoid jerks in the transportation by the bullock-carts, the latter were essentially fitted with pneumatic tyres. In the conveying exercise the loading as well as unloading work was done manually. Also, ropes of varying thickness were used for fastening the stone members with the wooden frame of the bullock-carts/hand-carts with a view to arrest jerks. The conveying exercise was duly covered by the maintenance of the movement register, wherein the out-going (at the old site) dismantled stone members as well as the in-coming (at the new site) architectural stone members of the temples were used to be entered and verified with a view to avoid the misplacement or loss of the dismantled stone members of the temples.

Stacking

After accomplishing the works of recording, dismantling and conveying, the next important stage of work was represented by the careful and systematic stacking of the dismantled stone members of the temples at the new site. Since there is every likelihood of the occurrence of the time-gap element after the "dismantling-work" but before the "rebuilding-work", it is always desirable to have sufficiently open and sprawling space for stacking the dismantled architectural members. The more one is careful in the orderly stacking of the dismantled stone members in the stackyard, it shall be much more easy to re-assemble them subsequently at the new site. Therefore, an open space in Survey No. 537 at the new site was specifically earmarked for placing the dismantled stone members of the temples. The acquired land was appropriately spruced-up by cutting and levelling the undulations/elevations, besides cutting and removing the shrubs and bushes, so that an even open land is available for the smooth flow of the bullock-carts and hand-carts as well as for the unhindered and orderly placements of the dismantled stone members of the temples. The stackyard was suitably fenced and was also provided with round the clock watch and ward staff. The stacking of the dismantled and numbered stone members at the new site was done temple-wise. In other words, the dismantled stone members of the individual temples were essentially kept separated from each other. The dismantled and numbered stone members of the temples were placed on the ground surface in the serial order in separate rows intervened with adequate open space in between them for the free flow of the inspecting Officers/Officials as well as for the smooth movement of the men and their carts during the time of their reconstruction. Wherever possible with a view to save the open land spatially, the dismantled and numbered stone members were also placed one over the other vertically. It may be recalled that the various stone members of the temples were superscribed with serial numbers in synthetic paint, which has a tendency to peel off due to weathering. Therefore, the numbers were used to be re-written in the synthetic paint at regular intervals so that their identity is not lost. It was also experienced by us that vegetational growth used to occur in the stackyard during the rainy season as the stackyard was open to sky. Therefore, the stackyard area was also used to be subjected to complete vegetation removal from time to time. Since the top-soil of the stackyard area was composed of very loose black cotton soil and, therefore, used to become muddy and slushy during the rainy season, hence a thick layer of locally available red gravel, (murrum) was spread over the entire track of the stackyard with a view to consolidate the top-soil. Locally available thin slabs of Taki stones superscribed in synthetic paint with the alphabets A,B,C, et al, denoting the name/number of the 23 temples, were affixed temple-wise just in front of the stacked stone members of the dismantled temples. After the successful conclusion of the systematic stacking of the dismantled stone members in the stackyard, a site-plan was also got prepared wherein the temple-wise distribution of the architectural/structural stone members were appropriately plotted for the sake of record as well as for the sake of guidance in locating their whereabouts easily during the time of their re-assemblage and re-erection at the new site.

Reconstructing (Pls. 75 - 87)

Before the commencement of the actual re-construction work at the new site it was felt absolutely necessary to acquire some very essential requirements in connection with the day to day work as well as in connection with the execution of works. Therefore, it was decided to have an open-well and a bore-well, besides a temporary store-house. The open-well was mainly intended to supply fresh and continuous water during the different stages of the execution of work, particularly in connectionn with the curing work. This work was got done departmentally by engaging locally available diggers of the wells. It was also suitably lined with stone masonary work, besides providing the parapet- wall as well as a pucca platform around the circumference of the well. Luckily, the water of the well was found to be sweet and potable.

To meet the other most essential requirement of drinking water for the numerous men and women working at the site as well as for the tourists and visitors, the urgency of deep water was felt neccessary at the site. Since the land formation at the site was characterized by hard rock it was, therefore, decided to obtain deep water by resorting to mechanised boring. Unlike the open- well which was dug departmentally, the deep boring-work through the successive layers of hard rock was assigned to the Drilling Division IX of the Central Ground Water Board, Government of India, Hyderabad, A.P. It was very pleasant to see that the boring-work was quite successful and was found to be capable of providing enough drinking water to one and all.

Since the execution of work involved stacking and storing of tools and plants, besides the perishable building materials, it was thought absolutely necessary to construct a store house at the site. In view of this, a rectangular temporary store-hut was raised at the site for the safety of the building materials as well as the numerous tools and plants.

Before the commencement of the re-construction work it was ensured by us that the original pattern, orientation and plinth- levels are re-produced in toto at the new site in Survey No. 537. This parameter was not only endorsed in respect of the individual temples but also in regards to the cluster of all the 23 temples. In this connection, it may be remarked that of all the 23 shrines of Papanasi group of temples, the temple now known/named as Temple : F was the largest and the most ornamental also and was, therefore, conceived by us as the main-temple of the entire group of temples. In addition to this, the *garbha-griha* of this temple was distinguished by the presence of the sacred *Shiva-Linga,* which was in worship. In view of this special position and importance of the Temple : F, it was at that time decided by us to take-up, first of all, the re-construction work of the Temple : F at the new site in Survey No. 537.

The actual commencement of the reconstruction-work was started at the very outset with the main-temple, i.e., Temple : F. The work began with the marking and fixing of the orientations and levels in stone masonary work. Thereafter the work of digging the foundation-trench was taken-up. In this exercise, the top layer of black cotton soil was first excavated, the composition of which terminated at a depth of 25 cm. Below the black cotton soil, soft rock was encountered which was excavated upto a further depth of 25 cm. Subsequently, the cutting of hard rock continued which was taken further down to a depth of 20 cm. In other words, the foundation-trench involved the excavation of a total deposit of 70 cm, whereafter water started oozing-out through the natural fractures in the underlying rock formation. The percolation of water through the pores of the natural rock bed was actually caused due to the location of KC Canal at a still higher altitude. However, it was plugged by grouting the veins of the rock deposit with liquid cement and very small sized stone-chips. In addition to this, a deep channel was caused to be dug towards the upper land lane on the western side as well as on the northern and southern sides, the profiles and basin of which were adequately grouted with liquid cement and very small sized stone-chips. This exercise was mooted with a view to arrest the flow of the ground water at its source itself, which essentially existed towards the upper land plane.

After completing the work of the excavation of the foundation- trench, the work of mass concreting of the excavated foundation- trench was done with a view to obtain an even level. On an average 15 cm. thick cement concrete layer was spread with a specific view to bring uniformity over an otherwise undulating bed rock. However, the concretion at Papanasi was not a reinforced one, unlike Kudavelli, where reinforced concretion was done. However, an innovation was introduced in the concreting work when square shaped and large sized stainless steel rods were inserted in the hard rock by drilling the holes. The rows of inserted rods synchronised with the plan of the Temple : F. Apart from this, the concretion-work was carried-out in such a way that the the liquid cement concrete compositiion had clasped each of the inserted stainless steel rods, which were intentionally wrought large sized so that these rods can protrude even beyond the thickness of the cement concrete layer. In all 24 nos. of stainless steel square rods of 20 mm. thickness with the sizes (length) varying between 25 - 30 cm. were inserted in the concretion. It is further elaborated that these upwardly projected stainless steel rods were intended to frame the first course of the huge sized orginial stone slabs of the foundation of the structure with a view to avoid any chance of the displacement of the stones of the foundation of the Temple : F.

It may here be recalled that the digging-work of the foundation- trench was terminated at a total depth of 70 cm. as further digging was not thought necessary because of the existence of the hard rock. The next stage of work involved the marking of the central line of the Temple : F as well as the marking and fixing of the plan/position of its *garbha-griha, antarala, maha-mandapa* and pillars. This plotting-work was done over the newly laid concrete-surface inside the foundation-trench. Hereafter, the foundation- structure of the Temple : F comprising the *garbha- griha* and the *antarala* was re-erected (to a height of 01.25 M (basement-level) by using the same original huge-sized slabs of stones.) This piece of work involved the careful laying of the 05 courses of the original footing stones of the foundation of the *garbha-griha, antarala* and *maha-manadapa.* In addition to this, the bases of all the sixteen pillars of the *maha-mandapa* were also raised to a height of 01.25 M (basement - level) by using the same original huge-sized slabs of the stones, thus synchronising with the same level as that of the *garbha-griha.* Hereafter, by re-using number by number and course by course the same original dismantled architectural/structural members of the Temple : F, the walls of the *garbha-griha* and *antarala* were re-erected as per the origihal plan and elevation, besides re-raising the 16 pillars of the *maha-mandapa,* re-laying the entire roof-slabs and re-assembling)the *sikhara* after hauling the original stones from the stackyard. Temple : F originally had also carried a few stucco figures of the animals) which were placed along the eastern parapet of the *maha-mandapa.* These stucco figures, too, were placed again in their original positions at the time of the reconstruction of the Temple : F. Since these stucco figures were found in a damaged condition, therefore, they were appropriately conserved before their re-installation. It may be recalled that the preparation of the materials of the stucco figures, images, mouldings, et al, was a fairly intricate and time-consuming exercise. In this case, ordinary clay was used to be mixed with indigenous ingredients like *methi* (Fenugreek seeds), bel (wood- apple), barley, milk, cowdung, butter, wheat, pumpkin, lac, oil, et al. Thereafter, this paste was used to be periodically kneaded for about a fortnight or so, whereupon this admixture was used to be left over for a month or so for maturing before moulding the figures, etc.

This is the stage by stage narration of the story of the reconstruction-work of Temple : F at Papanasi. More or less the same method was punctiliously followed in the reconstruction of all the temples known as Papanasi group of temples. Prevented by the paucity of space, I am consciously withholding the detailed description of the reconstruction-works of the each and every temple, however, it may be worthwhile to delineate the summary of the same encompassing our exercises connected with the reconstruction-works of all the dismantled shrines of the Papanasi group of temples.

It may be recalled that first of all the original orientations as well as the original plinth-levels of all 23 nos. of temples known/named as Temple : A to Temple : W were marked and fixed in cement concrete on the ground surface in the Survey No. 537. Thereafter, the foundation-trench was dug, which involved the excavation of the successive deposits of the top black cotton soil, soft rock and hard rock. It was followed by the concretion of the foundation-trench for A to W temples. Square shaped (20 mm) and large sized (25 cm to 30 cm) stainless steel rods were also placed and affixed in the concretion appertaining to temples A, B, F, G, H, O and Q for reasons of strength and stability to the foundations of the respective temples. Thenceforward, the huge and large sized original slabs of the foundation-stones were course by course re-laid over the newly spread deposit of the cement concrete. This exercise essentially coincided with the original lay-out/plan of the individual temples. Hereupon, the work of re-raising the basement of the temples A to W was executed by re-using the same original stones. The hearting was done with stone rubbles mixed with cement mortar. The voids outside/inside the raised walls of the foundation and the basement were suitably consolidated by ramming locally available red gravels interspersed with the strong packing of the stone rubbles.

The next stage of work represents the re-erection of the walls of the *garbha-griha, antarala* and *manadapa,* et al. This exercise was carried-out in a most orderly manner by re-layinng in cement lime mortar, course by course and number by number, the original structural stones of the respective temples A to W. The hearting was done by re-using the originally used packing stones and the inevitable intermittent voids were carefully filled-in with cement mortar 1:3:6 mixed with 12 mm hard granite metal. The most essential exercise of internal and lateral bonding between the juxtaposed stone members was done by using copper clamps, which were inserted and fixed with liquid lead for reasons of perfect consolidation.

Contemporaneous with the re-construction of the walls of the *garbhalaya, antarala* and *manadapa,* the re-raising of the pedestals, pillars, capitals, *stupi,* etc. was also carried-out by using the original stone members of the temples A to W. The pillar and capital stones which were broken at the time of dismantling the temples F, P, Q and U were appropriately repaired by inserting stainless steel rods in the drilled holes, which were consolidated by pouring in Araldite. Thereafter, all these repaired architectural members were fruitfully re-used.

The next stage of work was a stupendous one, as it involved the hoisting of the heavy original stones of the door jambs and lintels, besides the numerous big sized beams and large sized slabs of ceiling stones, some of which were also most exquisitely carved with the figures of Gods and Goddesses. In this connection, it may be recalled that the lintel stone of the main temple, i.e., Temple : F, was broken in two parts during the dismantling exercise. It was, however, deftly repaired by inserting stainless steel rod in the drilled-hole, which was adequately consolidated by pouring in Araldite. Thereafter the repaired original lintel stone was re-used in the said temple, i.e., Temple : F. It may be remarked once again that all the architectural/structural stone members like door jambs and lintels, beams and roof-slabs were erected/placed as per their original position, pattern and alignment. A couple of roof-slabs (ceiling-stones) of the temples A, B, F and Q were got broken during the time of their dismantling. However before their re- use, all of them were appropriately repaired by pushing stainless steel rods in the drilled holes, which were duly consolidated by pouring in Araldite.

Further, with a view to restraing the bodily movement of the various roof-slabs of all the temples A to W, their corner-joints were fastidiously fastened with copper clamps. A couple of broken parts of the sculptures were also repaired by inserting thin shaped and small sized stainless steel rods; wherever necessary they were also appropriately fastened with copper clamps. A couple of loose scupltures were secured with the walls by inserting and fixing the copper clamps.

After accomplishing stage by stage the reconstruction-works of all the temples A to W upto the roof-level, the next course of action was evidently temple-wise re-assemblage of the *sikharas.* This work, too, was executed patiently and systematically by re- using the same original stones and re-laying them course by course and number by number. While the course of the stones were laid in cement lime mortar, their hearting was stuffed with the originally used packing stones, besides filling-in the voids with cement concrete by using 12 mm hard granite metal. The original stone members of the *sikharas* were also duly secured by fastening them with the copper clamps, which were sealed in the drilled-holes with liquid lead. While re-erecting the various *sikharas* of the temples A to W, it was religiously ensured by us that the originality is reproduced in toto. In this connection, it may be recalled that the temples A, B, C, E, F, H, L, O and V had contained holy copper *kalasas* in the hollow chambers of their respective *sikharas,* which were safely retrieved during dismantling. These, .too, were placed back to their original postion, i.e., the hollow chambers of the reconstructed *sikharas* of the respective temples A, B, C, E, F, H, L, O and V. The re- internment of the holy copper *kalasas* in the hollow chambers of the *sikharas* was necessarily accompanied with the strict observance of the connected rituals *(puja-archana),* which were performed by us on the traditionally auspicious days in the usual customary ways. After the ceremonial re-internment of the *kalasa,* the hollow chamber of the *sikhara* was sealed by placing at its apex the originial finial stone in respect of the individual temples A, B, C, E, F, H, L, O and V, which, *inspo facto,* marked the culmination of the reconstruction of the superstructure of the respective temples.

Contemporaneous with the various stages of works, as delineated in the foregoing lines, the other structural works like re-laying the stone-flooring over the ground-surface as well as providing and spreading comprehensively fresh roof-concrete, superimposed with water-proof coating, over the original ceiling-slabs were also carried-out side by side.

Finally, the open ground-surface around the reconstructed temples as well as the surrounding open area of land in Survey No. 537 was adequately consolidated by spreading and ramming red gravels with a view to prevent the percolation of water in the foundations of the respective temples as well as to arrest the erosion of the otherwise loose top black cotton soil.

Re-Installing

The successful completion of the transplantation-works of the group of temples culminated in the performance of the "linga punah pratisthapana" (re-installation of the

Siva-linga : considered a rare religious event) ceremony of Lord Papanaseswara in the garbhalaya of the main-shrine, i.e., Temple : F, Whereafter puja-archana (worship) of the deity was re-commenced with tremendous joyous fervour as before.

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Conservation of Cultural Heritage in U.P. : Problems and Future

O.P. Agrawal

Introduction

Uttar Pradesh is extremely rich in cultural heritage of all types. Here in this State, we have monuments like the Taj Mahal. Which is worldfamous, musuems like the Mathura Museum having exquisite red sandstone sculptures, which are unique, Bharat kala Bhawan, where is housed a National treasure of all types; arhaeological sites like Sonkh and Shringverpura; libraries like the Raza Rampur Library, Aligarh Muslim University's Maulana Azad Library, Akhil Bhartiya Sanskrit Parishad Manuscripts Library, Vrindaban Research Institute, and many others, having large collections of Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and Persian manuscripts. Being the region where was the *karmabhumi* of Ram and Krishna, and *tirthas* like Prayag, Mathura, Vrindavan, Benares and Ayodhya, there are to be found thousands of temples all over the State. Jainism also had a great influence in this area and that is why Jain temples are also innumerable. all these temples have with there not only statues but also other forms of Cultural heritage like manuscripts, miniature paintings, wall paintings and so on. It can thus be seen that in U.P. the cultural property is very rich and varied. Naturally then, the problems are also numerous and vast.

Problems

Before we discuss the problems, it is necessary to understand what are the various aspects involved in conservation. As far as the total conservation scenario is concerned, the following are the main questions which should be kept in mind :

(i) Protection against theft, mutilation or physical damage.

(ii) Maintenance of the buildings or objects against the various factors of deterioration.

(iii) Actual conservation aimed to give additional strength or to prolong the life of the cultural heritage..

Another question which has to be taken into account, while considering conservation is the nature of the cultural property. Basically, for the problems of conservation it can be divided into the following main headings :

(a) Monuments/Historical buildings/Temples,

(b) Wall paintings.

(c) Art objects like sculptures, bronzes, paintings, textiles etc.

(d) Manuscripts and other Library material.

(e) Excavated sites.

Monuments/Historical Buildings

In U.P., there is a large number of monuments and historical buildings. As mentioned earlier, there are also temples, mosques, churches, forts and palaces. In fact, we do not have a complete list of all what is present in the State. The listing done by INTACH in Lucknow alone indicated that there are about 1200 historical buildings in the district. It is possible, that all of them are not of much significance, but, nevertheless, the number does indicate that a similar listing needs to be done in the other districts of U.P. This type of survey should be done from village to village, and report on them prepared. The first task is to have a complete list. Later on as the data is available, classification can be done on the basis of historical contnent and art importance. Unless this information is available, we shall not be in a position to know what needs to be conserved. Even for planning, this information is required. INTACH, with the limited resources that are at its command, is doing this job to the best of its capability. However, it would be better if it is undertaken in the State by U.P. State Archaeological Organisation. INTACH could help in whatever manner its help is required.

The second point is of the protection of the buildings. In a large State like U.P., where there are thounsands of important monuments and temples, only 300 and odd are protected by the Central Archaeological Organisation. Obviously, there is a need to get more buildings in the protected list both of the Archaeological Survey and of the U.P. State Archaeological Organisation. However, more adding names of the buildings in the protected list does not solve the problems. In fct, the problem starts from this point, because bringing the monuments in the protected list means taking up full responsibility of their safety and conservation. That can be done only when enough watch and ward personnel are posted for the security of the monuments. Similarly, there ought to be enough personnel and other facilities for conservation.

For conservation of historical buildings, the main requirement is of architects and engineers. So far in our country, architects are not involved in the conservation of cultural property. It has mainly been the domain of engineers. However, in my opinion the involvement of architects is equally important. It is necessary that architects are given special training for conservation. I know that this type of work is being done at the School of Architecture and Town Planning at New Delhi. U.P. should also take advantage of that facility.

I think so far, the personnel for conservation are not sufficient with the U.P. Archaeological Organisation. There must be more personnel available for conservation work.

Here, I will like to raise another point which needs our attention. Who should look after those buildings which are important from the historical, architectural and aesthetic points of view, but for one reason or the other, have not been brought in the protected list ? One such category of buildings is that of temples, the authorities of which quite often do not want their temples to be brought in the protected list, for the fear that they might be taken over by the Government. Also the Department is not geared to take over the responsibility of all the buildings which are available in this State. That being the situation, what is the remedy available. Should such buildings be left to bear the brunt of nature and man and be grazed on the ground or should something be done to protect them ? What can be the mechanism for their protection? Whose responsibility should it be ? Possibbly INTACH could help but here also, there are limitations. Unless there is enough finance available, INTACH can also be only of limited assistance. INTACH also has only limited resources. Second point is that INTACH can provide one-time assistance by way of conservation. It is not in a position to take the responsibility of long-term conservation and protection.

There are also problems of a technical nature. For example, we can see algae, moss and lichens growing on monuments and buildings. For eradicating them, some solutions are available but no solution is still known which could prevent their growth for a long duration. The treatment has to be done time and again. When I was the Director at NRLC, I had initiated a research programme to find the solution of these problems. I think this is a very important area and work should be continued in this field.

Another area in which I had initiated a project at NRLC was to find a solution for the eradication of plants and trees which appear on the buildings unchecked and damage them. This project should also be persued with all seriousness. Growth of plants and trees on buildings is a major factor of damage to them.

We all know that cement is injurious in the long run, yet, we find large scale use of cement for restoration work. An alternative material for use as mortar and as plaster has to be found out.

Rock Paintings

In U.P., there are many sites of rock paintings, particularly in Mirzapur Area[1]. There are rock paintings in other areas too, like in Kumaon and Garhwal[2,3] Rakesh Tewari has done a thorough research on rock paintings in U.P.[4]

The main problems affecting the rock-paintings are seepage of water, effect of moisture, growth of micro-organisms, growth of plants, direct flow of water on paintings. There is no plaster in these paintings and hence the problems present in them are different to those found in wall-paintings. Much work has not been done on conservation of rock-paintings. The technical problems that effect rock-paintings can be summarized as follows :

1. **Flaking of pigments.**

   Originally when the paintings were done probably there was no binding medium used. Even if it was used, it has now been destroyed. However this ought to be verified by actual chemical analysis of materials from a number of sites. In U.P. so far no such work has been done.

2. **Powdering of stone surface.**

   This happens on account of the action of water on stone or on account of thermal expansion of the stone surface. The stone surface becomes friable and falls alongwith paint.

3. **Seepage of water**

   Seepage of water inside caves is another major problem faced in the case of rock-paintings. It is comparatively easy to stop the seepage of water in structural buildings, but in caves, where huge mass of hills are involved, it is a very difficult proposition to seal all the cracks and fissures in the hills through which water can seep.

4. **Flow of water on the surface**

   Many rock-shelters are open and rainwater flows on them directly. Thus paint is also affected.

5. **Growth of Micro-organisms**

   Micro-organisms are also found to be growing on rock paintings in plenty. We still do not know what species of micro-organisms grow on rock-paintings. Their nature is yet to be determined. This should be taken up as a research programme.

6. **Growth of plants and trees**

   Plants and trees also grow on rock-shelters and destroy them.

7. **Vandalism**

   Vandalism is a major cause of destruction of rock-paintings. Destruction is caused by those who are ignorant about the importance of rock-paintings and by those who are not so ignorant. Scholars and students of history often splash water on the paintings so that the paintings are more visible. This is the usual practice and not an exception. I am told that when art students want to copy the paintings they place the paper directly on the walls and make the tracings. If such practices are not vandalism what else is.

Wall- Paintings

Wall paintings also are existing in the State of U.P. in large numbers[5]. However, many sites are not known to the outside world. Till recently, only few sites were known. Furthermore, wall paintings are extremely delicate and pose serious problems of conservation. In many wall paintings that we have visited, plaster is falling, cracks are present and paint is flaking. Almost everywhere there is growth of micro- organisms also. In our opinion the problem was so enormus not only in U.P. but all over the country, that we launched a major National Project for Conservation of Wall paintings, in U.P. and in other States of the country. In U.P., the project is being implemented in collaboration with the U.P. Archeological Organisation. As a result of this Project, several new sites have come to light. The survey work is still continued.

In order that proper conservation treatment is given to the wall paintings, analysis of materials is also necessary. Analysis therefore, of pigments and of plasters of various sites was undertaken.

Conservation of some wall paintings is also being undertaken. Work was done at Kusum Sarovar, Govardhan, Mathura; Jain Mandir, Chowk, Lucknow and Kali Mandir, Ram Nagar, Varanasi. Work of conservation at Kusum Sarovar is continued and very shortly we wish to undertake conservation at some other sites also.

The project of conservation of wall paintings in U.P., in which we have received full cooperation of the U.P. State Archaeological Organisation, is an extremly comprehensive project, in which care has been taken to incorporate various aspects of conservation :

[1] Survey
[2] Analysis
[3] Research
[4] Actual Conservation
[5] Training

However, this is not enough. We have yet to do a lot for conservation of wall paintings in U.P.

Art Objects

U.P. also has large number of museums. According to the Directory of Indian Museums, the largest number of museums in the country, exist in U.P.[6] Many of these museums, like the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi : State Museum, Lucknow : Government Musuem, Mathura; Allahabad Musuem, Allahabad have a national character. Not only the holdings of these museums are large, and varied but also in each museum, art objects like sculptures, metal images and paintings are housed. There is an excellent collection of textiles and many miniature paintings in the Bharat Kala Bhawan, State Museum, Lucknow and the Allahabad Museum. The Government Museum, Almora has a fine collection of wood carvings. The red spotted sandstone sculptures of the Mathura Museum are world- famous.

Besides the Museums, art objects are also to be found in large numbers in temples and in private collections.

The main type of problems that arise in art objects are :

1. On account of climate
2. Fading of colours due to light
3. Corrosion or erosion of surface, e.g. of metals, stones, ceramics ect.
4. Weakening of structure,
5. Growth of fungus
6. Growth of insects
7. Development of cracks
8. Physical damage due to mishandling or bad storage practices.

To meet the challenge of deterioration, action is needed both by the curators and conservators. For conservation, laboratory facilities are required.

Although, this form of art abounds in U.P., the facilities for conservation in comparison are too meagre. To give an example the State Museum, Lucknow has two persons in the conservation laboratory. The Government Museum, Mathura has only one person and the Government Museum, Almora one person on the conservation staff. The Allahabad Museum has also one or two persons, although there are plans to appoint some other persons as well. Bharat Kala Bhawan has slightly better facilities but not sufficient to meet the needs of even Bharat Kala Bhawan. The U.P.

Archaeological Organisation which also has a collection of excavated objects does not have a proper conservation laboratory.

The situation seems to be dismal for a large State like U.P., where the number of museums is the largest in the country. As a result one can see everywhere, the decay of objects not only in private holdings, but even in museums. It is imperative that this situation is improved.

For conservation, the basic requirements are :

[a] Staff
[b] Equipment
[c] Space
[d] Training

It may not be possible to have a conservation laboratory for each museum. Probably one can think of having a Central Conservation Laboratory, for the entire State dealing with the art objects. That does not mean that other museums will not have conservation laboratories of their own. Central Conservation Laboratory will be charged with the responsibility of analysing the material wherever necessary and taking up intricate problems of perservation. Simultaneously there should be more staff for other museum laboratories. Training is held at the NRLC and also at ICI of which full advantage should be taken.

Manuscripts

I am dealing with manuscripts seperately because manuscript is a special category of art object. First of all it is written on a perishable material like birch-bark, palm-leaf or paper, and secondly they are found in very large numbers. If proper care is not taken these materials are easily damaged. In U.P., there are some extremely important manuscript collections like the Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow; Maulaná Azad Library, Aligarh University; Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi; Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi; Rampur Raza Library; Vrindavan Research Institute and so on. It is likely that manuscripts are available in most other libraries and also in museums and archives. The U.P. State Archives has a collection of about 12000 manuscripts, many of which are extremely important.

In this area also we find that except with the U.P. State Archives. there are no facilities for conservation of manuscripts and library materials at all in Uttar Pradesh.

The Indian Conservation Institute INTACH has started a national Project on Survey and Conservation of manuscripts. The first step of the Project is the survey of existing manuscripts in various institution and private collections. Dr. S.N. Sinha. former Director of the U.P. State Archives has taken up the resopnsibility of collecting information on the available manuscripts and preparing a report on their conservation status. A questionnaire asking for basic data has been devised which has been sent to the major institutions in U.P. including musuems, libraries, private owners etc. A study is also being done by personal visits. This exercise has been undertaken so that we know what exactly is available in the country. We can do the planning for conservation only when we have this information with us.

Simulataneously, ICI takes up conservation of important manuscripts and library materials. At the moment the facility is limited but it is intended to increase it further.

A Local Advisory Committee has been set up to steer this programme. The Work of conservation of manuscripts is enormous and more steps need to be taken to improve the situation.

The project in U.P. has been taken up as a Pilot Programme and if it is successful, work will be done in other States also.

Excavated Sites

Excavations are held at various sites like Sonkh, Shrinagaverapura, Hulaskhera, etc. During excavtion, important material is brought out. After the archeological work is over, the sites remain open to sun and rain and that poses the problem, because rain water floods inside the sites and in due course damages it considerbly. How to solve this problem still poses a challenge. It is not easy to find a solution.

Conclusion

On the basis of above analysis it can be seen that the problems of conservation of cultural heritage of all types in U.P. are enormous and unless corrective steps are taken in time future is bleak. It is a good fortune of U.P. that two major all India institutions like the NRLC and the Indian Conservation Institute are located in this State. Full advantage should be taken of this situation, not only for training of personnel but also for research and conservation of intricate types of objects.

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NOTE

A Terracotta Head From Sanchānakoṭa

It is said that 'terracotta art is layman's art'. It may hold good for crude, handmade 'archaic' terracottas of the prehistoric and early historical period, but Sunga, Kushan and Gupta terracottas seem to be the handiwork of skilled and experienced artisans and sculptors well-versed in ancient lore and classical literature. There are many an important ancient site that has yielded the finest specimens of terracotta art. Among them Ahichhatra, Kausambi, Mathura, Kannauj, Rajghat, Chandraketugarh,[1] to name a few, rank supreme. However, there are two ancient sites viz. Newal and Sanchanakota in Unnao district that too deserve our attention for their rich repertoire of terracotta art [2].

Some of the most remarkable and beautiful terracottas of these two sites have already been published to draw the attention of the learned scholars to the archaeological wealth of those sites[3]. Recently, a terracotta head of goddess Parvati has been discovered from Sanchānakoṭa. It is unique in certain respects that deserve our careful attention. A detailed description of it is as follows :

TERRACOTTA HEAD OF PARVATI (Pl. 91)

Size	:	17x11.5 cms.
Colour	:	Brown red.
Provenance	:	Sanchānakoṭa Mound (Distt. Unnao)

Description

This is a fine specimen of late Kushan terracotta art. There is the third eye of the female deity horizontally carved on the forehead. Her hair-style is plain and simple. It appears that the locks are either simply combed or covered with thin-bordered scarf surmounted with a bejewelled ornamentation forming a lotus- petalled and discular pattern. A portion of her left nostril, the lower lip and the round chin is partly mutilated. Her ear-lobes are also broken. Therefore, the shape and design of the ear- ornament is not clear. The fish-shaped open eyes with clear eye- balls and the bow-shaped eye-brows vividly showing the animated look conform to the classical norms of feminine beauty. If we compare the well-known Ahichhatra Parvati head which has a vertical third eye and a crescent on the head with this specimen, we would certainly find some glaring differences in respect of coiffeur, facial expression,horizontal depiction of third eye and other distinctive traits. As regards coiffure and jewellery a male head (Patna Museum) stands good comparison.[4]

Dr. Motichandra, a veteran scholar and art connoisseur, while delivering his valedictory lecture in the State Museum, Lucknow, on Kushan art, had laid great emphasis on the paucity of Saivite terracottas and sculptures depicting horizontal third eye on the forehead. Fortunately, Newal has also yielded a fine terrecotta mould of Śiva's head showing horizontal third eye [5]. This mould also belongs to the Kushan period. Thus, it appears that the tradition of carving third eye horizontally got changed with the passage of time, and vertical third eye got the prominent position as is seen in the unique Ardhanārīśvara head [6] that hailed from Newal and belonged to the Gupta period. The depiction of vertical third eye seems to have become quite common in Gupta period as well as in later periods in India and abroad [7].

There is a very fine and elaborate description of the three eyes of Goddess Parvati in the *Saundarya lahari* composed by Adi Shankaracharya. According to him all the three eyes of the Goddess represent three 'guṇās'(basic traits) i.e sata, raja, and tama. [8] These three eyes have their own distinctive colours- white, blue and red- which cause the rebirth of the divine trio-Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva-respectively after the Mahāpralaya (The Great Deluge). Moreover, on this 'terra ferma', the three eyes represent the 'sangam'(confluence) of the three holy rivers viz. the Ganga the Yamuna and the Sona; for, the Ganga is white, the Yamuna blue and the Sona red. So, the devotee who meditates on the radiant face of the Goddess Parvati enjoys the bliss that comes in the wake of bathing in the three holy rivers [9].

Thus, this partly mutilated terracotta head of goddess Parvati obliges us to conjure up and perceive the full beautiful form of the deity in our mind's eye, and appreciate the skill, devotion and superb craftmanship of the master sculptor or clay modeller. It is certainly one of the most charming and outstanding specimens of Kushan art from Sanchānakoṭa.

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   Shukla K.S., *ibid; Saiva Tradition And Art of* South-East Asia, p.103. Pl. 52.
8. Sastri Devadatta : *Tripursundarisādhanā,* Smriti Prakashan, Allahabad.

   'Viviktatraivarṇyam vyatikarit līlānjantay
   Vibhāti tvanetratritayamidmiśān dayite
   Punahṣrastum devān druhinaharirudrānaparitān
   Rajah satvam vibhrattam iti gunānāmtrayamidam !'
9. *Ibid,* verse 54 - *Saundarya lahari,* 53.

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ABSTRACTS OF HINDI ARTICLES

Excavation of Megalithic Burials in Kumaun

Discovery of megalithic remains in Kumaun has been an important subject since the last one century. Stray evidences coming out frequently prove their proliferic existence in a greater part of mid-central Himalaya.

The present study relates to the work undertaken by the Department of History including Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the H.N. Bahuguna Garhwal University as part of its research programme under the DRS of the UGC. Field investigations in the Ramganga valley, stretching in 32 kms. yielded good results with burials all along the river. Out of several sites two were taken up for further probe and as such, excavation was conducted at Sanana and Baseri, 10 Kms. north of Bhikiyasen on the bank of Ramganga.

The excavation brought to light two types of burials, i.e.(i) the dolmenoid cist and (ii) the Urn burial. The cists consists of long schist orthostats placed vertically according to the requirement. With rectangular plan of the box-like structure, the cists contained pots, skulls and human bones.

The large-sized urn jars (50 cm. diameter) containing prominent ripole marks on the outer surface were protected from all sides by a dressed and round stone walls.

The pottery fabric from excavation is following a true tradition of the Painted Grey Ware culture (PGW) showing either grey or red with a grey core, having painted designs of horizontal, vertical and slanting strokes. Most of the shapes characteristically go very akin to the Painted Grey Ware culture as found in Hastinapura, Ahichchhatra, Jakhera, Thapli and other PGW sites.

On the basis of archaeological evidences viz bones, iron implements and pottery with a Painted Grey Ware tradition, these burials from Kumaun can be tentatively placed around the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

K.P. NAUTIYAL et. al

Iconography in Smriti literature

Just like the *Matsya Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa* and a few other Puranas and also works like *Aparājitapṛichchhā, Rūpamanḍana* etc., the Smriti literature also supplies a good deal of information about icons of various deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Grahas etc. Due attention has not been paid to this important source of information. We know of about 56 Smritis which are available and published and we do here of about sixty names only. According to P.V. Kane entire Smriti literature should be assigned to circa 200 B.C. to 900 A.D. But it seems that the later Smriti can further be extended to circa 14th C.A.D. No. Smriti deals with iconographic information in all details at one place. It is scattered in different chapters dealing with subjects like installation of images, methods of worshipping them, giving them as gifts *(dāna)*. From this point of view all the Smriti are not equally useful. For example *Vṛddha Hārita Smriti* gives copious information about Viṣṇu. However placing the scattered information together we know a good deal about the following :-

1. Weights and measurements specially with reference to gold figurines.
2. Gifts of images as cures for number of diseases.
3. Images of Śiva and Śiva-linga *(Bṛhat Parāśara* and *Laugākṣi.)*
4. Images of Gaṇapati in *Bṛhat Parāśara, Yajñyavalkya, Baudhāyan,* etc.
5. Images of Navagraha and specially their respective birth places *(Bṛhadyogi* and *Yajñyavalkya)*
6. Icons of female divinities *(Bhāradwāja Smriti* and *Bṛhadyogi, Yajñyavalkya).*
7. Deities of agriculture *(Bṛhat Parāśara Smriti)*
8. Deities of gates *(Laugākṣi Smriti)*

Iconography of Viṣṇu in Smriti literature has been separately dealt with by the author (Glimpses of iconographical data in the Smriti's, *Vaiṣṇavism in Indian Art and culture,* New Delhi 1987, pp. 231-253). This material has also been summarized.

N.P. JOSHI

The Rāmāyaṇa Panels From Shivadwara - Mau (Sonbhadra)

Having gone through the exploration report on the area of Shivadwara – Mau, District Sonbhadra, U.P. published in the last issue of *Prāgdhārā No. 2* by Rakesh Tewari and Girish Chandra Singh, my attention was drawn towards the two-though beautifully carved but still unidentified-panels of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story from that region. An attempt, therefore, is made to study the details of these two panels here and to suggest a possible ground for their respective identities.

1. The first panel (pl. 64) which we have identified here as the *āśrama* of the great ascetic Bharadwaja, to whom the three queens- Kausalya, Kaikēyī and Sumitrā are paying their obeisance, could not be identified earlier as such possibly for two reasons. One is that, why the herd of deer are shown as blocking the entrance of the hermitage and the other is, as to who could be the ascetic shown with skeletons and seated inside such a hermitage ?

   The simple answer to the first query is that this is the ideal depiction of the hermitage of a *ṛishi,* whose huts, in the words of Kālidāsa, remained always crowded with the domesticated deer often blocking up even the doors of the huts (*Raghu. 1.50*). And, after visualizing all the attributes of the sage Bhāradwāja, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, like that of *muni, mahamuni, maharshi, paramarshi, tapodhana, mahātapa* and *tapta-tapas* (i.e., one who has performed fierce penances) etc., it looks quite apparent to identify him with the sage of this hermitage of our panel.

Thus, the theme of the first panel seems to be that of Bhāradwāja-*āśrama* of the time when, all the mothers, Kaushalya, Kaikēyī and Sumitrā, paid tribute to him before they proceeded further towards Chitrakūṭa alongwith the entourage of Bharata.

2. The puzzling points of the second panel(pl. 65) of this series of Rāmāyaṇa story are the least in the identity of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣhmaṇa paying tributes to a *ṛishi* in his *āśrama* but most in the identity of dwarf-like figure that is shown standing by the left hand side of Lakṣhmaṇa. Had it not been for this figure added with the absence of the high-peaked mountains of Chitrakūṭa and the stream of mandakini over there, we could have very easily compared this panel with the illustration of the Vālmīki *āśrama* from Aphsad (Dt. Gaya in Bihar. pl. 66-67). Thus the point which needs to be settled down here, as we know, is the possible identity of the figure looking like a dwarf in this panel.

Now, in the whole episode of Rāmāyaṇa, some-one who could assume a dwarfish form on his will and who has also remained close to the company of Rama, is the character of Hanumana only. Valmiki, has referred to him and his disguise in the form of a dwarf once as *vēshēṇa - prākṛitēnēvas, bhikshu-rūpa -pratichhanna (Kiṣkindha 2.24* etc.) and on other occasion as, *tatah sankshiptyātmanaḥ* and as *atitanu (Sundara 30.17)* etc., which, at a later stage got very nicely rendered as *vatu* in the *Rāmacharitamānasa* of Tulasi. After looking at the form of this figure here, we feel quite convinced that the Hanuman of this panel is the same who is referred to by Tulasi as *'dhari vāṭu-rūpa dekhi tain jāī* and, *dhari-vaṭu-rupa awadhapura-jāī'*, etc.

In resume, if this dwarfish figure is really that of Hanuman, then, the theme of this panel could never be associated with the *āśrama* of Vālmīki, since the very first meeting of Hanumana with Rama took place only near the Rishyamuka mountain, when neither Sita was there nor the sage Valmiki. Finally, as per the known legends of the Ramayana story, this panel also depicts the asrama of Bharadwaja where Rama with Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman in the following, is paying tribute for the second to the rishi after his victory over Lanka, while he was on his way back to Ayodhya.

S.P. TEWARI

Rāma-Kṛiṣṇa Līlā Scenes in Kaimur Valley

During the village to village explorations, conducted under the auspices of the U.P. State Archaeological Organisation, a few stone slabs containing the scenes related to the Rama and Krisna stories have been found, in the session 1989-90. These findings, mentioned in an earliar article, published with two illustrations of such scenes in *Pragdhāra No. 2*, drew the due attention of Dr. S.P. Tewari to write a research paper specially based on their proper identification. This paper is being published in this journal on pp. 129-135 (Pl. 64-65). Inspired by the efforts of Dr. S.P. Tewari we have also tried to identify the remaining scenes, portrayed on three stone slabs, in the present paper. One of the slabs bears the depiction of a Rāmāyaṇa scene which has been identified with the famous theme of *Ashoka Vatika Prasanga* mentioned in the *Sundara Kanda* of *Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa* (Pl. 68) . *Tṛimukha Rāvaṇa* is shown prominently sitting on *bhadra* peeth in the left side of the panel. He is trying to allure Sita seated before him to become his wife. While, Hanuman hiding in the groves of *Ashoka* tree is observing all this. The panel measuring 61x30 cm. may be dated to circa 9th-10th century A.D.

Several *Rāmāyaṇa scenes* portrayed on stone slabs and terracotta plaques have been reported from different places of the country. But none of them, which contain the *Ashoka Vatika* theme, is intact like the specimen from Sonbhadra. Besides, the examples from Sonbhadra district are the only known specimens of Rāmāyaṇa scenes of 9th-10th C.A.D. in U.P.

Other two slabs portray the *Kṛiṣṇa Līlā* scenes. The first one contains two panels showing the popular theme of *Kuvalayāpīḍa vadha*, datable to circa 8th century A.D. on stylistic grounds. This theme has been found depicted from several sites, such as - Moradhwaja (Bijnore), Bhitargaon (Kanpur Dehat), Devagarh (Lalitpur), Chandausi (Moradabad), Sankissa, Kampil (Farrukhabad), Mathura, Manwadih (Sitapur), Garhwa (Allahabad), Bhuili (Mirzapur), Varanasi.

What makes this find rare is the portrayal of the scene showing different actions of the famous fight between demon elephant *Kuvalayāpīda* and Kṛiṣṇa-Balarāma in a series of panels, of which only two are left preserved. This slab measure 87x31 cm. and appears an architectural member of a Vaiṣṇava temple.

Third slab is the rarest specimen amongst the lot (Pl-69). The scene depicted on this slab show's merry-making Balarāma-Kṛiṣṇa, alongwith their spouces *Satyabhāmā* and *Rēvatī* (?), divine dancers and attendants etc. It may be suggested that this scene represents the theme of *Pinḍāraka Tīrtha Yātrā* of Viṣṇu Parva of *Harivamsa*. To the best of our knowledge no other example of such scene has been reported from any other site. Most of the Kṛiṣṇa Līla panels known from different places of the country are related with the early life of Sri Kṛiṣṇa, while the examples representing the incidents of his later life are sparse. The scene of *Pinḍāraka Tīrṭha* belong to the later phase of Sri Kṛiṣṇa's life, therefore, it provides an added importance to the scene under discussion. Stylistically this depiction may be dated to circa 10th Century A.D. Measurement of the slab is 45x26 cm.

The findings, mentioned above and discussed in Dr. S.P. Tewari's article have carved out an important place for district Sonbhadra in the list of sites famous for the scenes related to two famous incarnatrions of Viṣṇu Sri Rāma and Sri Kṛiṣṇa.

R. TEWARI & G.C. SINGH

Archaeological Explorations in Sultanpur

General Cunningham pioneered the archaeological explorations in Sultanpur district, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He also emphasised the need of further efforts in this direction. But that could be systematically started after a long duration in the ninth decade of this century, by the archaeologists of the archaeological departments of the universities as well as, state and central govts. A team of U.P. State Archaeological Organisation also explored a few areas of the district in the month of June 1986. It,s results are being published in the form of this article.

The exploration revealed a number of archaeological sites usually located near small and large ponds and rivers in the villages known as Ahiran Ki Palia, Ḥazi Patti, Gadha, Bhanti, Shanichara and Somanabhar. Sherds of black slipped ware, red ware, plain grey ware and glazed ware, besides burnt-bricks of different sizes- stylistically datable to Kushana and medieval period, were found littered on the surface of the huge mound of Garha. Other sites consist remains of early medieval brick temples and sculptures, comprising architectural members made of stone, such *as-dwāra śākhā* (door-jambs), *uttaranga* (door-lintel), udumbar (door-sill) - decorated with large lotus flower flanked by elephants, udadhi kumara, and śardula etc., numerous carved as well as plain burnt bricks/brick - bats and sculptures. Carved bricks bear *padma patra* (lotus-petal), *āmalaka, candraśālā* and scroll motifs. Sculptures belong to the Brahmanical and Jaina religions which represent the images of *Vishnu, Shiva*(?), *Surya, Revant, Uma-Mahesh, matrikas* and *yugalia-murti* (father and mother of a Jaina tirthankar) (Pls. 92-123).

The main image installed in the 'Hanuman mandir' of 'Ahiran Ki Paliya' village is most important to mention herein (Pl. 92). It represents an interesting form of *Surya* wearing *udichya vesh - cholak* (long coat), *kavach* (armour), *upanah* (long boots) and *uttariya*, and ornaments like *kirit mukut*, necklace, armlets and ear-drops etc. A long dagger is hanging in his left side. What makes this image rare is the depiction of a rosary in his right hand, left hand in *vyākhyan mudra* and a conch and a lotus-bud on stalk on either sides. These mudras and symbols are associated with *Surya, Brahma, Vishnu* and *Shiva*. Therefore this image may be identified as a composite form of these deities known as *Brahma- Vishnu-Shiva - Surya.* A few other images of this type are known from different parts of the country, but usually they consist three heads, eight hands-bearing prescribed symbols, and *vahanas* of the four respective gods. While the image under discussion is single headed, two handed and devoid of vehicles.

The site of Sanichara is noteworthy because of its evidences of the remains of carved brick temples, life size Śaiva image (pls. 113-123) and Pratihara-inscriptions. An outer wall of the *Jagatī* is the only intact remain of the temple, which is decorated with carved burnt-bricks forming beautiful *candraśālā* motifs, comparable to the motifs found at Kalapa Devi, Dhamanakhurd and Sarhan Bujurg brick temples of Sitapur and Fatehpur districts . Skilfully decorated door-sill, fragments of carved stones and bricks, and life size image provide an idea of the grandeur of the original temple.

Three fragmentary stone inscriptions were found at the temple- site of Shanichara during the debris clearance work, conducted by the U.P. State Archaeological Organisation. Dr. S.P. Tewari of the 'Epigraphy Branch' of the A.S.I., has deciphered and published the text of these inscriptions. Two names 'Bhoja Deva' (**Bho--**) and Mahodaya (**Maho --**), mentioned in the text, are of special interest, which have been associated with Pratihar king Bhoja Deva (836-885) A.D.) and Kannauj. This evidence has confirmed the dates of the brick temples decorated with the similar bricks and motifs, earlier dated on the basis of stylistic grounds and provides a clue to the political and religious significance of the area in early medieval period.

The sculpture showing the son of *Surya, Revant* found at Somnabhara is a fine example of iconography and art (Pl. 111). Revant, wearing *udichya vesha*- decorated like his father, has been depicted in the centre on the back of a horse and holding a cup of wine. Two other horse-riders are shown infront and behind him, respectively. Seven attendents holding jar, conch, parasol etc. - are following them with serveral dogs. The scene appears to be of a hunting expedition in which wild boars are being hunted by the attacking dogs and hoofs of the horses. The attendant shown in the extreme left of the panel is carrying a hunted animal, probably a boar, on his shoulders. On the upper and lower parts of the sculpture are the figures of *Nava Grahas* (nine planets), *Gaja Lakshmi, matrikas. Ganesh, musicians* and devotees.

The presence of a Jaina image at *Kurha* and a few other such images from a nearby village *Narahi* provide evidence of Jaina influence in the area around 10th -11th C.A.D. Besides, the *yugalia murti* is the only example of its kind in this area (pl. 102.)

On the basis of the fore-going discussion and site-observations it may be concluded that in its prime, during the early medieval period this area was lively with its facinating natural beauty, rich flora - fauna and chirping of the birds, because of which it was conciously selected for the construction of the temples. Keeping in mind that deities dwell in such pious locales, corresponding to the verses of Brihat Samhita -

सलिलोद्यानयुक्तेषु कृतेष्वकृतकेषु च ।
स्थानेष्वेतेषु सान्निध्यमुपगच्छन्ति देवताः ॥
सरःसु नलिनीछत्रनिरस्तरविरश्मिषु ।
हंसांसाक्षिप्तकह्लारवीथीविमलवारिषु ॥
हंसकारण्डवक्रौञ्चचक्रवाकविराविषु ।
पर्यन्तनिचुलच्छायाविश्रान्तजलचारिषु ॥

(Deities reside with pleasure in places which abound in water and gardens, whether natural or otherwise. Gods dwell with pleasure also in (or near) lakes, where the rays of the sun are warded off by the parasol of lotus, whose clear waters contain avenues of white lotuses tossed by the shoulders of swans, which resound with cries of swans, flamingoes, curlews and ruddy geese and which have the aquatic animals resting in the shade of Nicula (hijjal) trees on their banks.)

R. TEWARI

Panchākhyānaro - Patra

Here the text of an inscribed and illustrated page from the now dispersed manuscript of *Panchākhyāna* is studied with the kind permission of the Brooklyn Museum, New York. My special thanks are due to Ms. Amy G. Poster, Curator of the Asian Arts section of that Museum for her generosity in providing me both the information about this page in the initial stages and also its illustration which is utilized here.

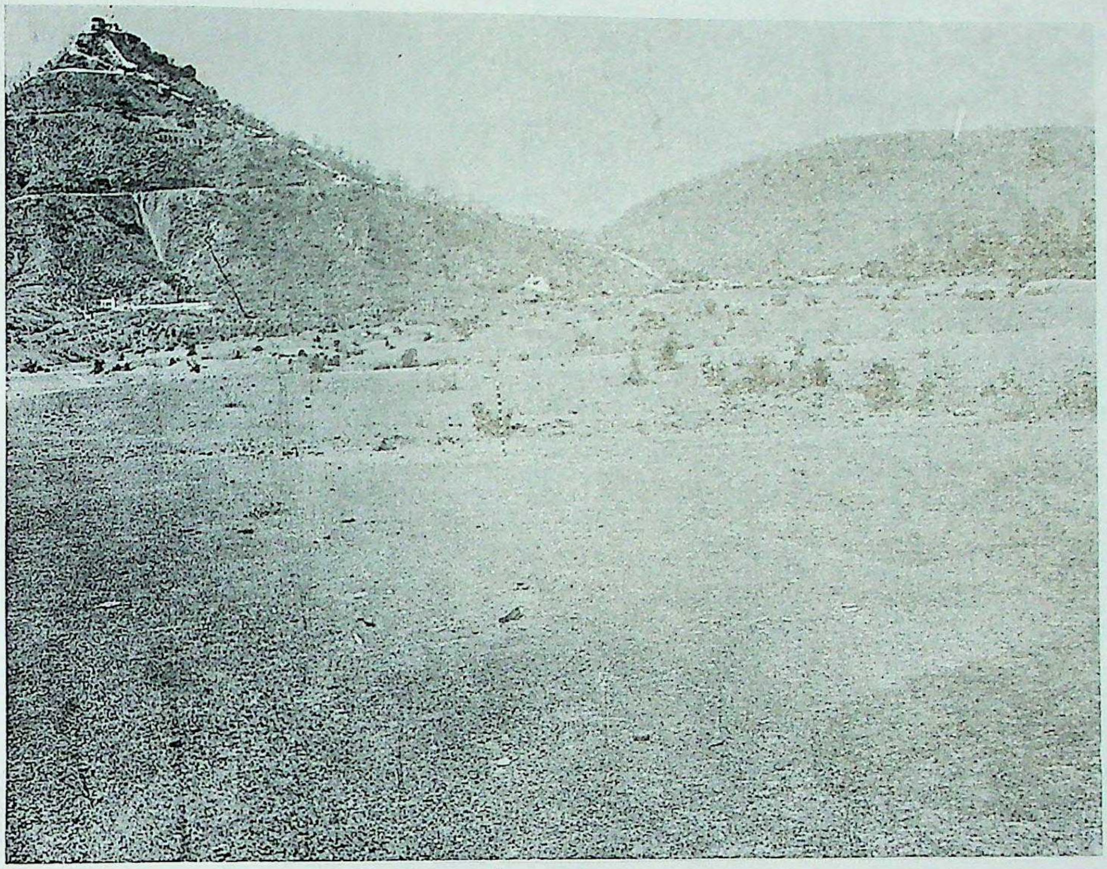
From the inscription in two lines, written on the top of this page we gather that the narrative of this story and also its illustration on this page, though titled here as *Panchākhyāna,* is still the same which is known by the more popular name of *Panchatantra.* As gleaned from the text of the inscription, the theme of our story relates to the one called *Mitrabheda* or the 'Lion and Bull story'.

Besides the text of the inscription and the subsequent illustration of the same in the form of this story on the page, which is more or less, familiar to many of our readers, the noteworthy point is the rendering of the original Sanskrit text into the Mewari dialect of Rajasthan. That the author of this manuscript has preferred to call the name of the work he followed only as *Panchākhyāna* and not *Panchatantra,* is indicative of the fact that the Jaina recension of *Panchatantra* which was used orignally by Jaina monk *Pūrṇabhadra* (c. 1199 A.D.) and others, was quite popular in the regions of Central India and Rajasthan even to this day.

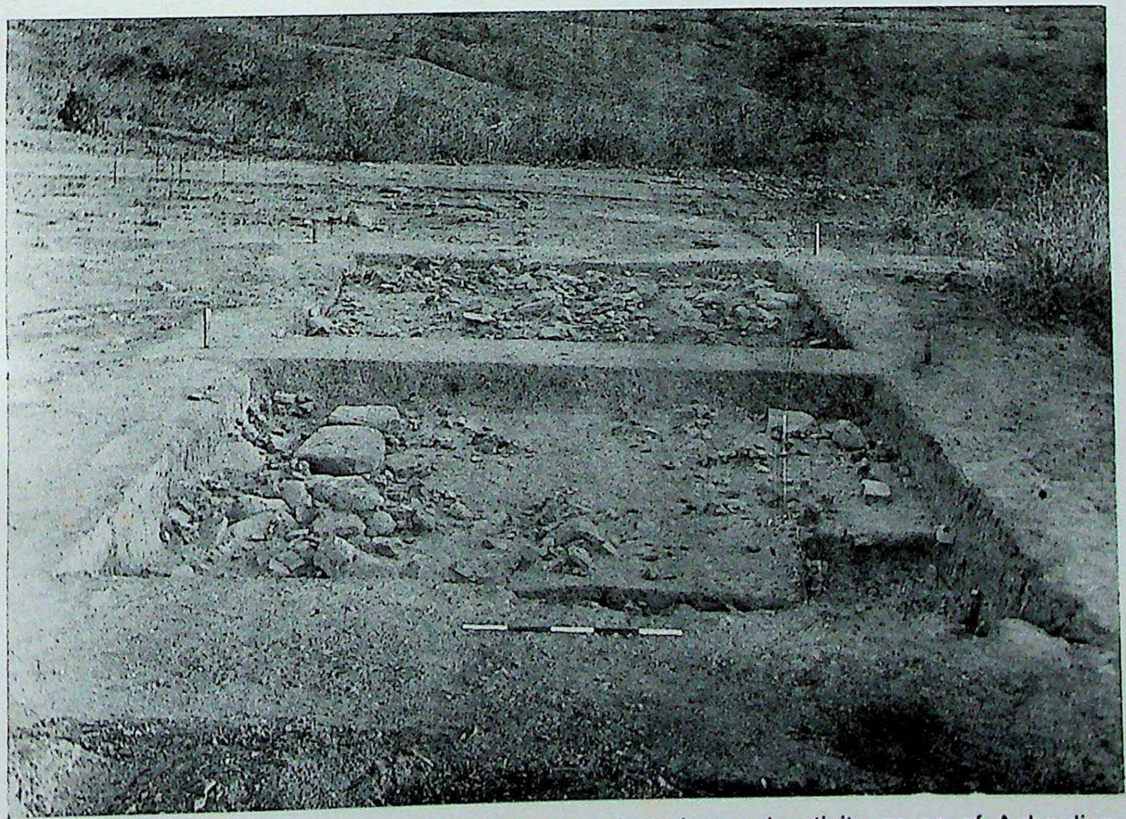
Although the major part of the text of this translation of our page, has a bearing on the Sanskrit text of its original, a curious fact is noticed in the form of a folk-saying from the area of Rajasthan. With the slight deviation from the text, though without altering anything in the set pattern of the story, it says that 'a piece of gold becomes worthless, once it starts pricking the ears'. Thus the application of a Rajasthani folk-saying in the text of our page helps us to culminate that in course of such translations in vernacular, it was the essence of the story which was faithfully preserved and not the words of its narratives.

S.P. TEWARI

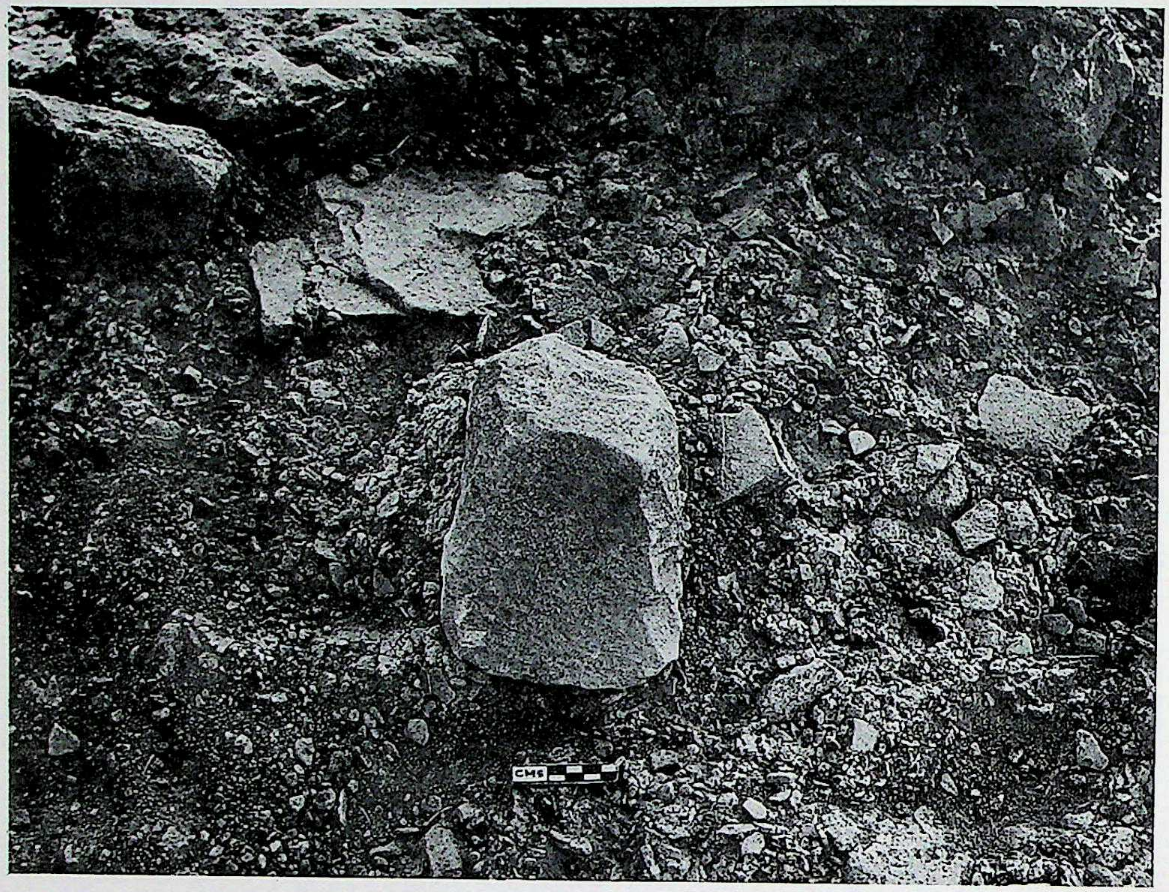
छाया-चित्र



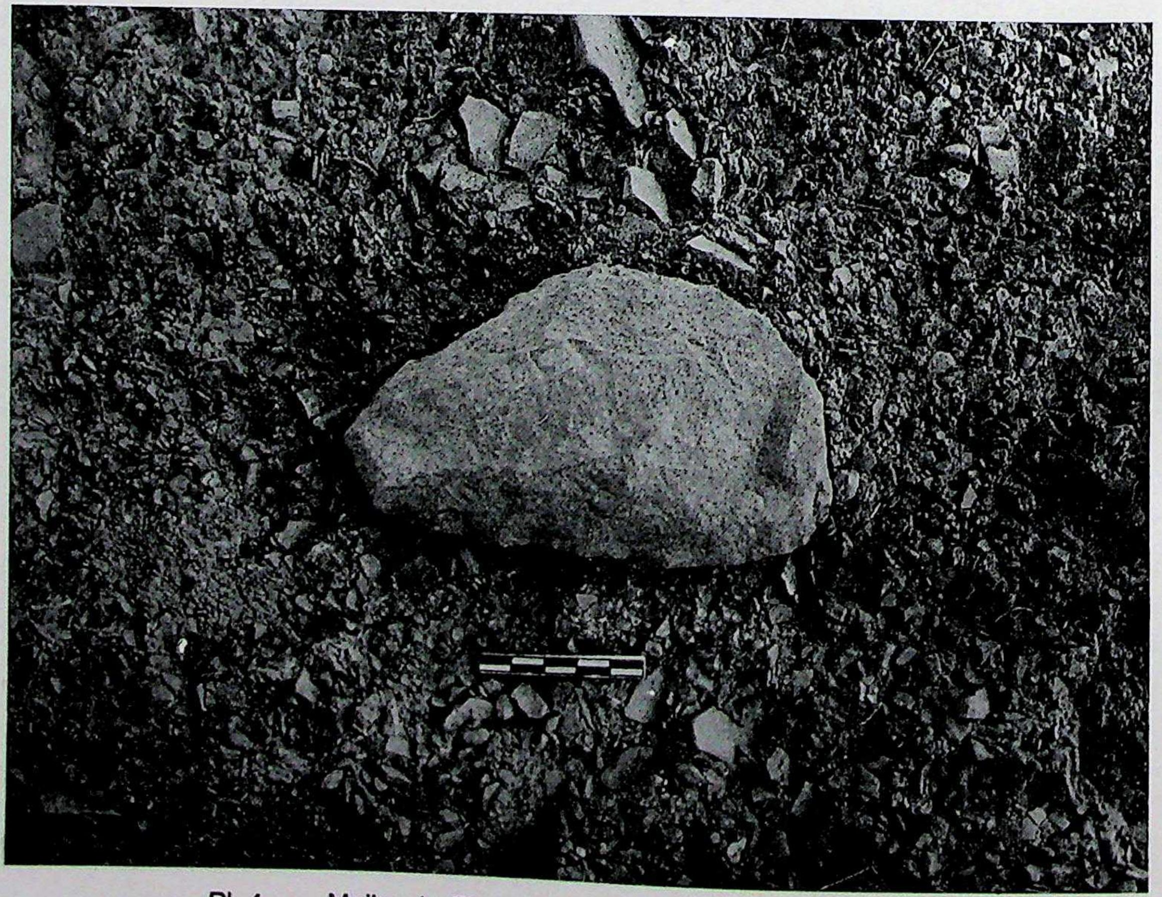
Pl. 1. General view of Maihar I before excavation, Maihar Pahari in the background. (Pal, et.al.)



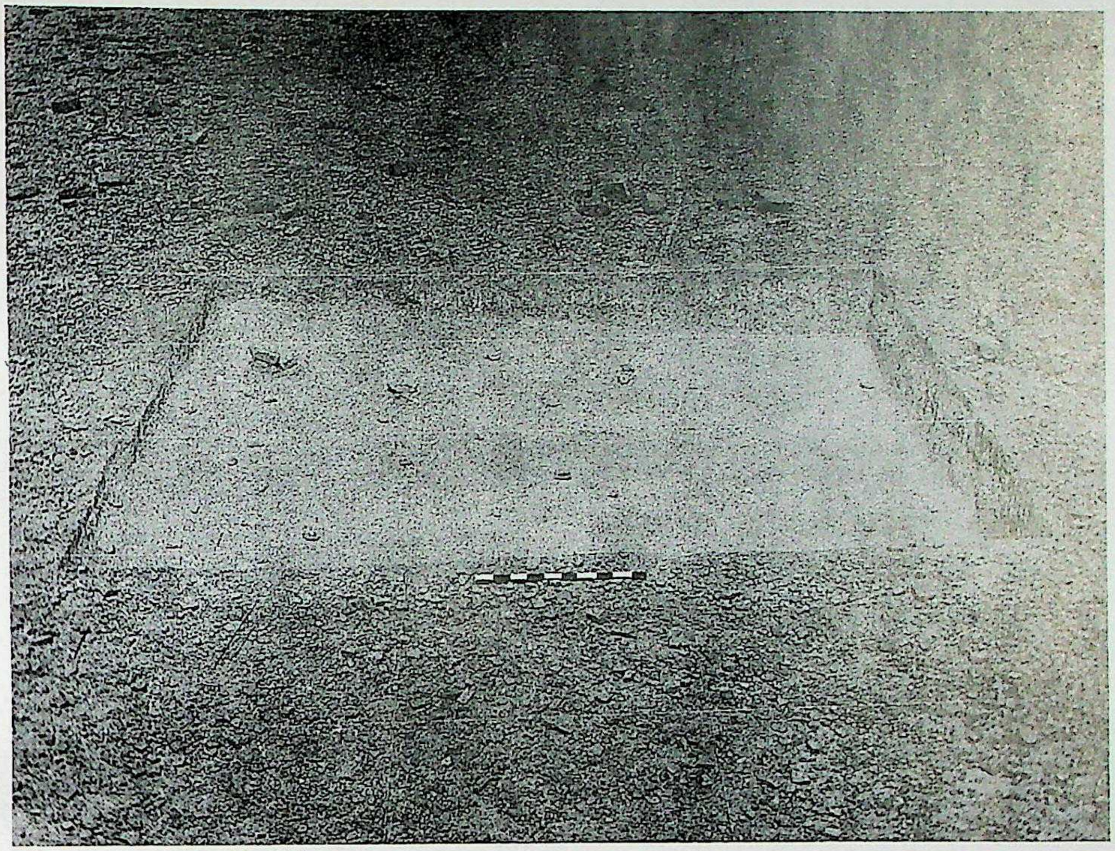
Pl. 2. Maihar I : Squares showing tool manufacturing and activity areas of Acheulian culture encircled by rubble structure. (Pal, et.al..)



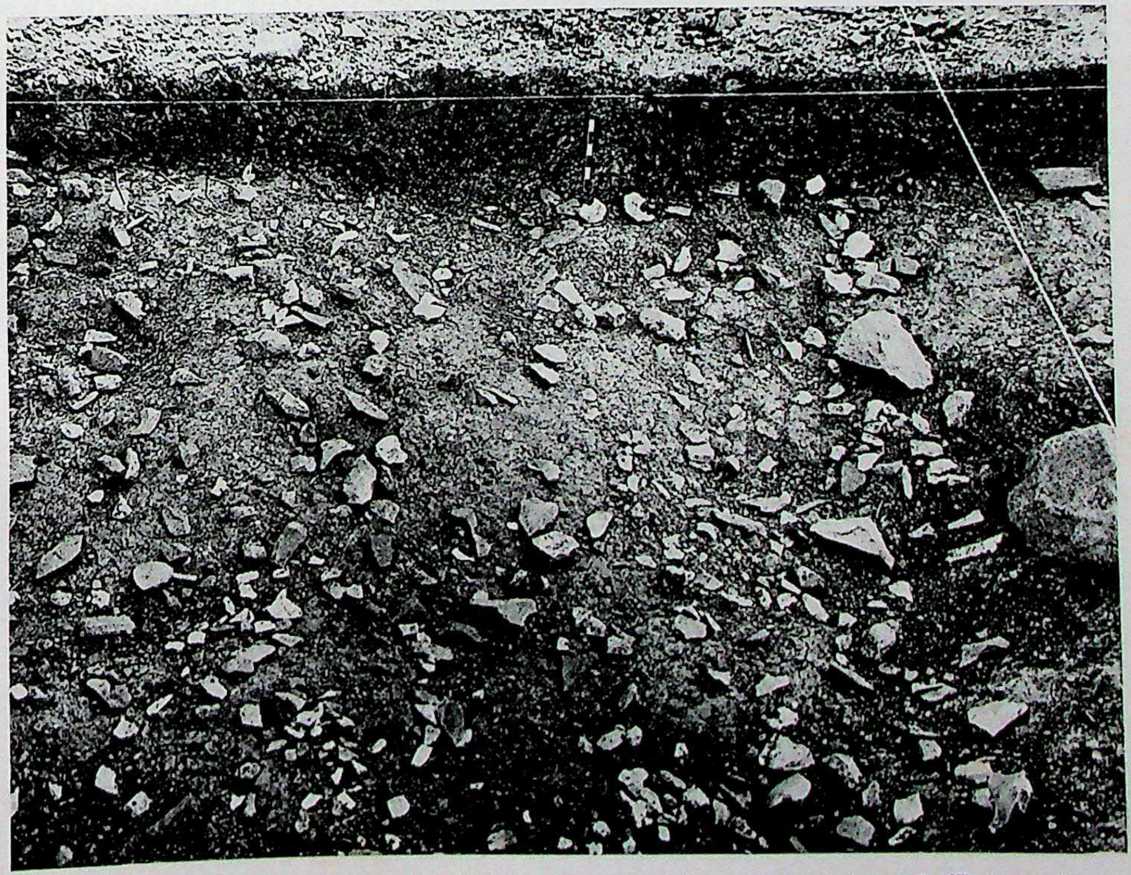
Pl. 3. Maihar I : Close up of a insiitu cleaver. (Pal, et.al.)



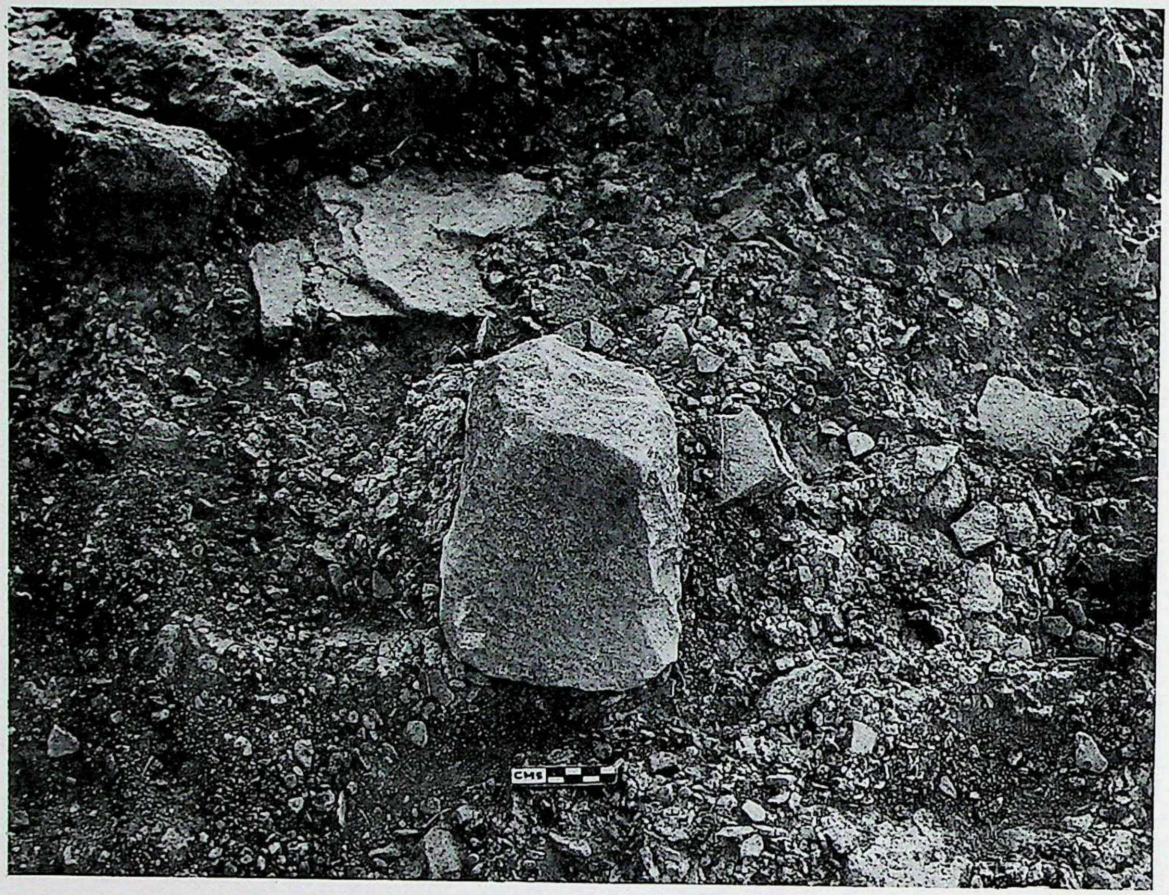
Pl. 4. Maihar I : Close up of a insitu handaxe. (Pal, et.al.)



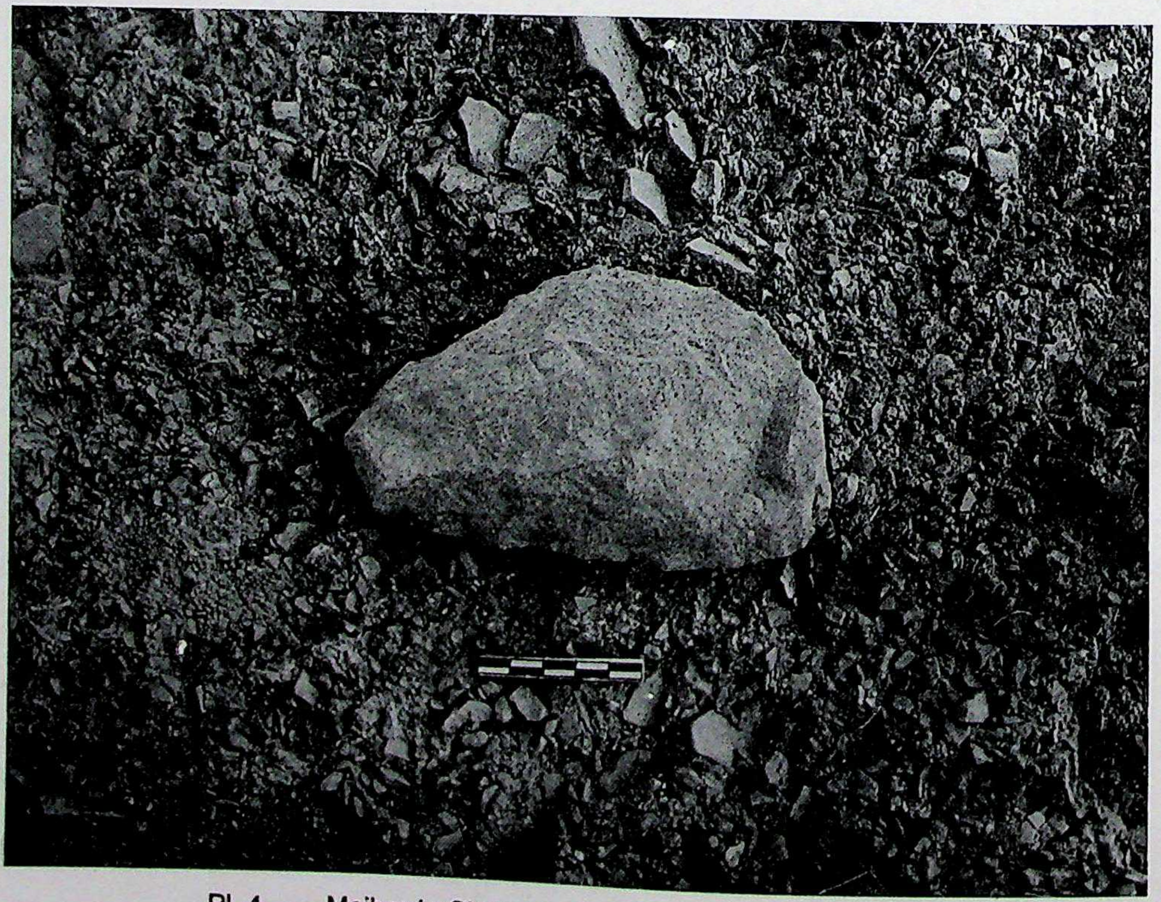
Pl. 5. Maihar III : Insitu Middle Palaeolithic artefacts in excavated area. (Pal, et.al.)



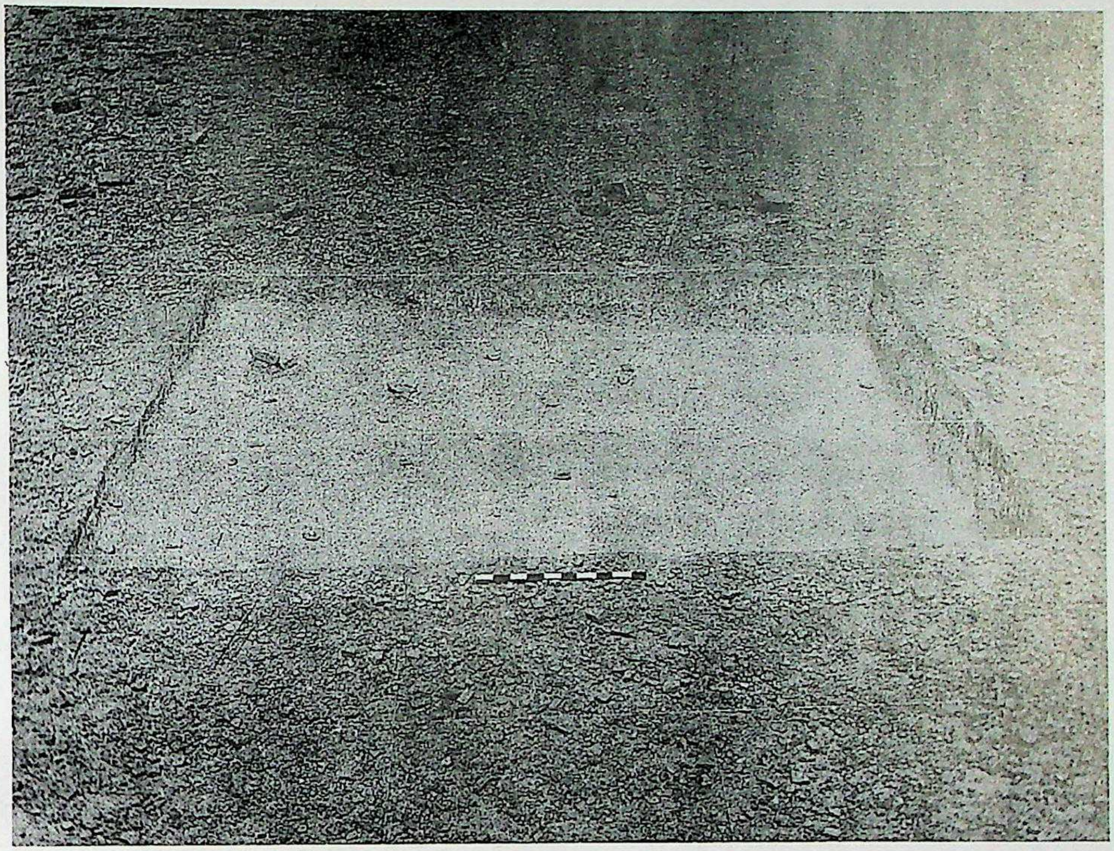
Pl. 6. Maihar IV : Distribution of Upper Palaeolithic artefacts in layer 2. (Pal, et.al.)



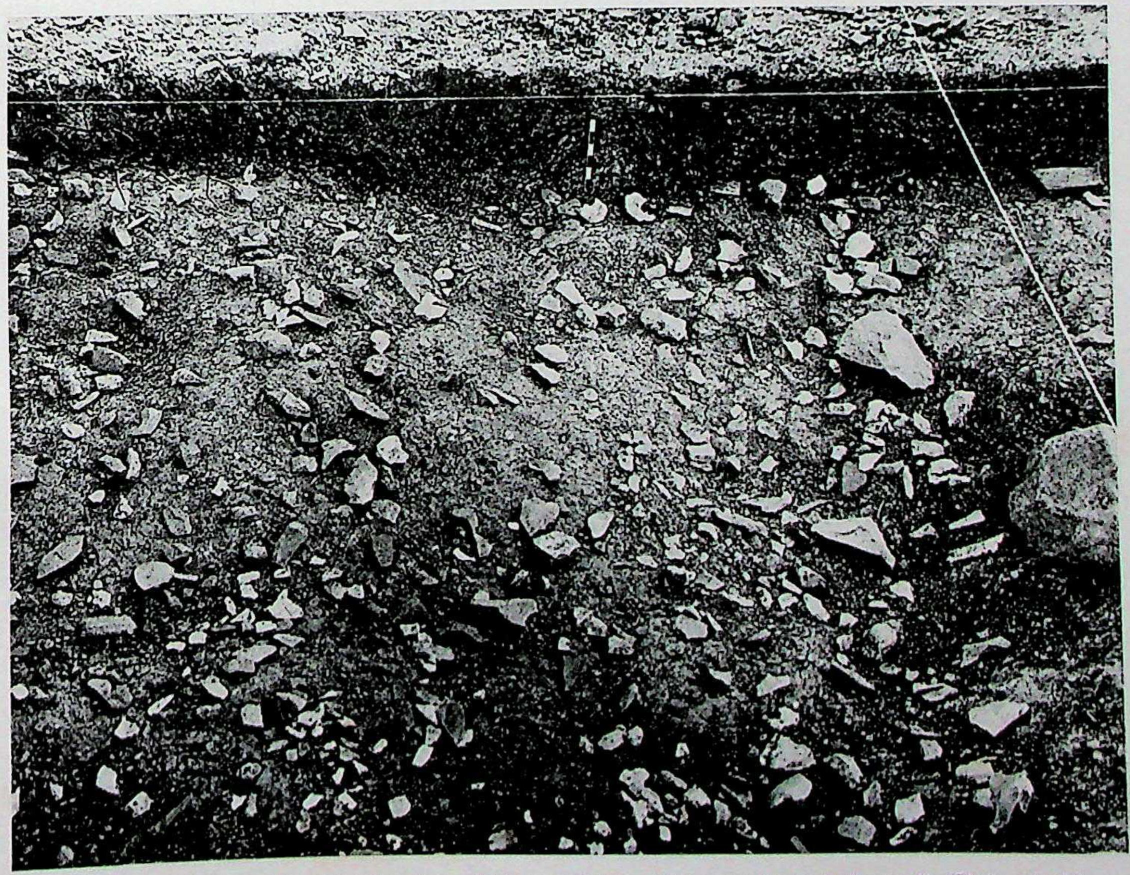
Pl. 3. Maihar I : Close up of a insiitu cleaver. (Pal, et.al.)



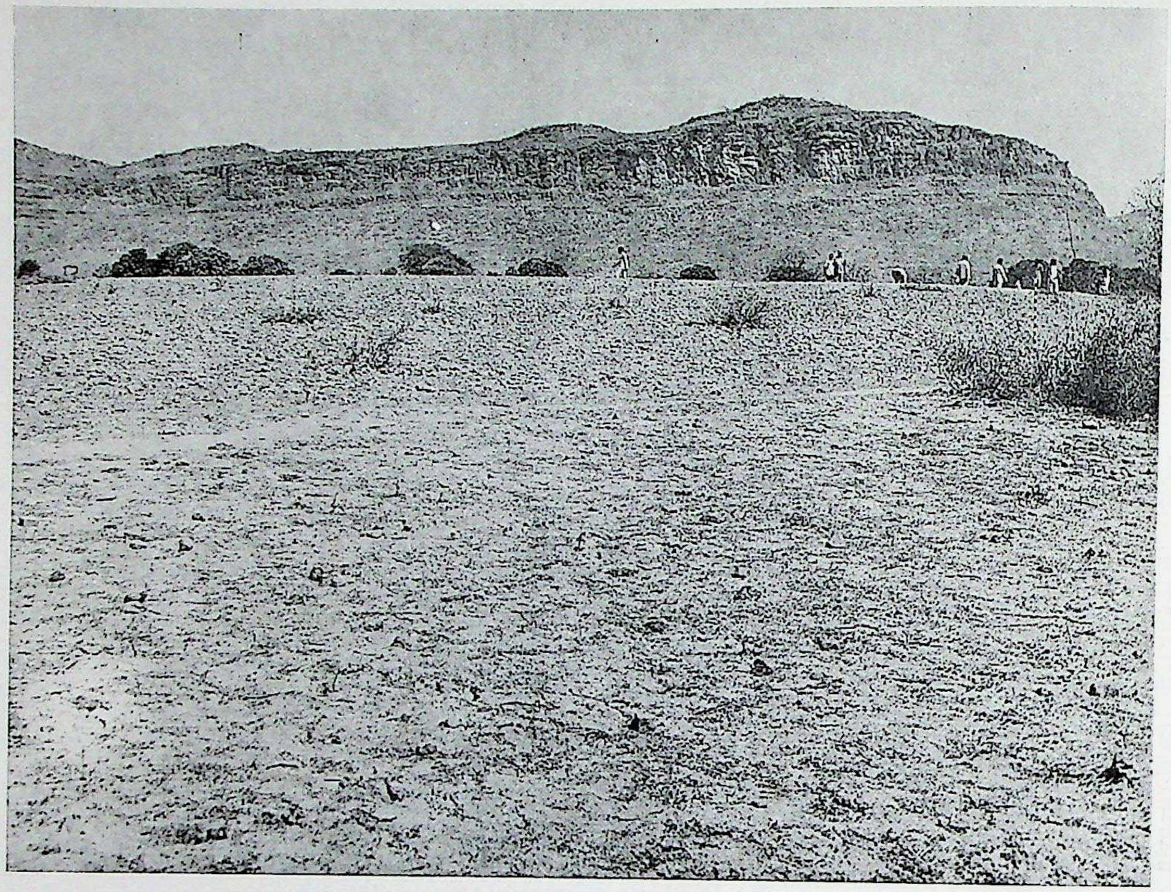
Pl. 4. Maihar I : Close up of a insitu handaxe. (Pal, et.al.)



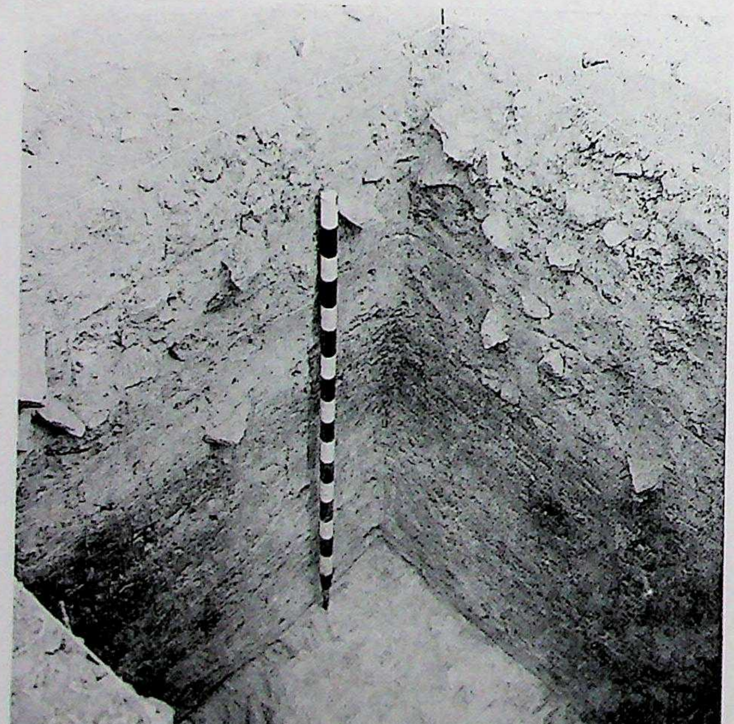
Pl. 5. Maihar III : Insitu Middle Palaeolithic artefacts in excavated area. (Pal, et.al.)



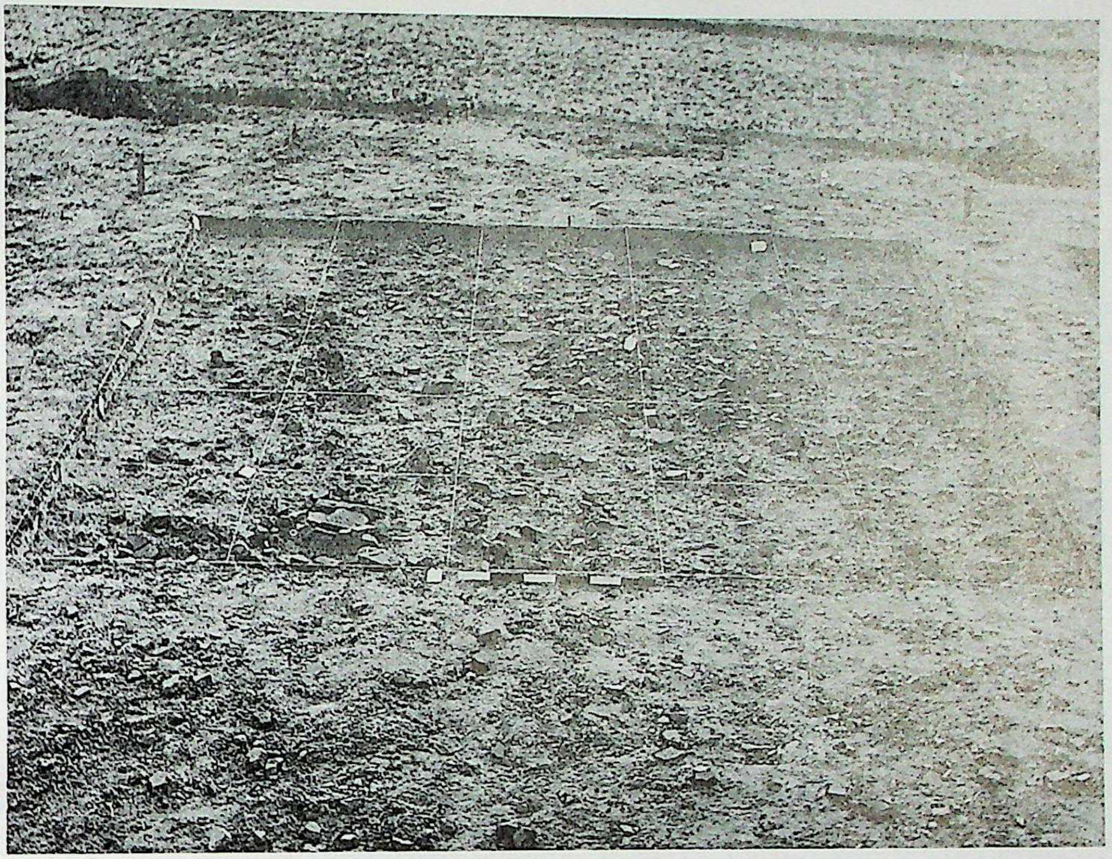
Pl. 6. Maihar IV : Distribution of Upper Palaeolithic artefacts in layer 2. (Pal, et.al.)



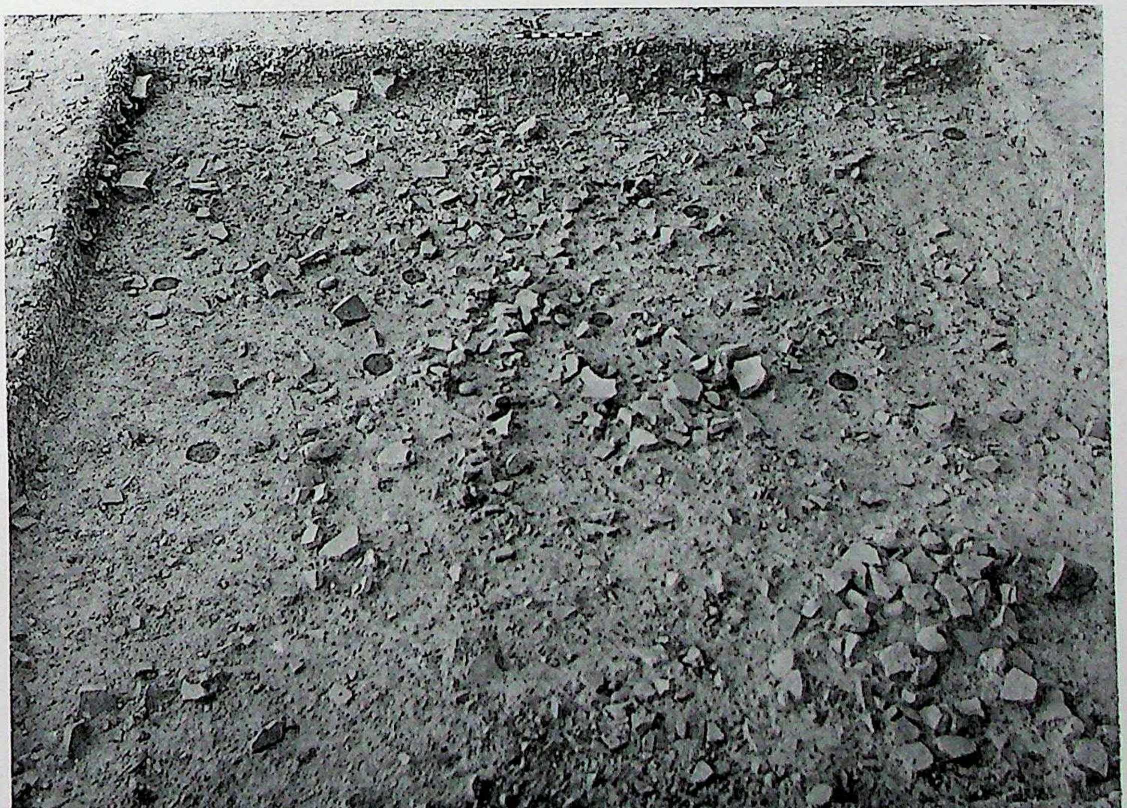
Pl. 7. Banki : General view of the site from south - east. (Misra, et.al.)



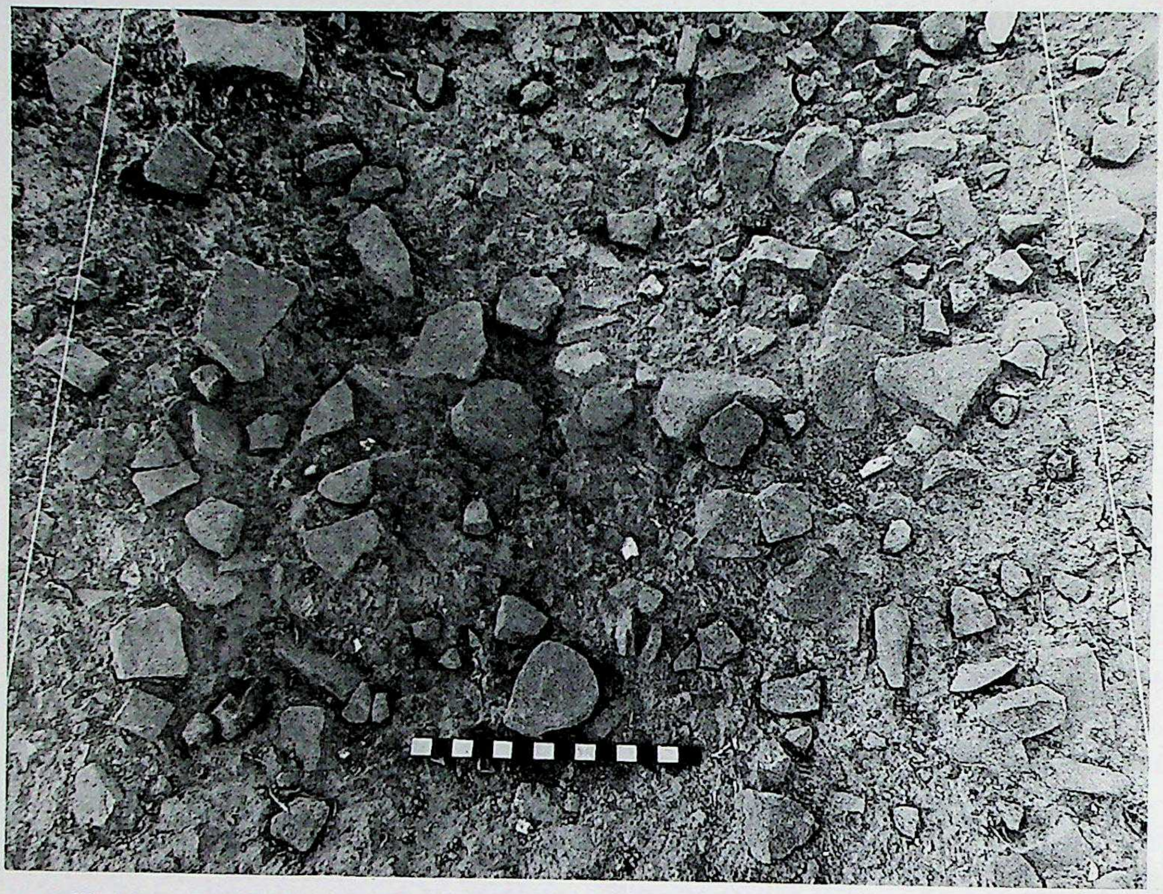
Pl. 8. Banki : Test trench sections viewed from the south - eastern corner. (Misra, et.al.)



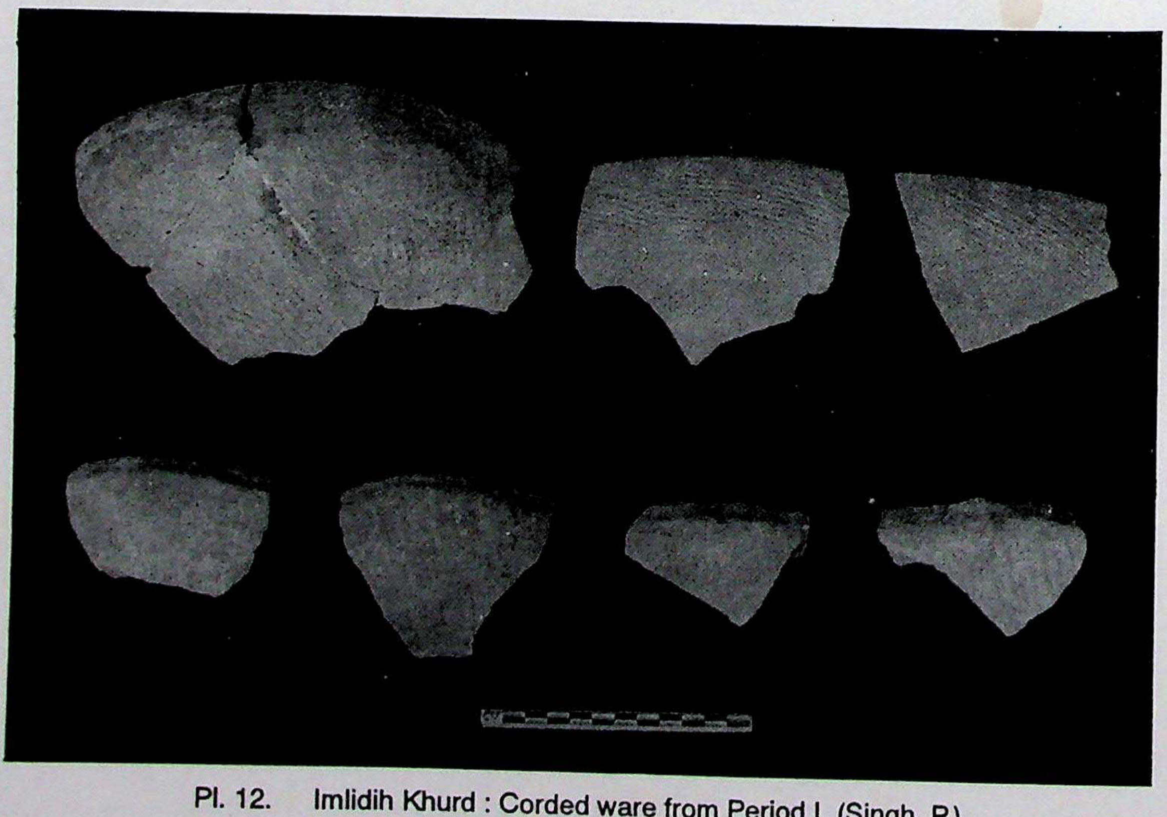
Pl. 9. Banki : General view of the occupation floor 2A in the main grid. (Misra, et.al.)



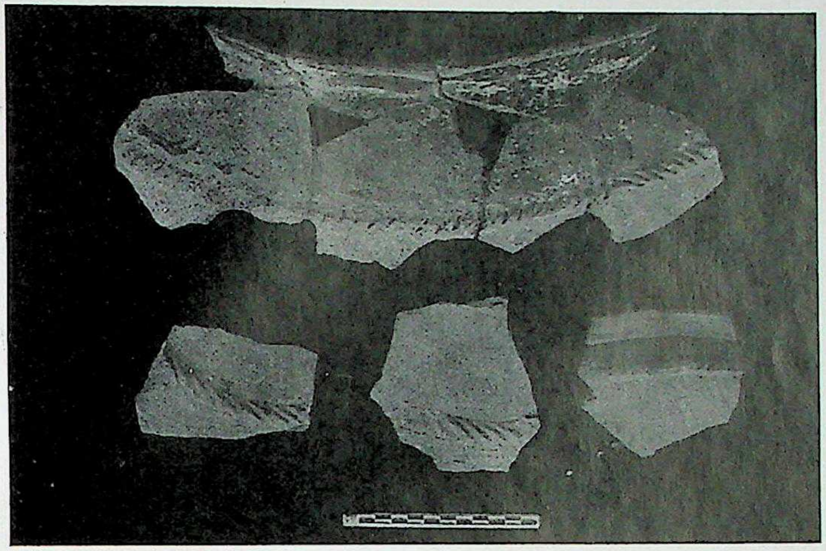
Pl. 10. Banki : Occupation floor 2B showing post holes. (Misra, et. al.)



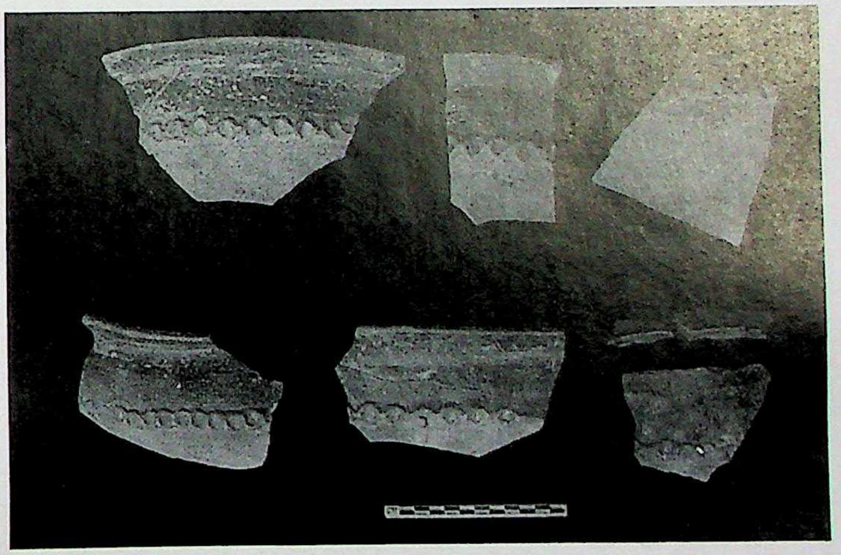
Pl. 11. Banki : Close up view of artefact/rubble scatters on occupation floor 2B. (Misra, et. al.)



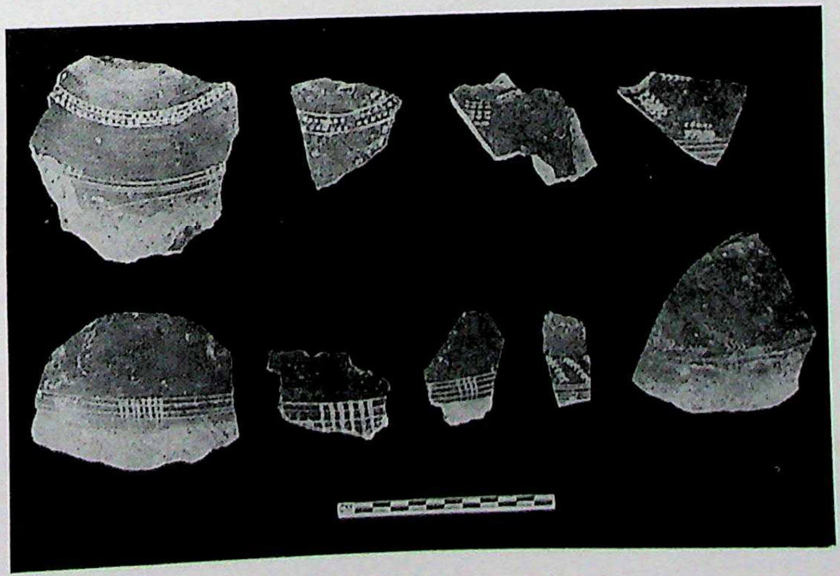
Pl. 12. Imlidih Khurd : Corded ware from Period I. (Singh, P.)



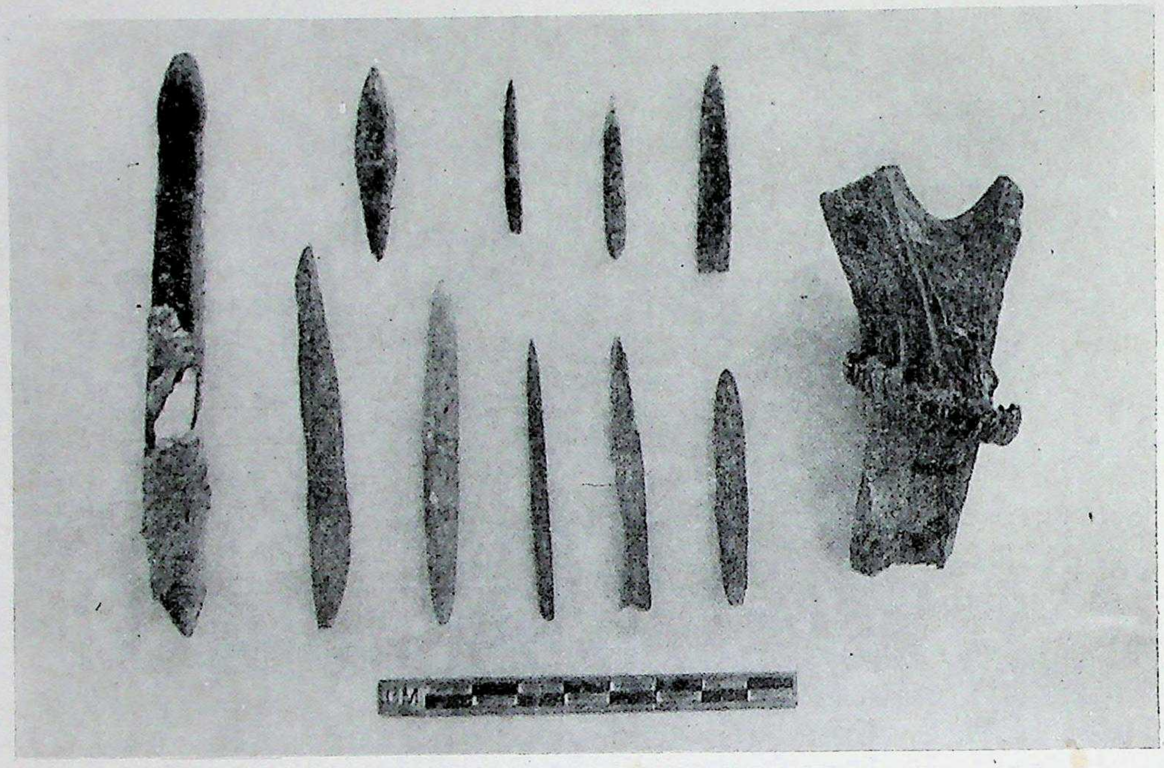
Pl. 13. Imlidih Khurd : Corded ware with applique designs from Period I. (Singh, P.)



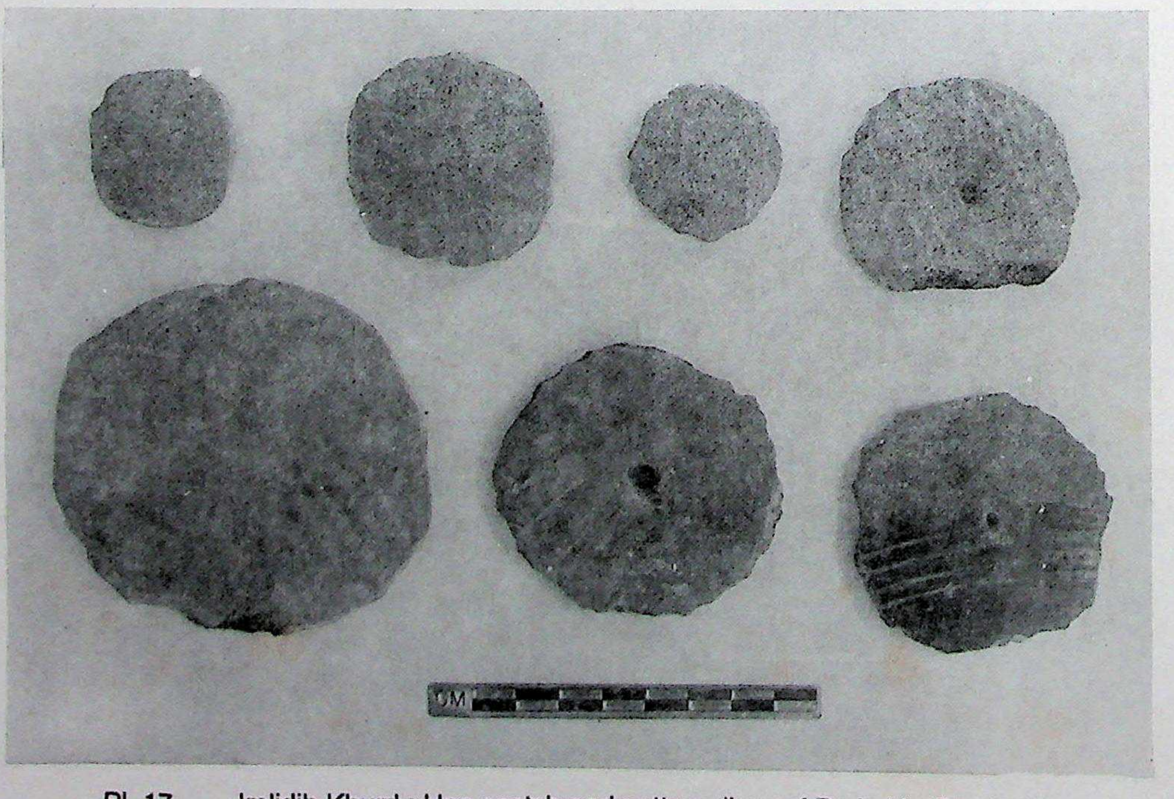
Pl. 14. Imlidih Khurd : Corded ware with applique designs from Period I. (Singh, P.)



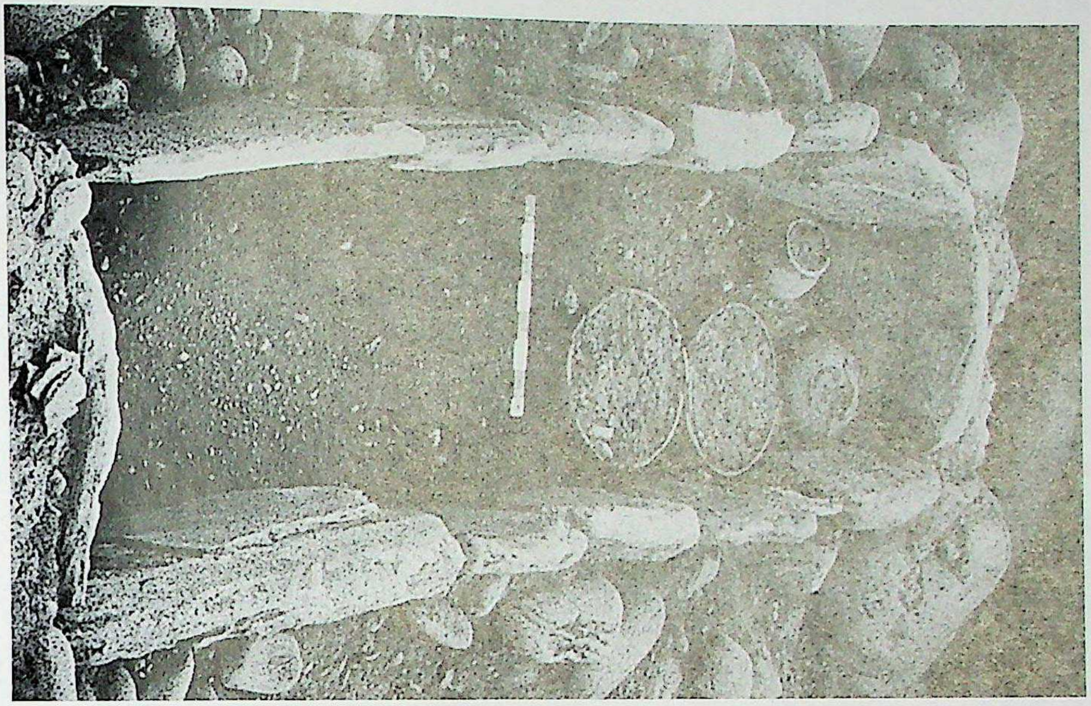
Pl. 15. Imlidih Khurd : Painted sherds from Period I. (Singh, P.)



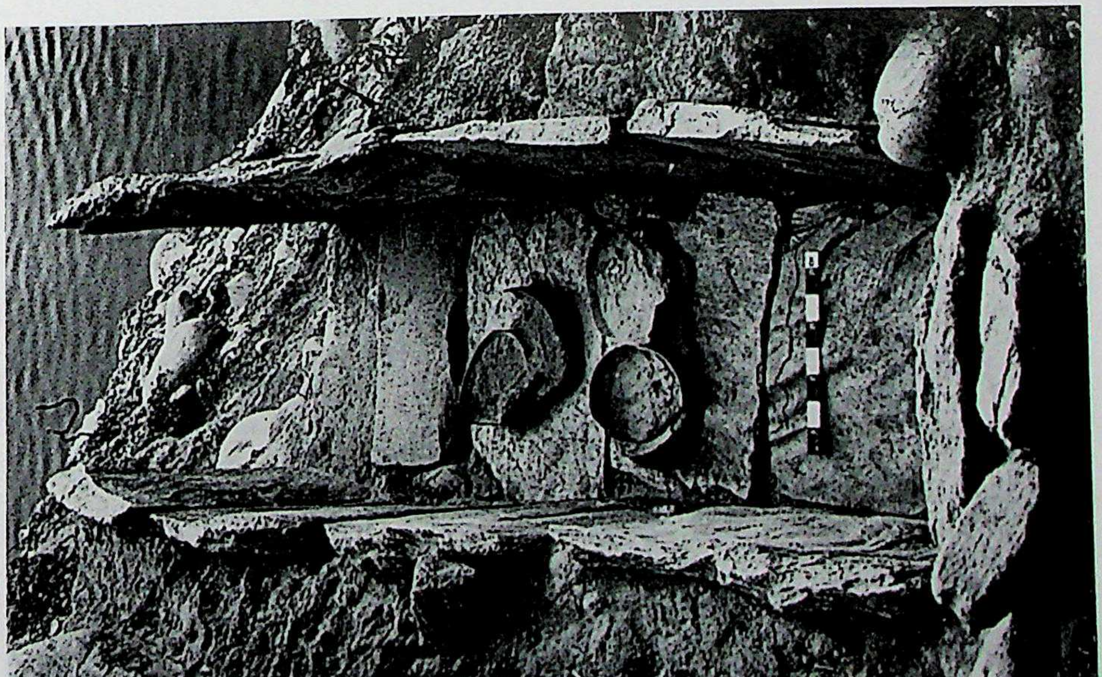
Pl. 16. Imlidih Khurd : Bone points and antler, Period I. (Singh, P.)



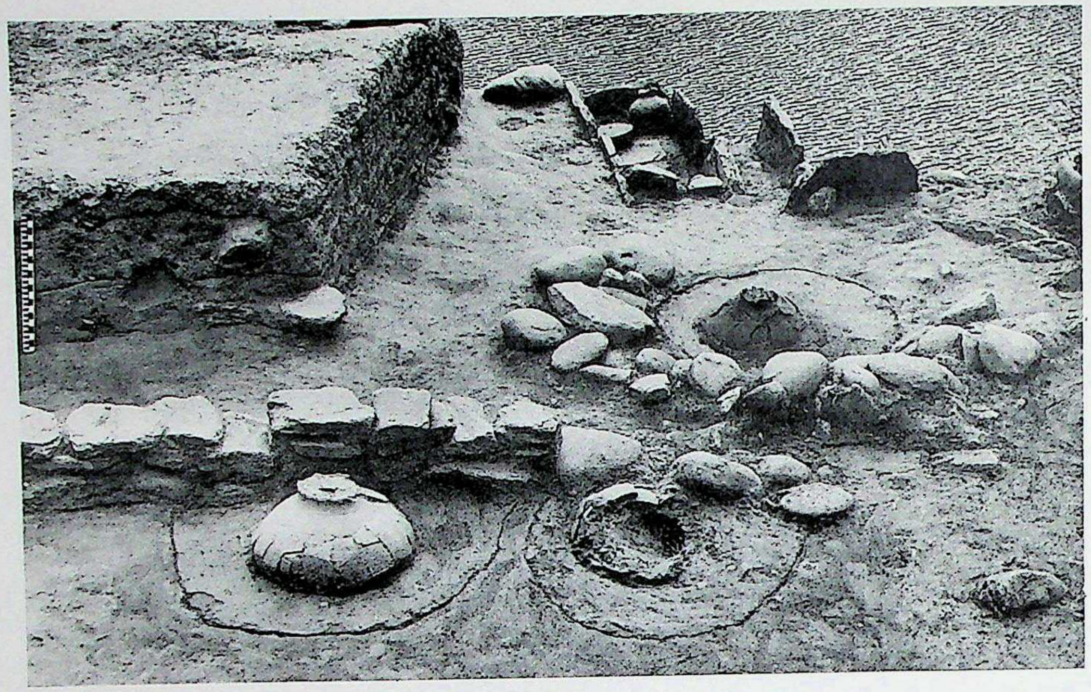
Pl. 17. Imlidih Khurd : Hop scotch and pottery discs of Period I. (Singh. P.)



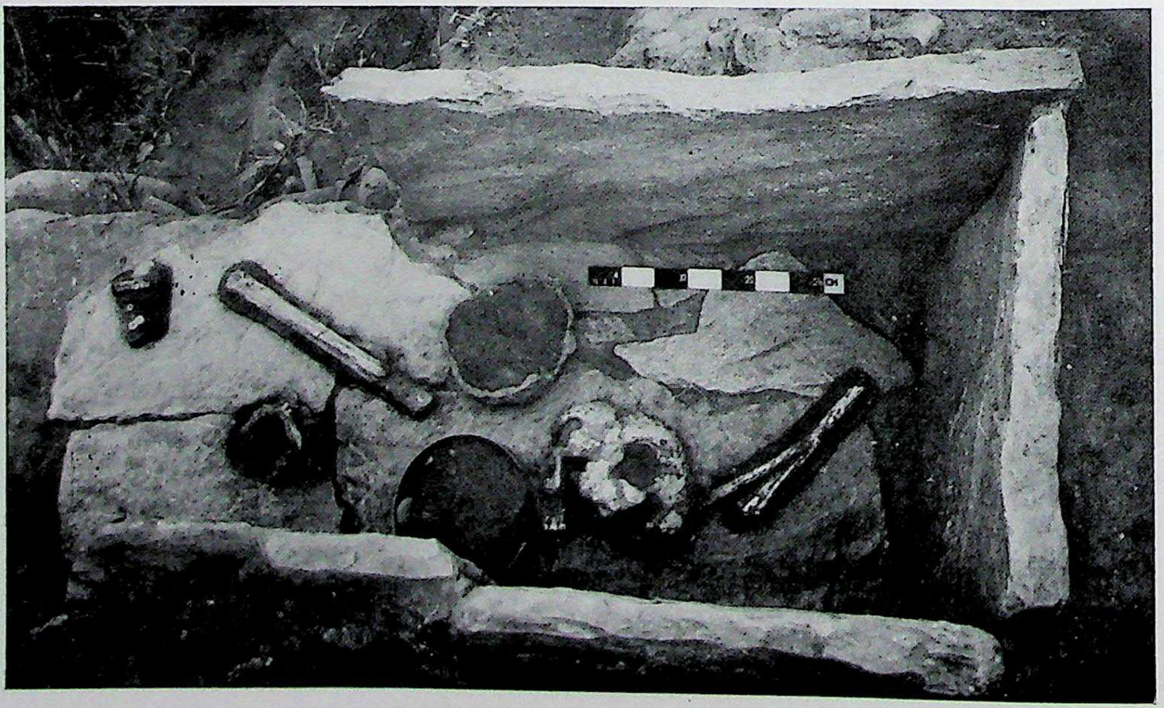
फलक 18.   पाषाण शव पेटिका, सनणा, अल्मोड़ा (नौटियाल, एवं अन्य)



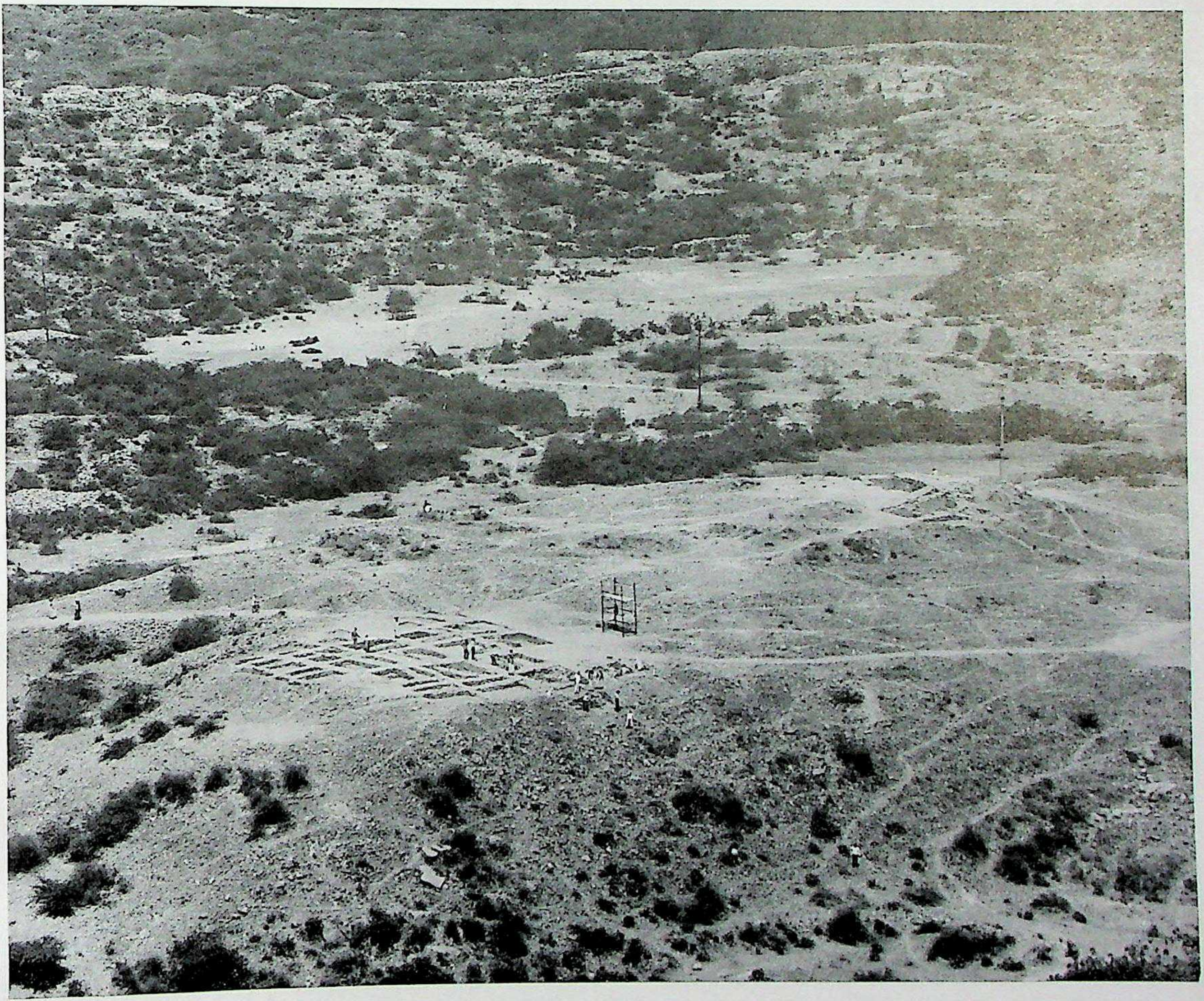
फलक 19.   पाषाण शव पेटिका, बसेड़ी, अल्मोड़ा (नौटियाल, एवं अन्य)



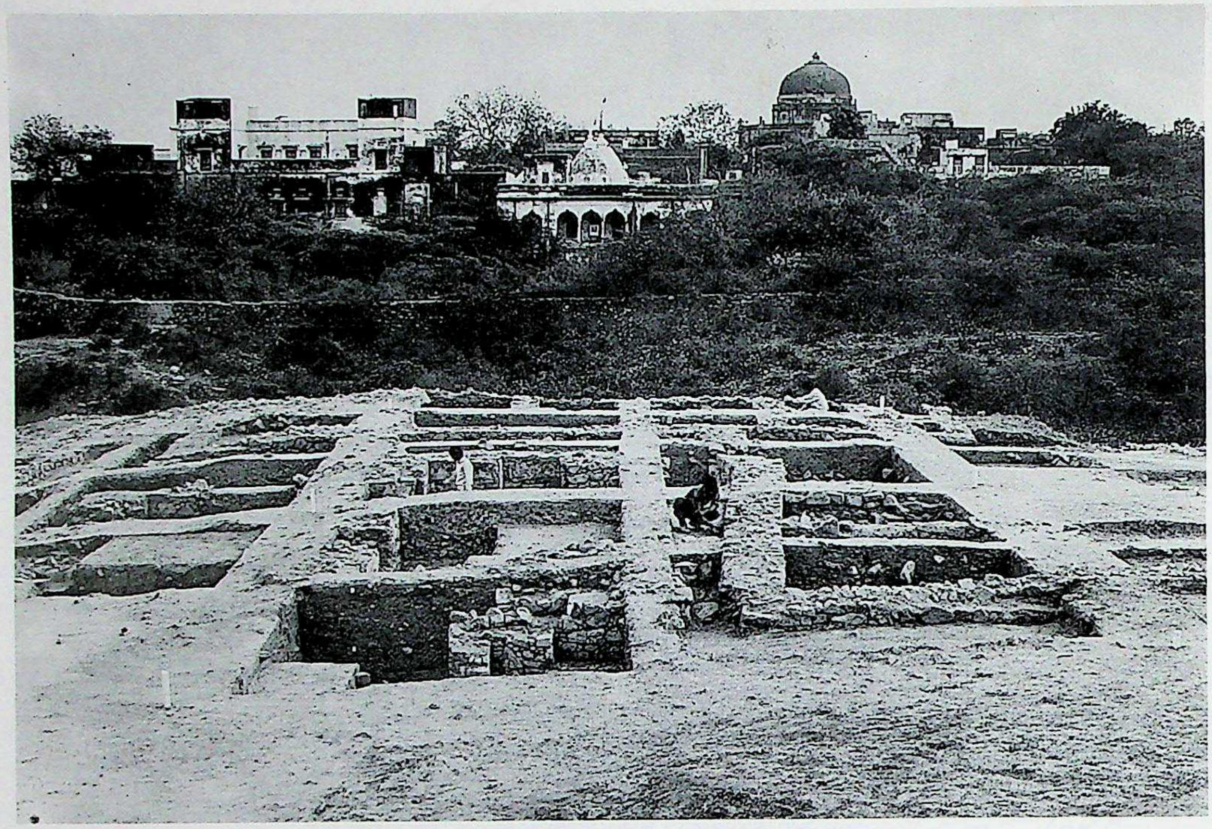
फलक 20.. पात्र शवागार, बसेड़ी, अल्मोड़ा (नौटियाल, एवं अन्य)



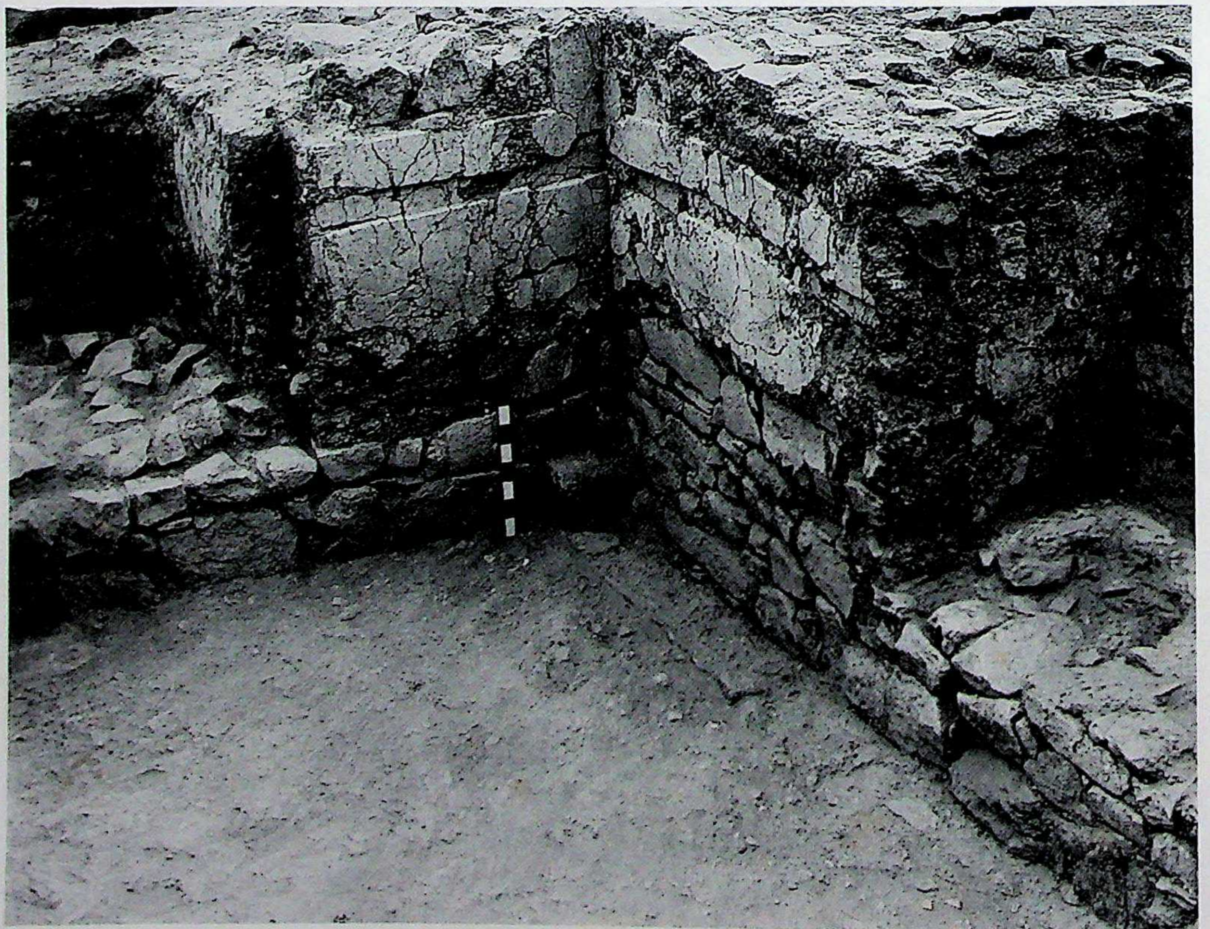
फलक 21. पाषाण शव पेटिका (अस्थि अवशेष सहित), बसेड़ी, अल्मोड़ा (नौटियाल, एवं अन्य)



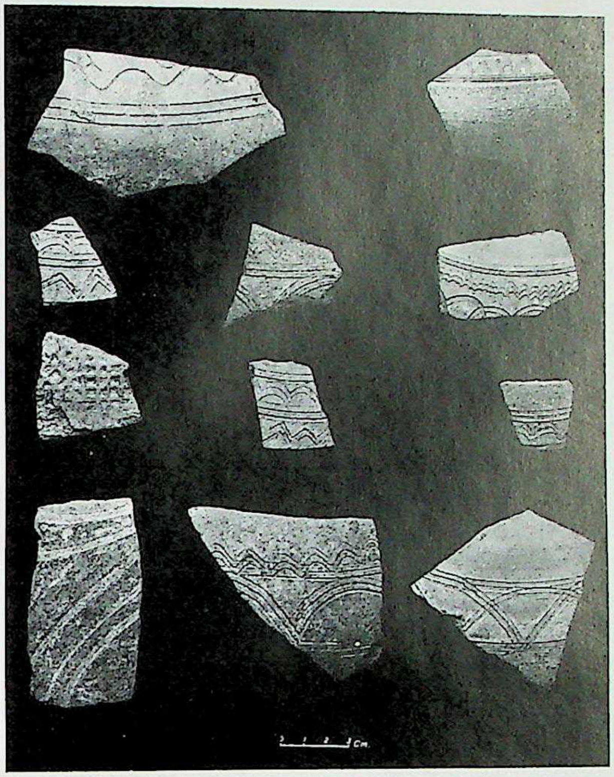
Pl. 22. General view of Lal Kot with excavated trenches in the foreground and wall of the fort in the background. (Mani, B.R.)



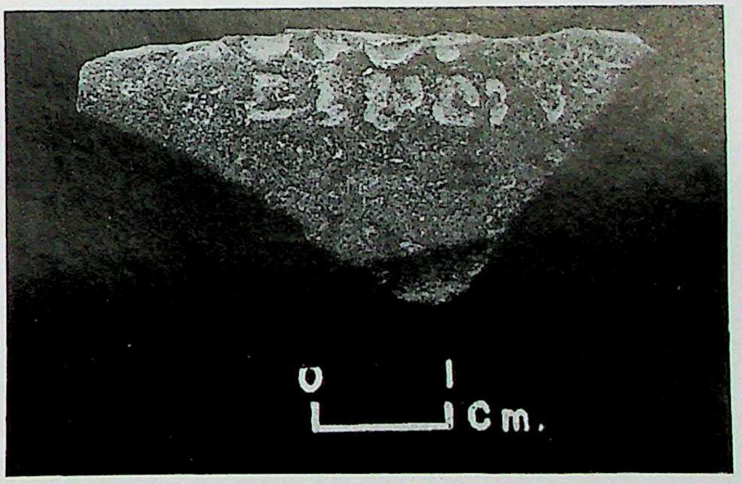
Pl. 23. Lal Kot : General view of excavations. (Mani, B.R.)



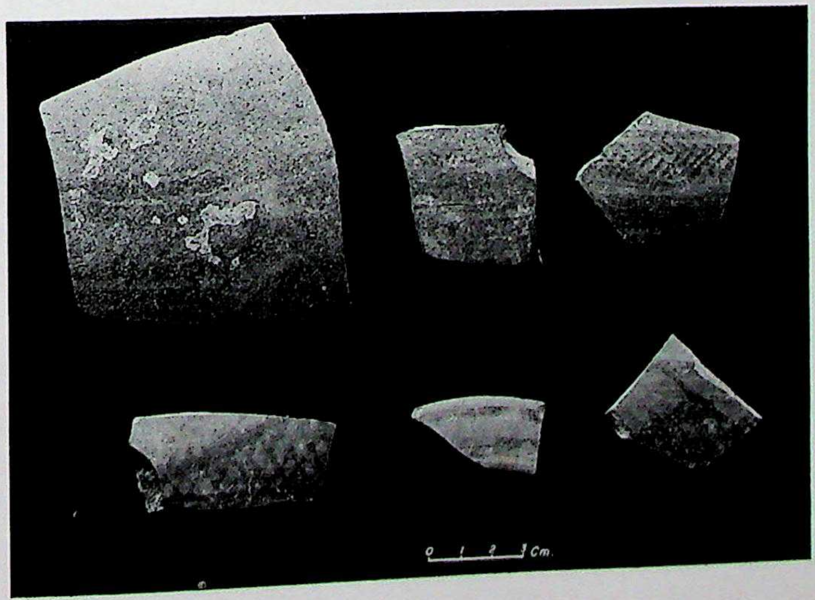
Pl. 24. Lal Kot : Lime plastered walls of Phase II of Sultanate period. (Mani, B.R.)



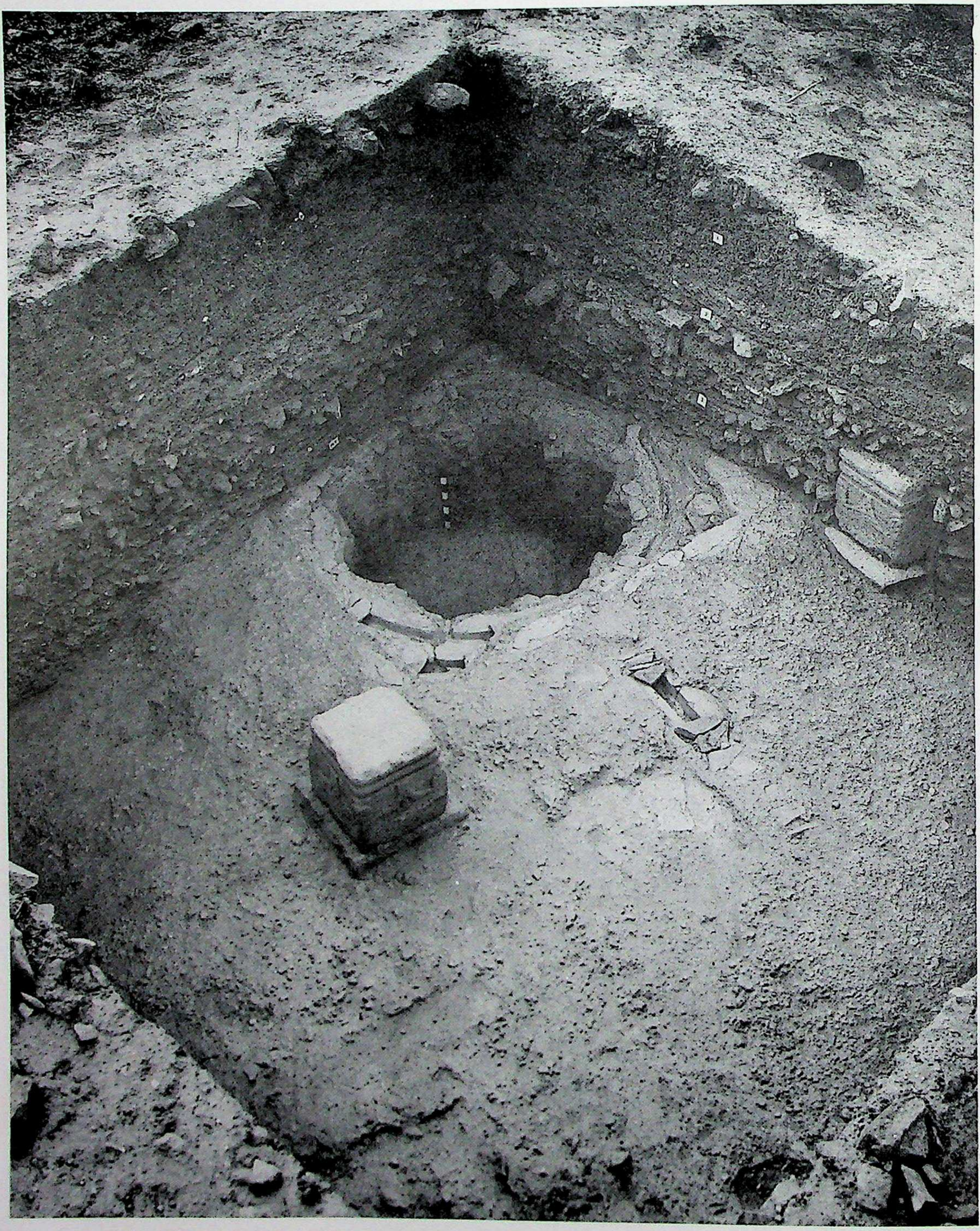
Pl. 25. Lal Kot : Incised potsherds of Rajput period. (Mani, B.R.)



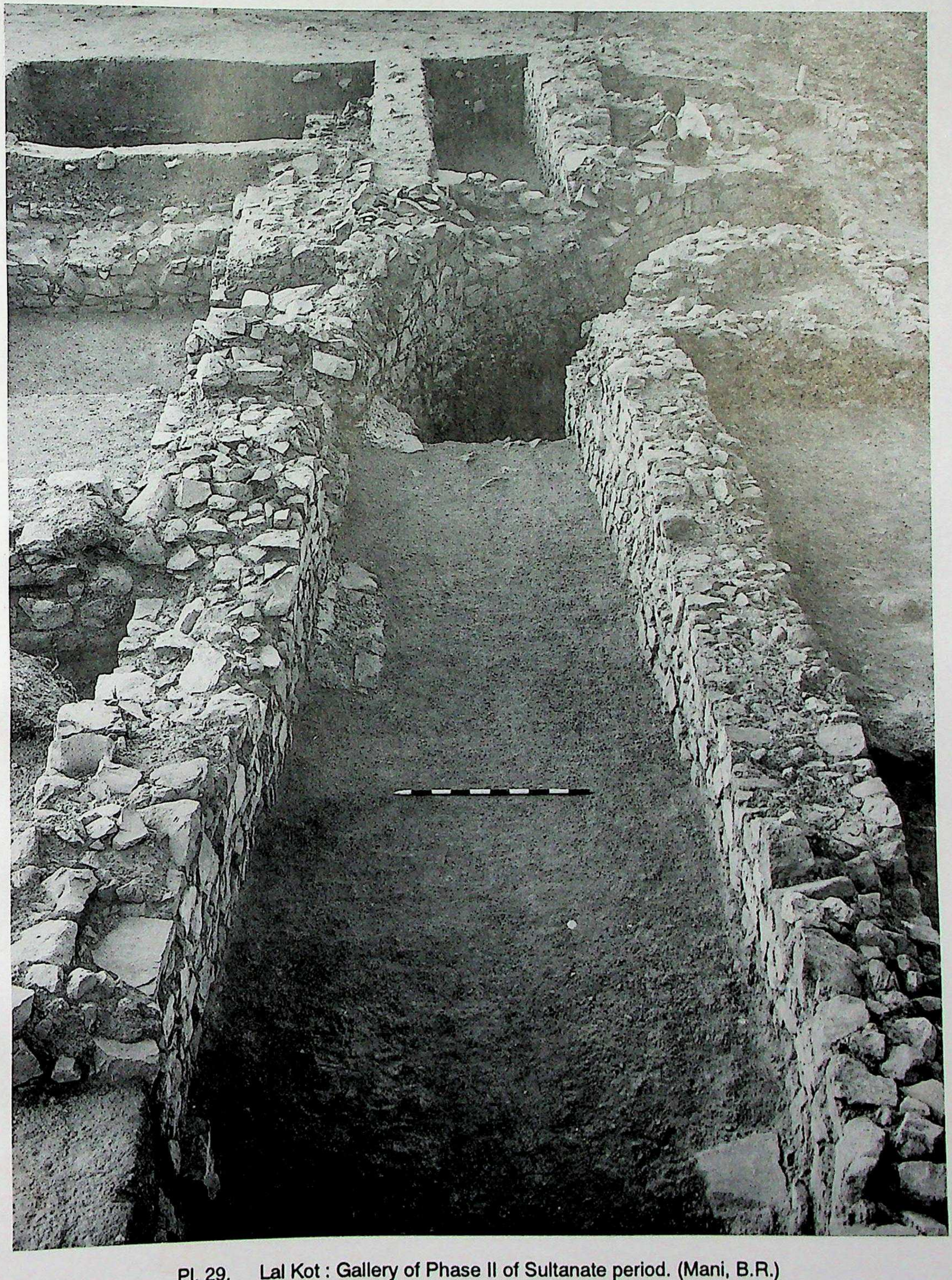
Pl. 26. Lal Kot : Inscribed potsherd, c. 400 A.D. (Mani, B.R.)



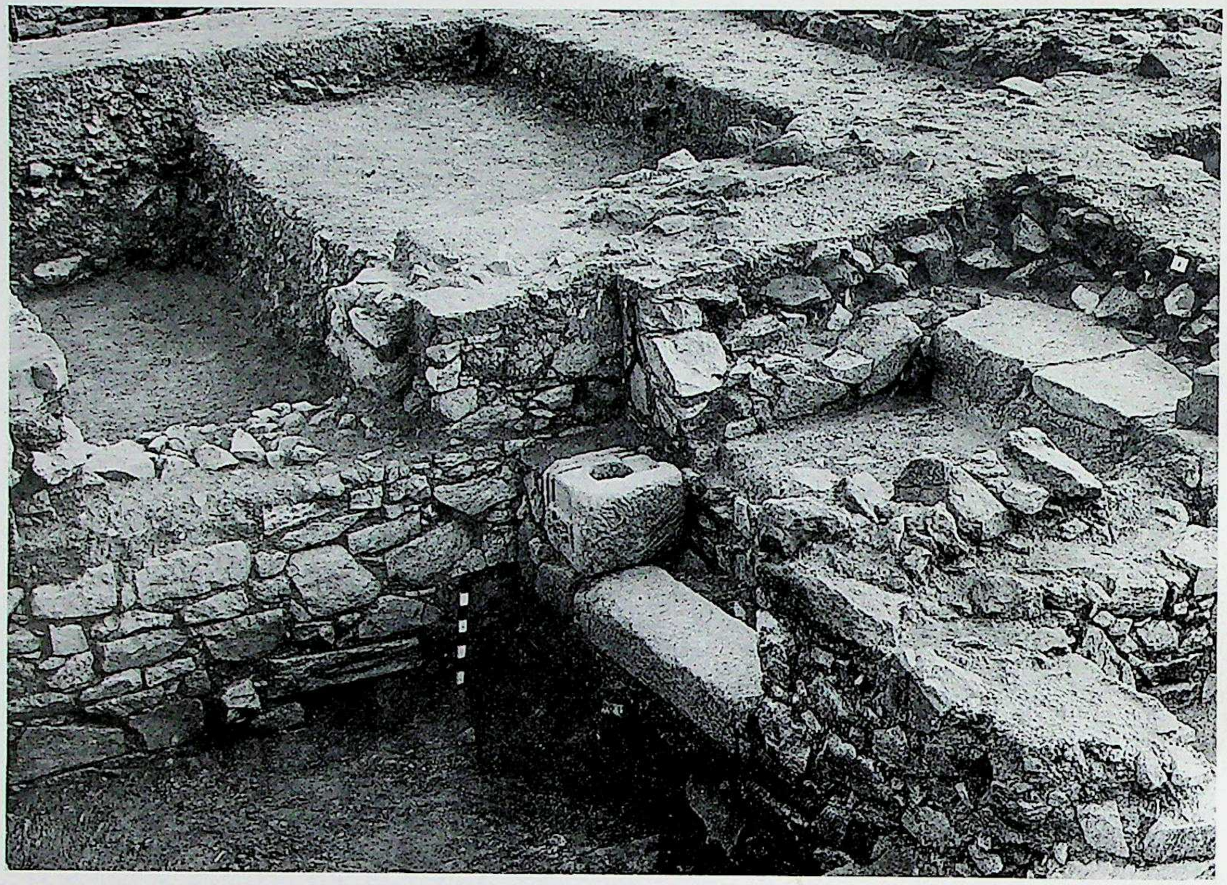
Pl. 27. Lal Kot : Painted potsherds of Rajput period. (Mani, B.R.)



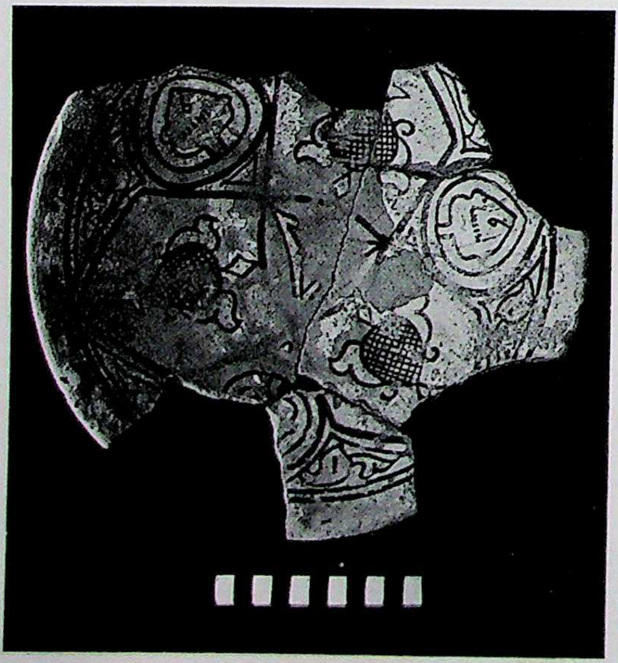
Pl. 28. Lotus shaped water cistern of Phase I of Sultanate period. (Mani, B.R.)



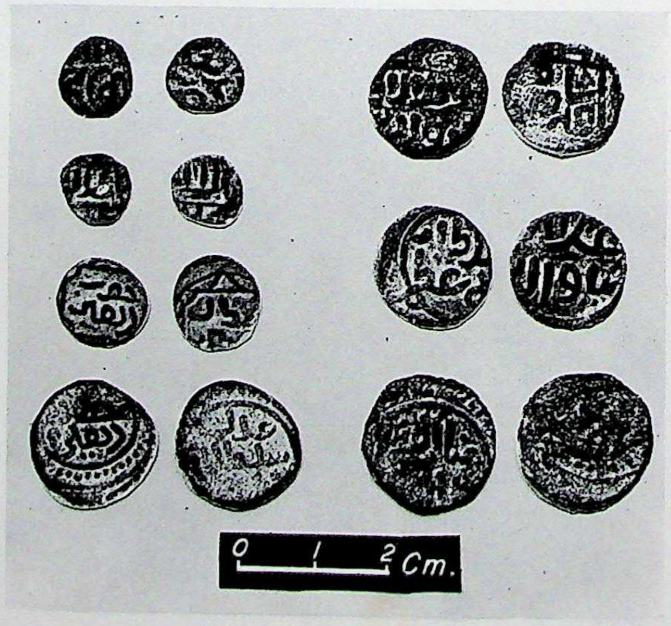
Pl. 29. Lal Kot : Gallery of Phase II of Sultanate period. (Mani, B.R.)



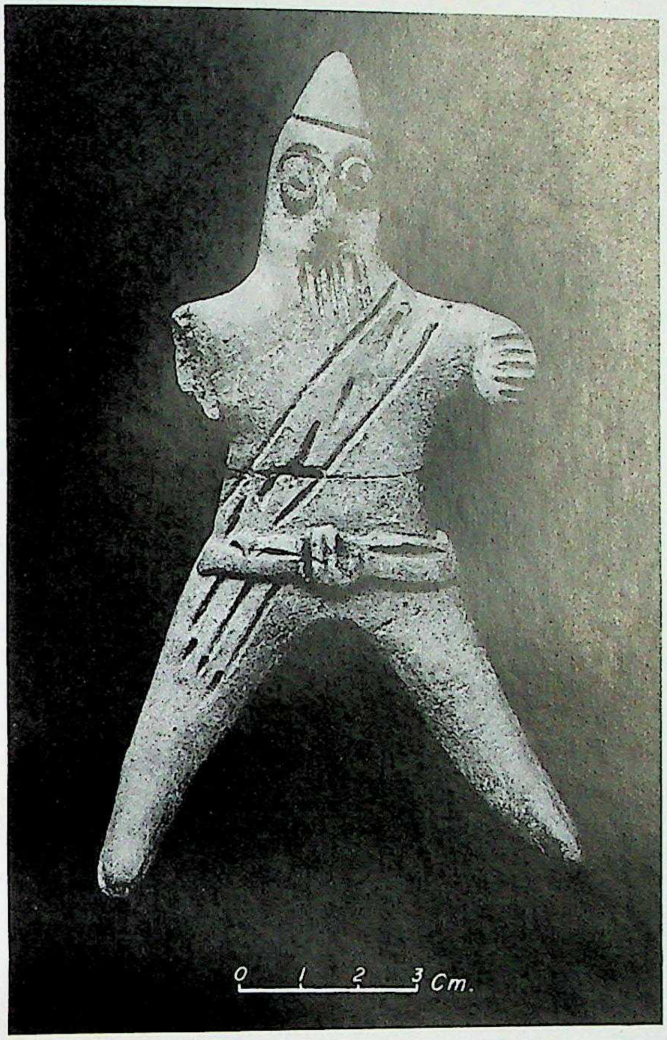
Pl. 30. Lal Kot : Staircase of Phase II of Sultanate period. (Mani, B.R.)



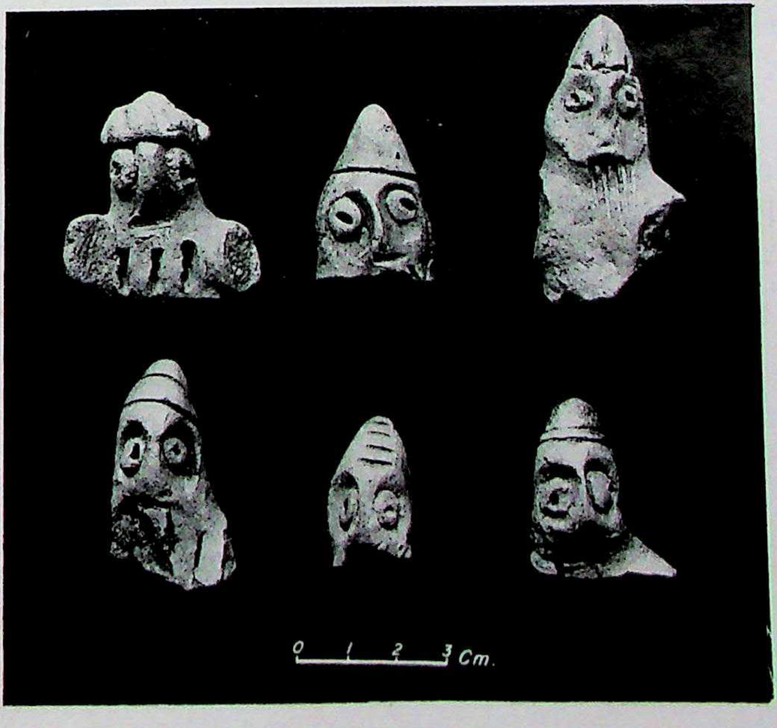
Pl. 31. Lal Kot : Glazed dish of Sultanate period. (Mani, B.R.)



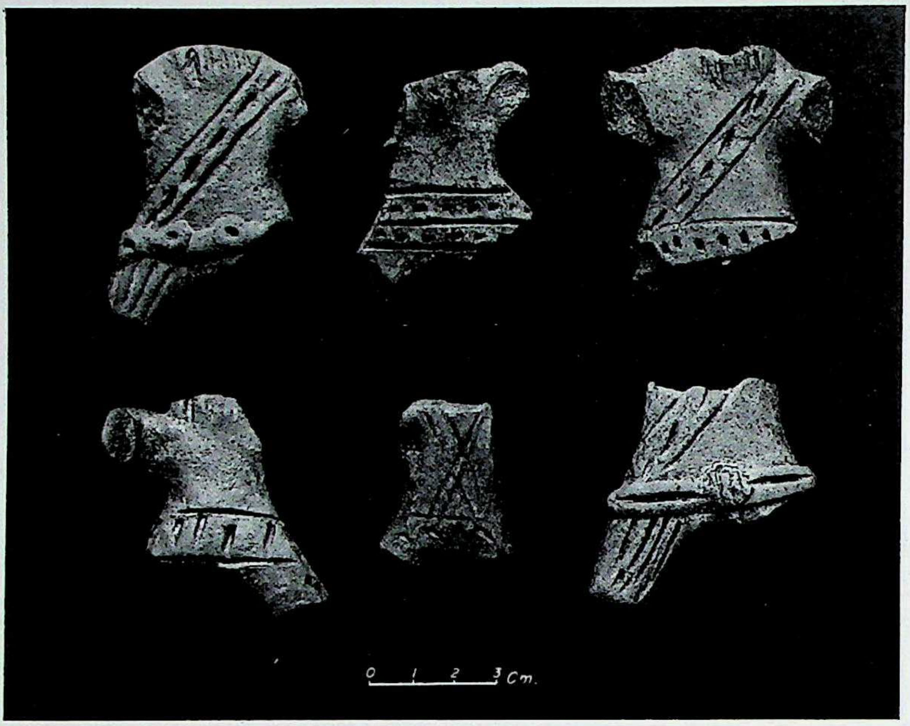
Pl. 32. Lal Kot : Coins of Muhammad Ghori, Iltutmish, Jalaluddin Khalji, Alanddin Khalji and a Tughlaq ruler. (Mani. B.R)



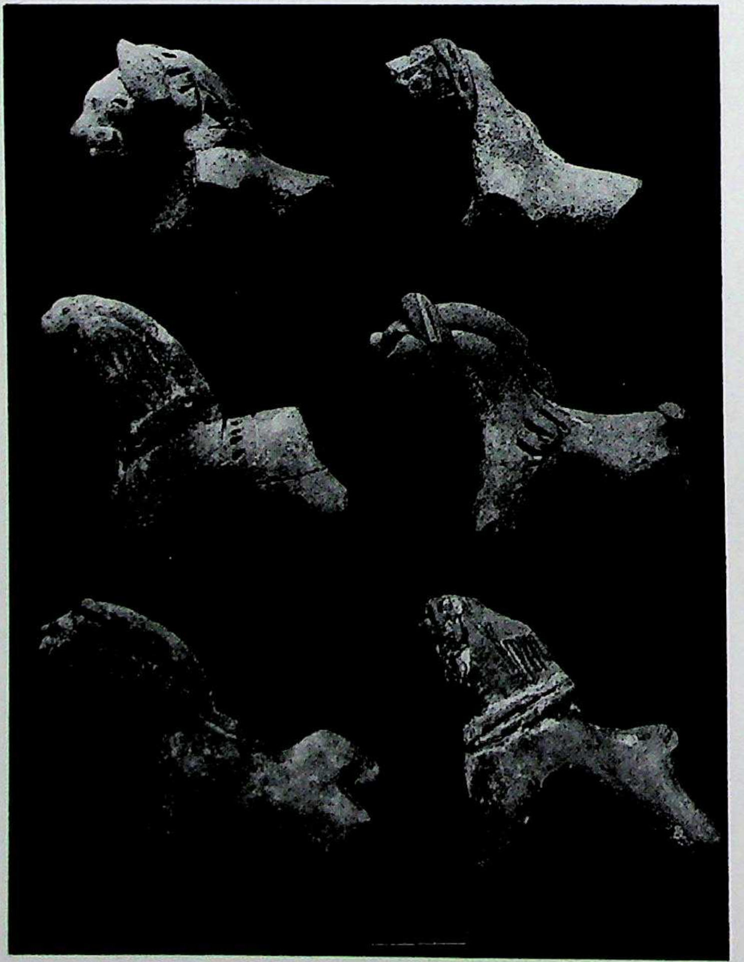
Pl. 33. Lal Kot : Terracotta human figurine.
(Mani, B.R.)



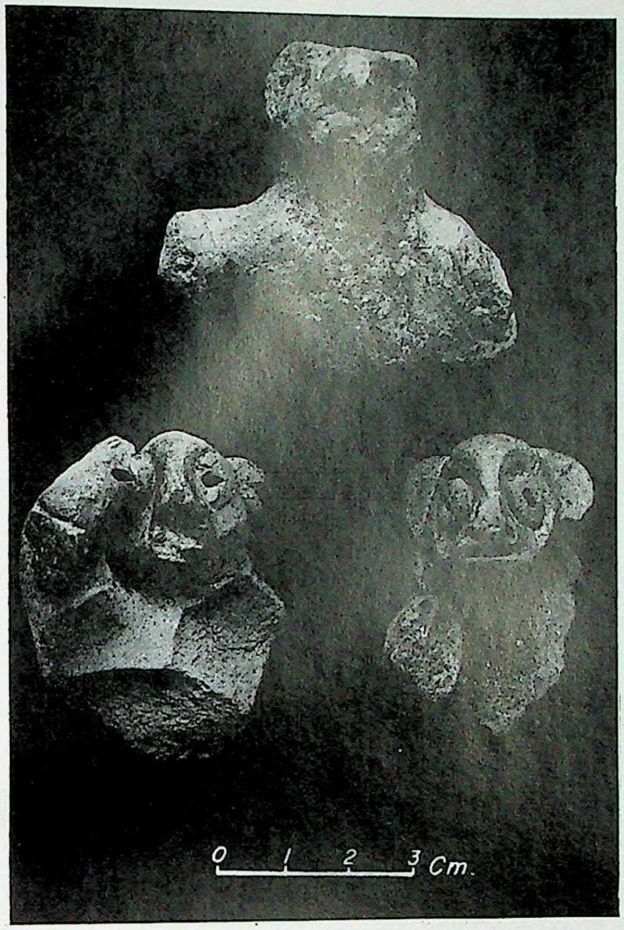
Pl. 34. Lal Kot : Terracotta human heads.
(Mani, B.R.)



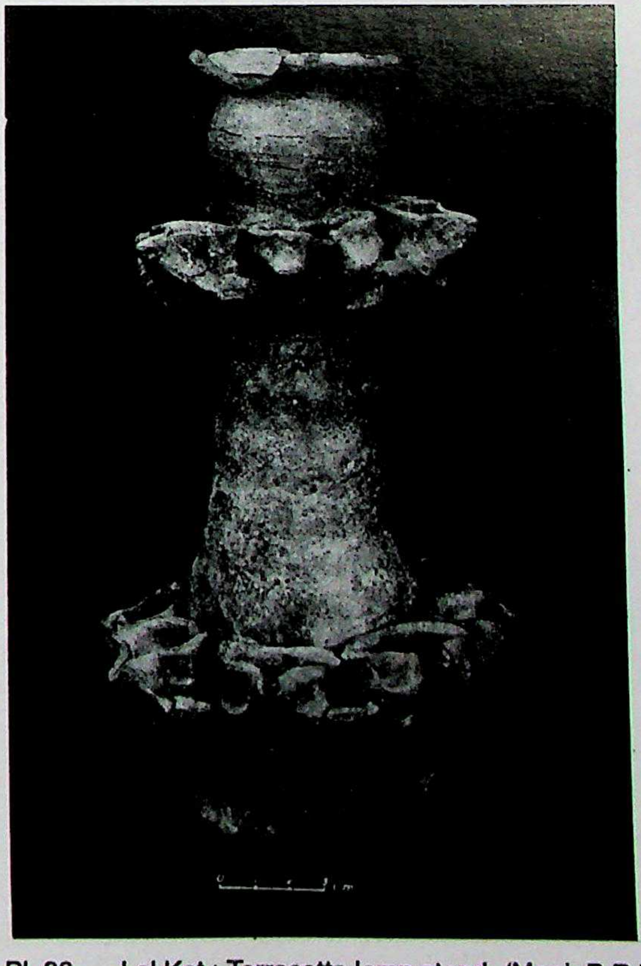
Pl. 35. Lal Kot : Terracotta human figurine with different dress - styles. (Mani, B.R.)



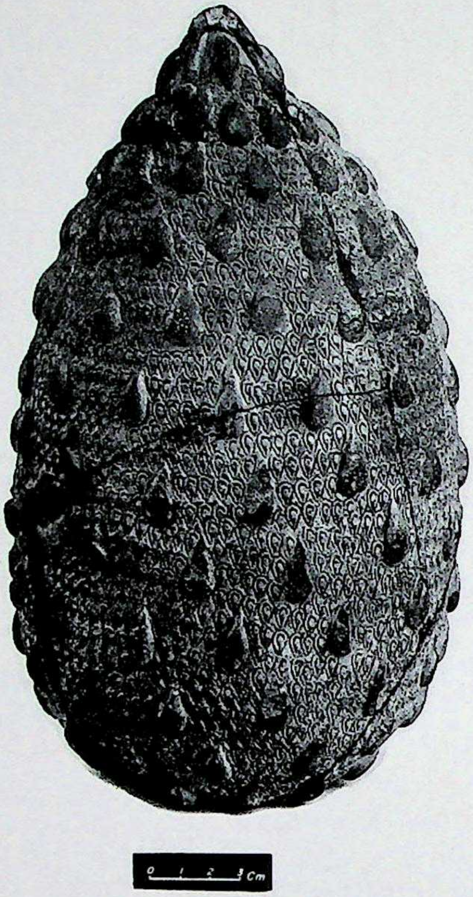
Pl. 36. Lal Kot : Terracotta horses. (Mani, B.R.)



Pl. 37. Lal Kot : Terracotta monkeys. (Mani, B.R.)

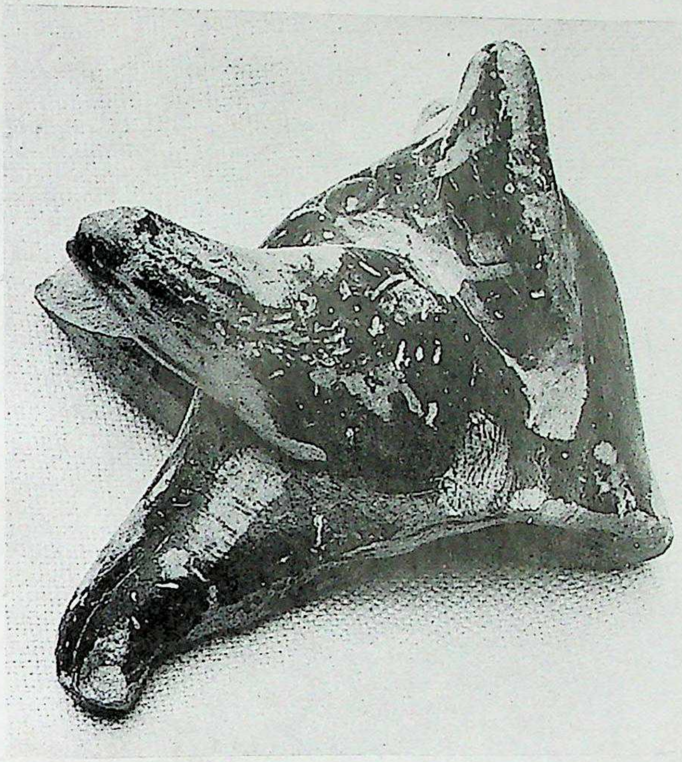


Pl. 38. Lal Kot : Terracotta lamp stand. (Mani, B.R.)



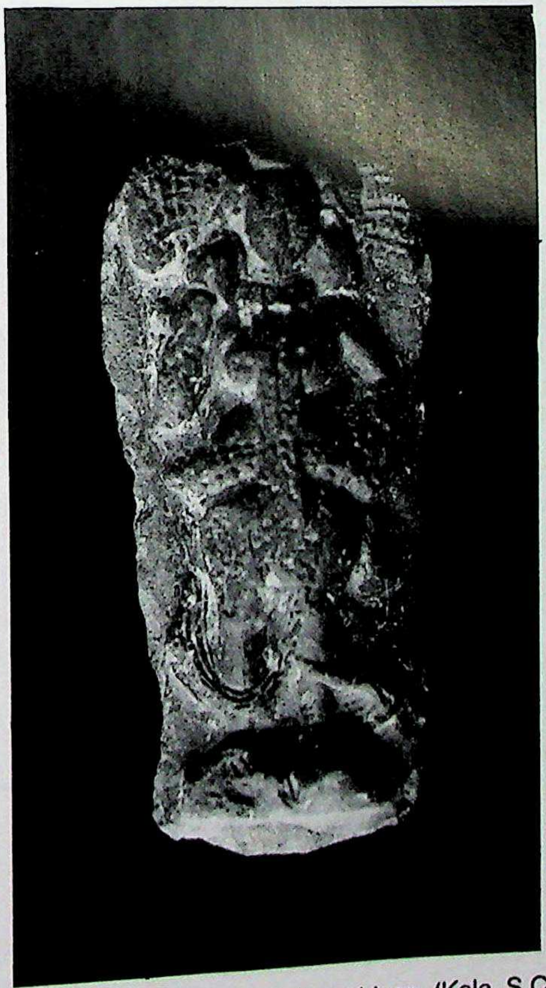
Pl. 39.   Lal Kot : Terracotta finial. (Mani, B.R.)

Pl. 40.   Lal Kot : Mason marks. (Mani, B.R.)

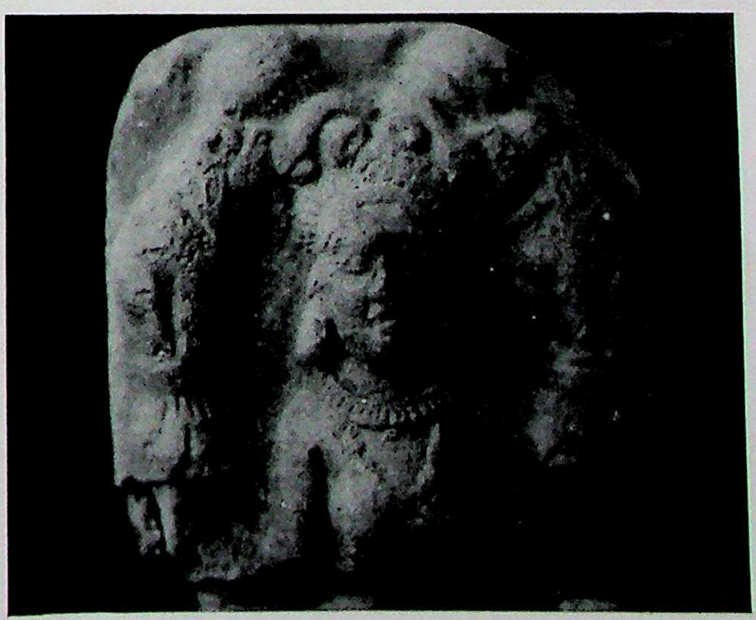


Pl. 41. Terracotta broken head of an elephant. (Kala, S.C.)

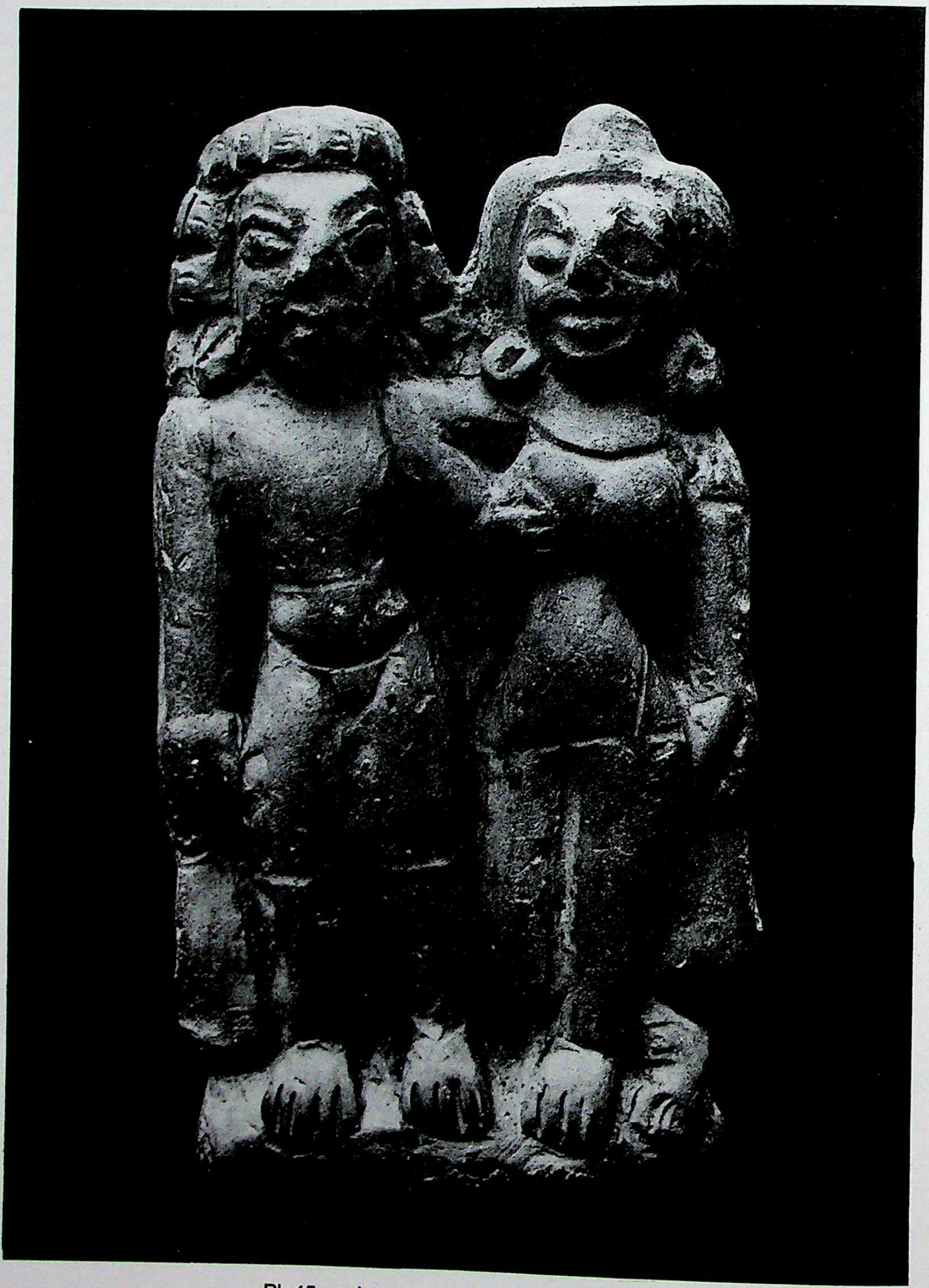
Pl. 42. Terracotta mould plaque depicting Gaja Lakṣmī. (Kala, S.C.)



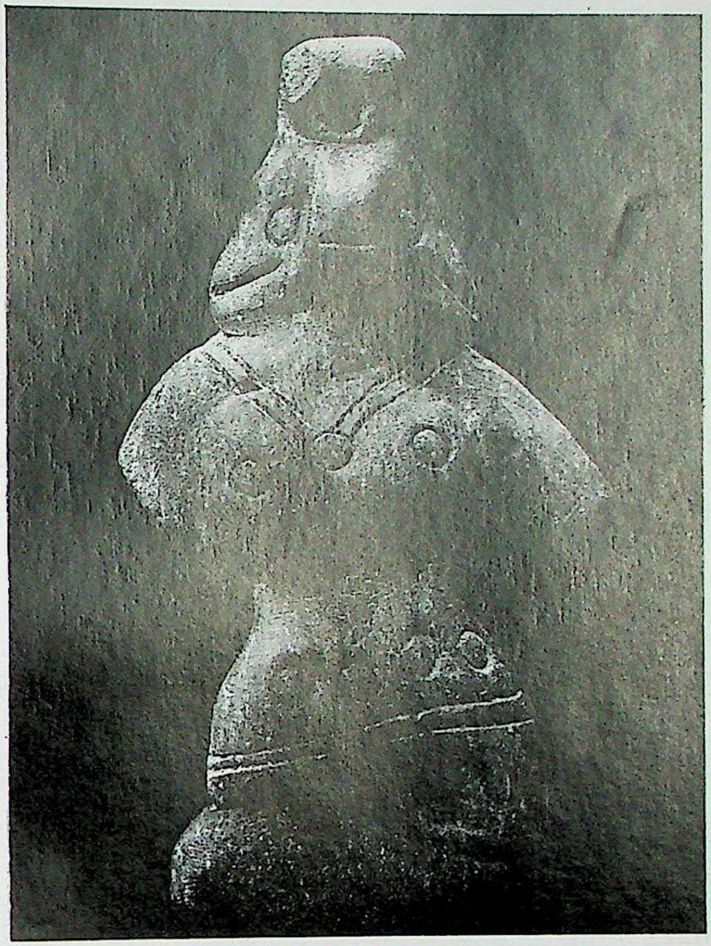
Pl. 43. A standing mould goddess. (Kala, S.C.)



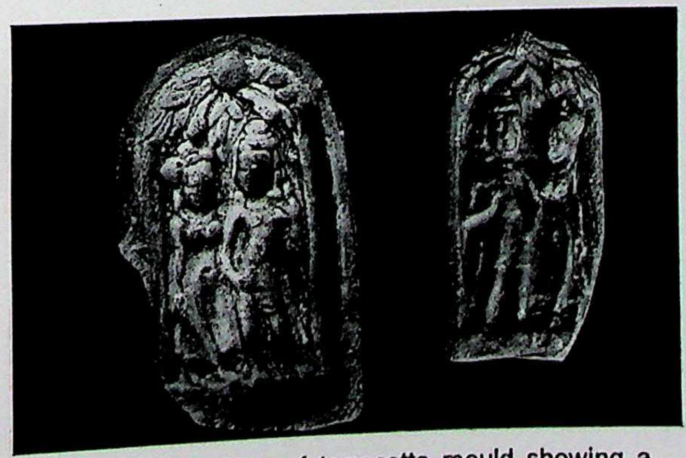
Pl. 44. Terracotta mould made bust of Gaja Lakṣmī. (Kala, S.C.)



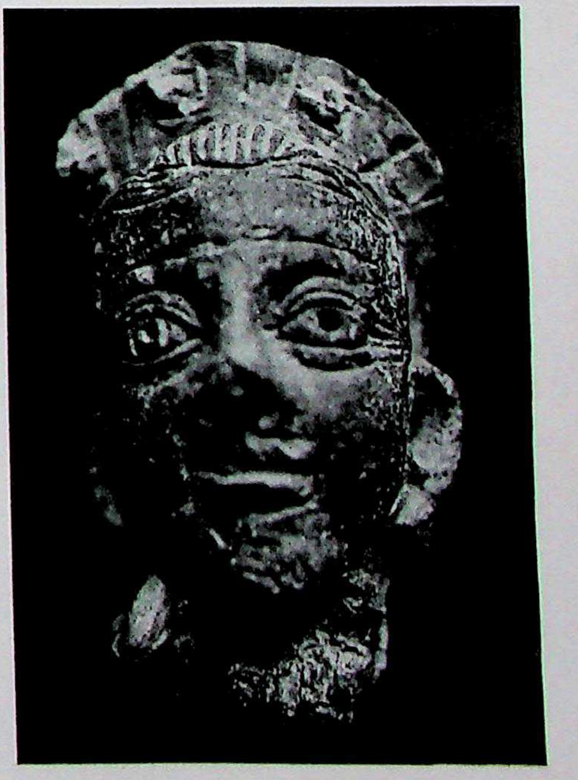
Pl. 45. A terracotta couple. (Kala, S.C.)



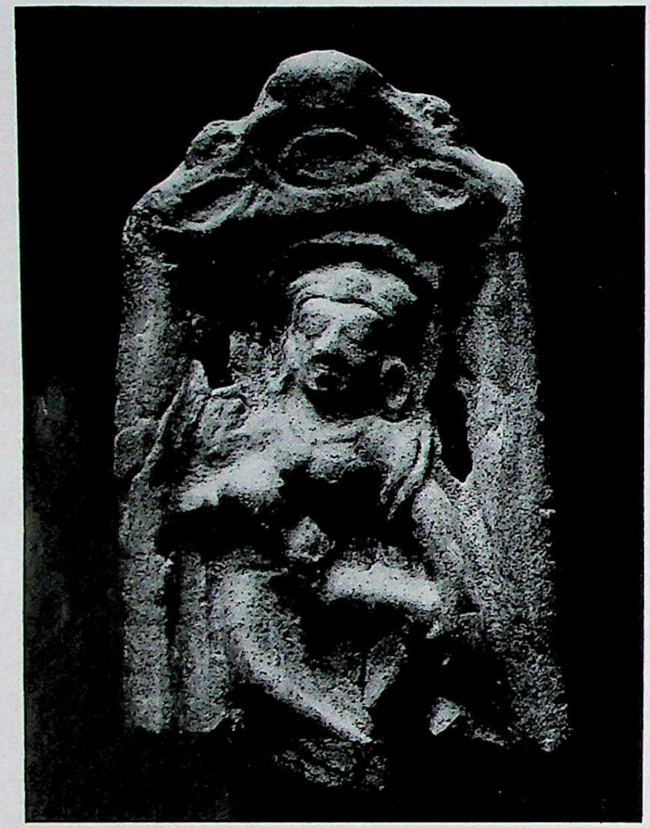
Pl. 46. A terracotta figure of Naigameṣa. (Kala, S.C.)



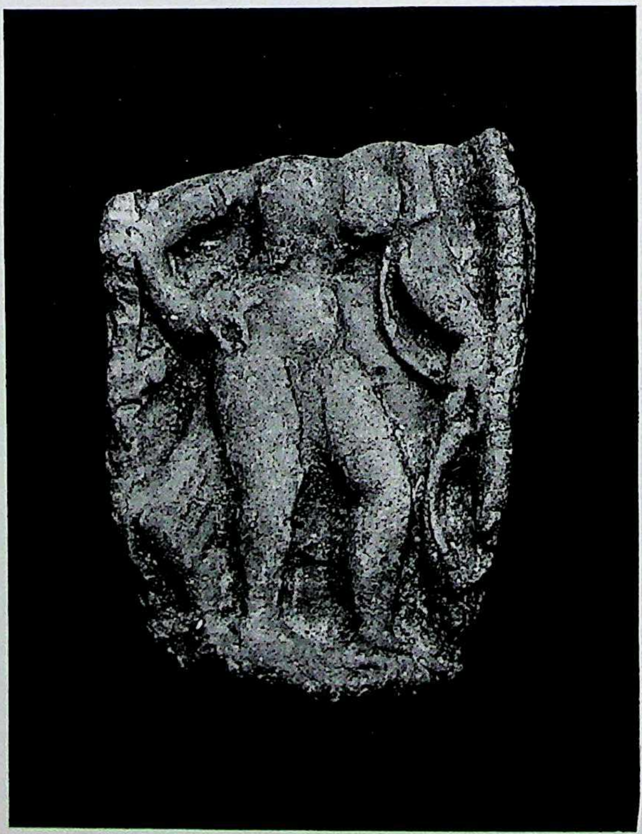
Pl. 47. The positive of terracotta mould showing a couple standing under thick foliage. (Kala, S.C.)



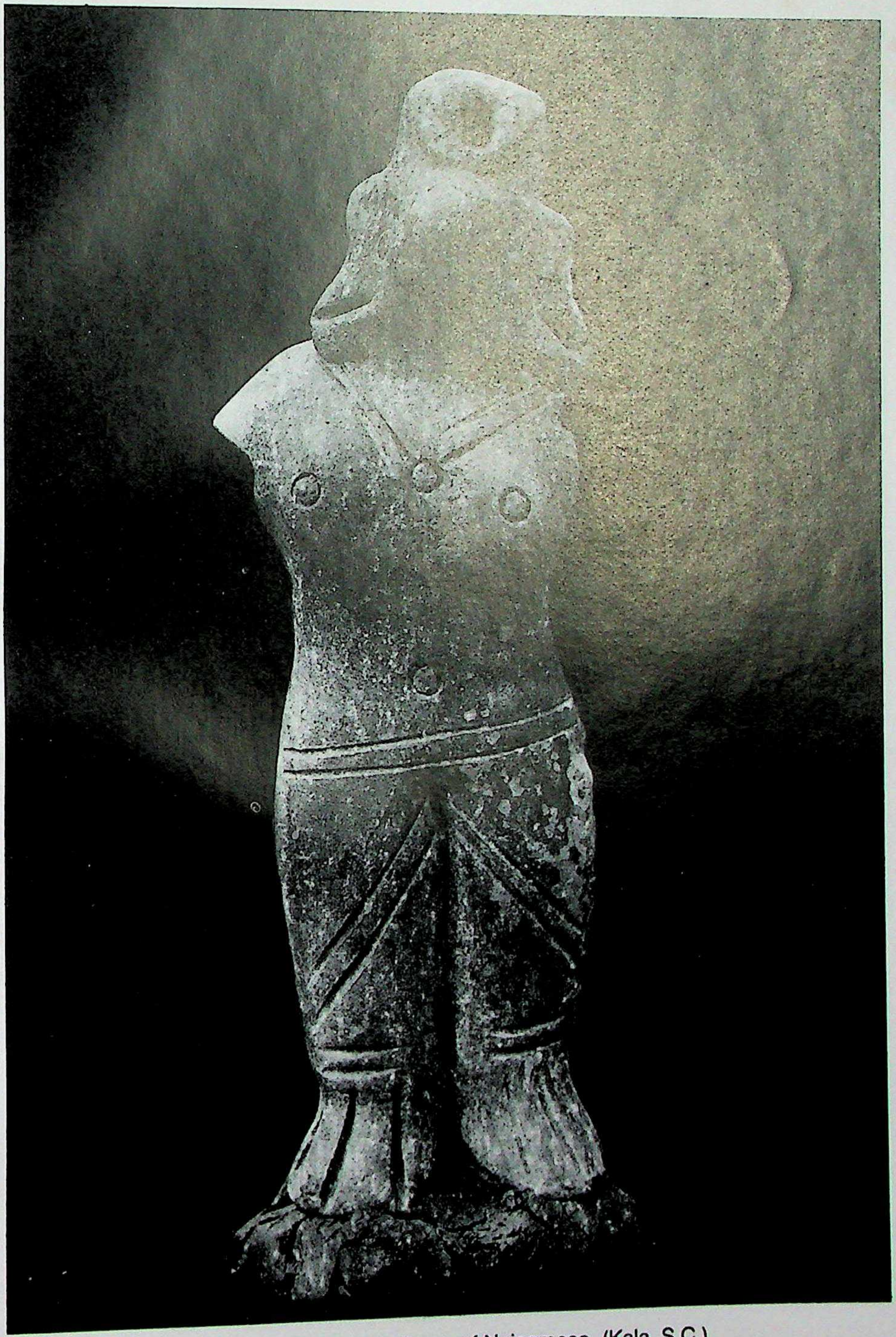
Pl. 48. Terracotta modelled male head. (Kala, S.C.)



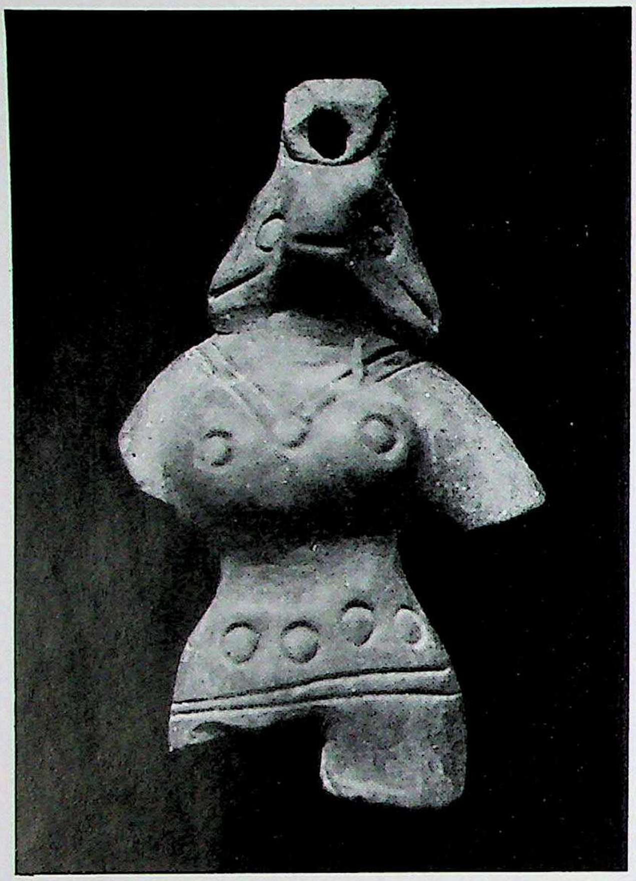
Pl. 49. An upper part of a terracotta mould and its positive showing head of a woman under thick foliage. (Kala, S.C.)



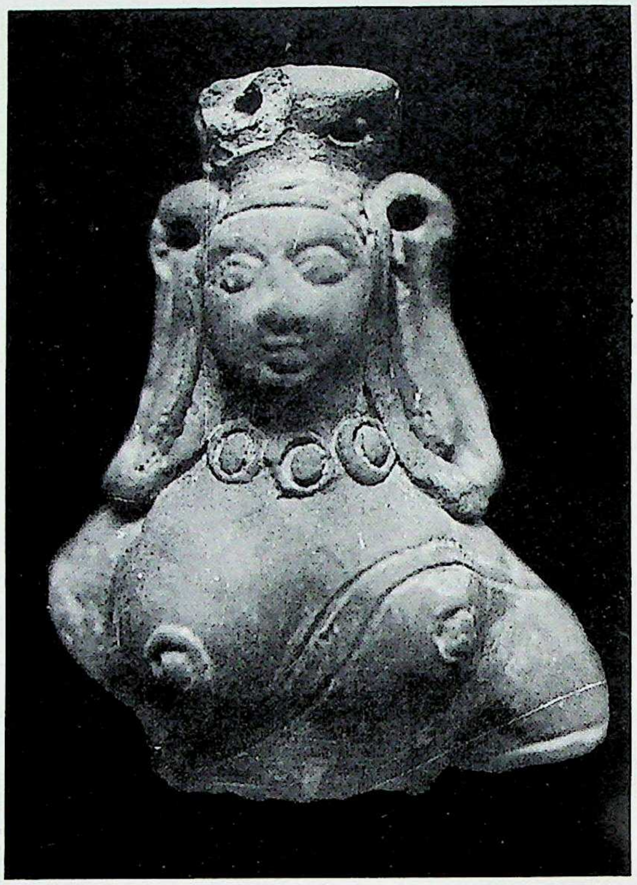
Pl. 50. A terracotta female archer figure. (Kala, S.C.)



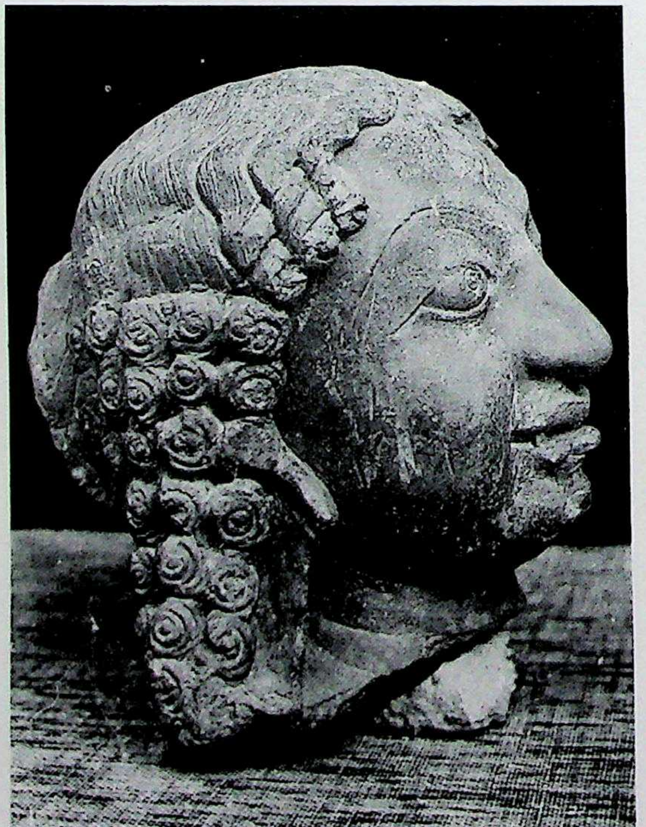
Pl. 51. A terracotta figure of Naigameṣa. (Kala, S.C.)



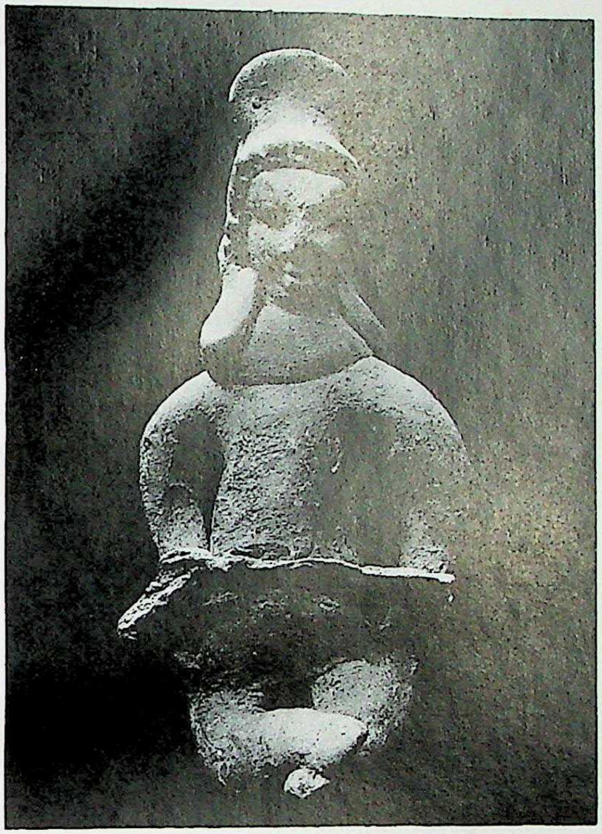
Pl. 52. A terracotta female figure of Naigamesa. (Kala, S.C.)



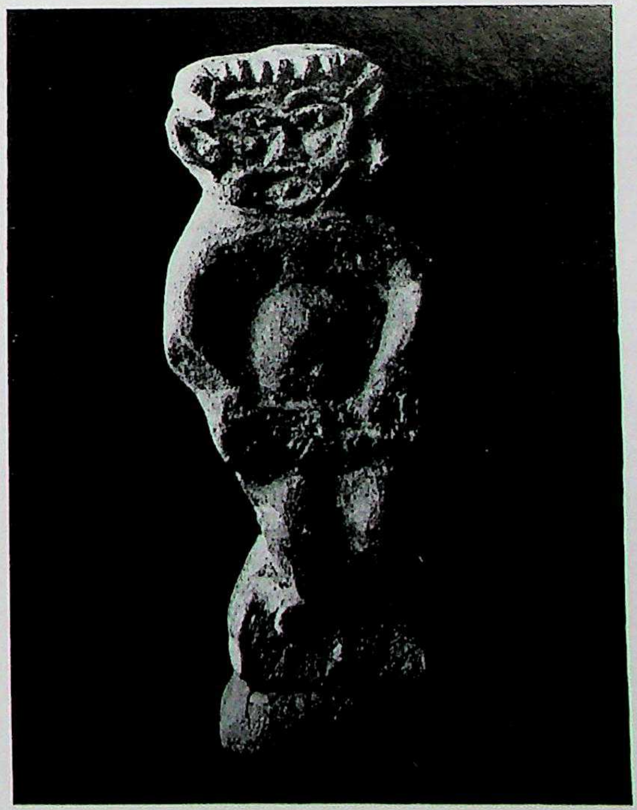
Pl. 53. A terracotta female bust. (Kala, S.C.)



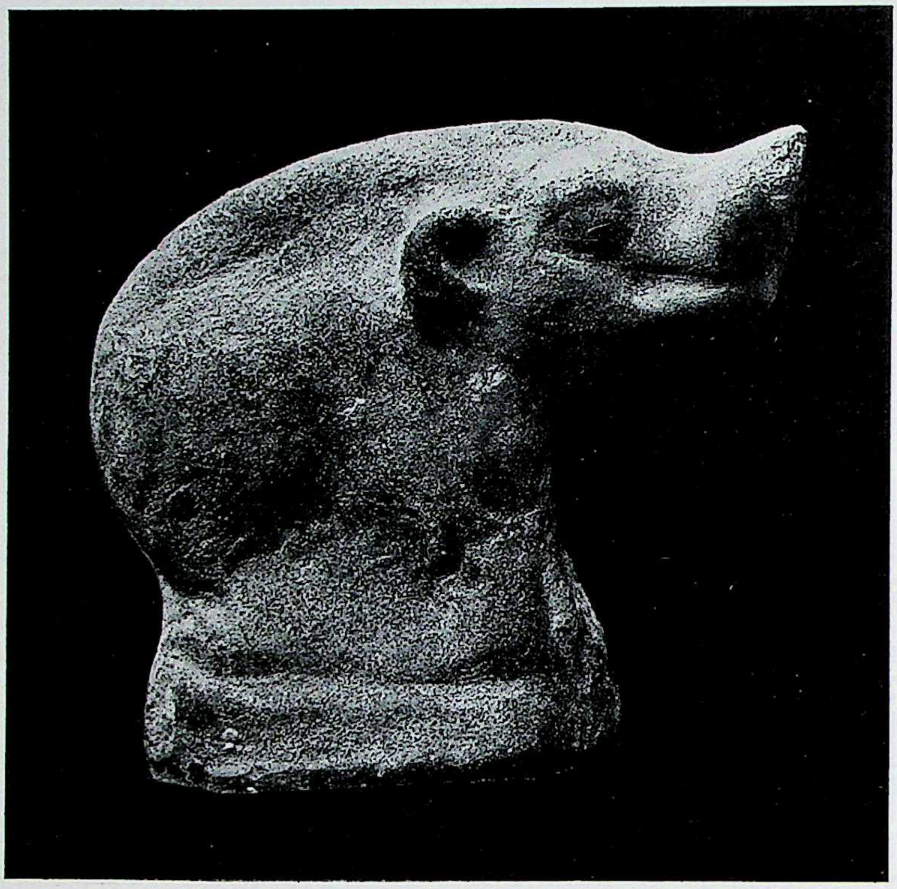
Pl. 54. A terracotta head. (Kala, S.C.)



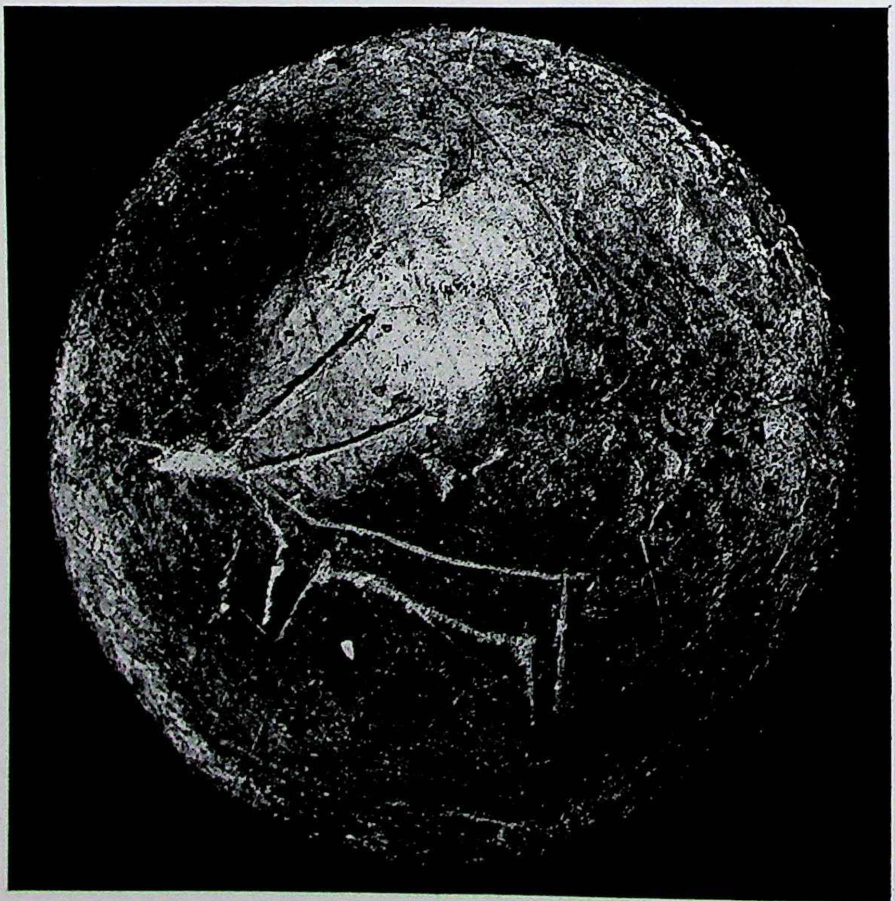
Pl. 55. A terracotta human figure with a high crested hat. (Kala, S.C.)



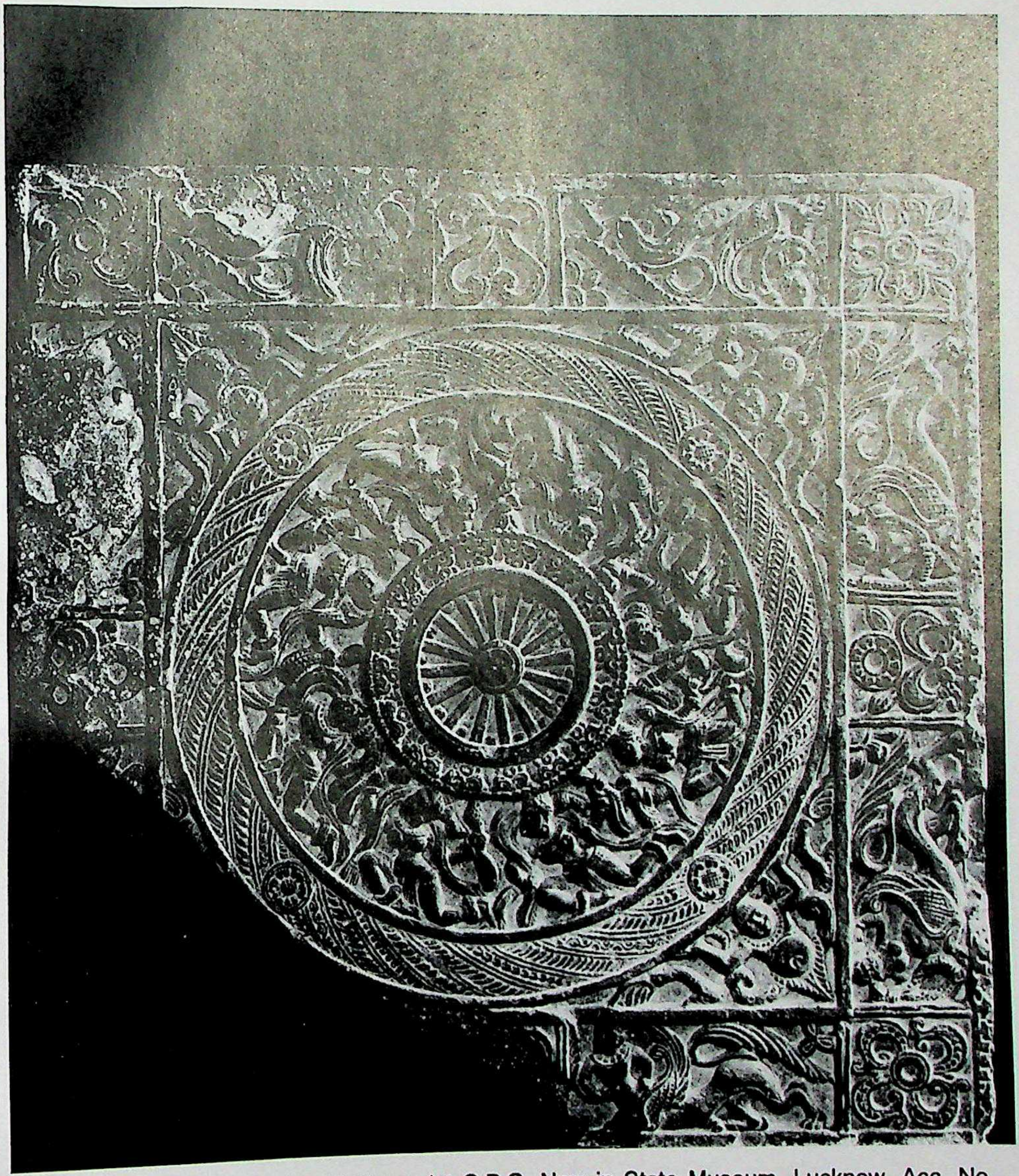
Pl. 56. A terracotta standing Yakṣa figure. (Kala, S.C.)



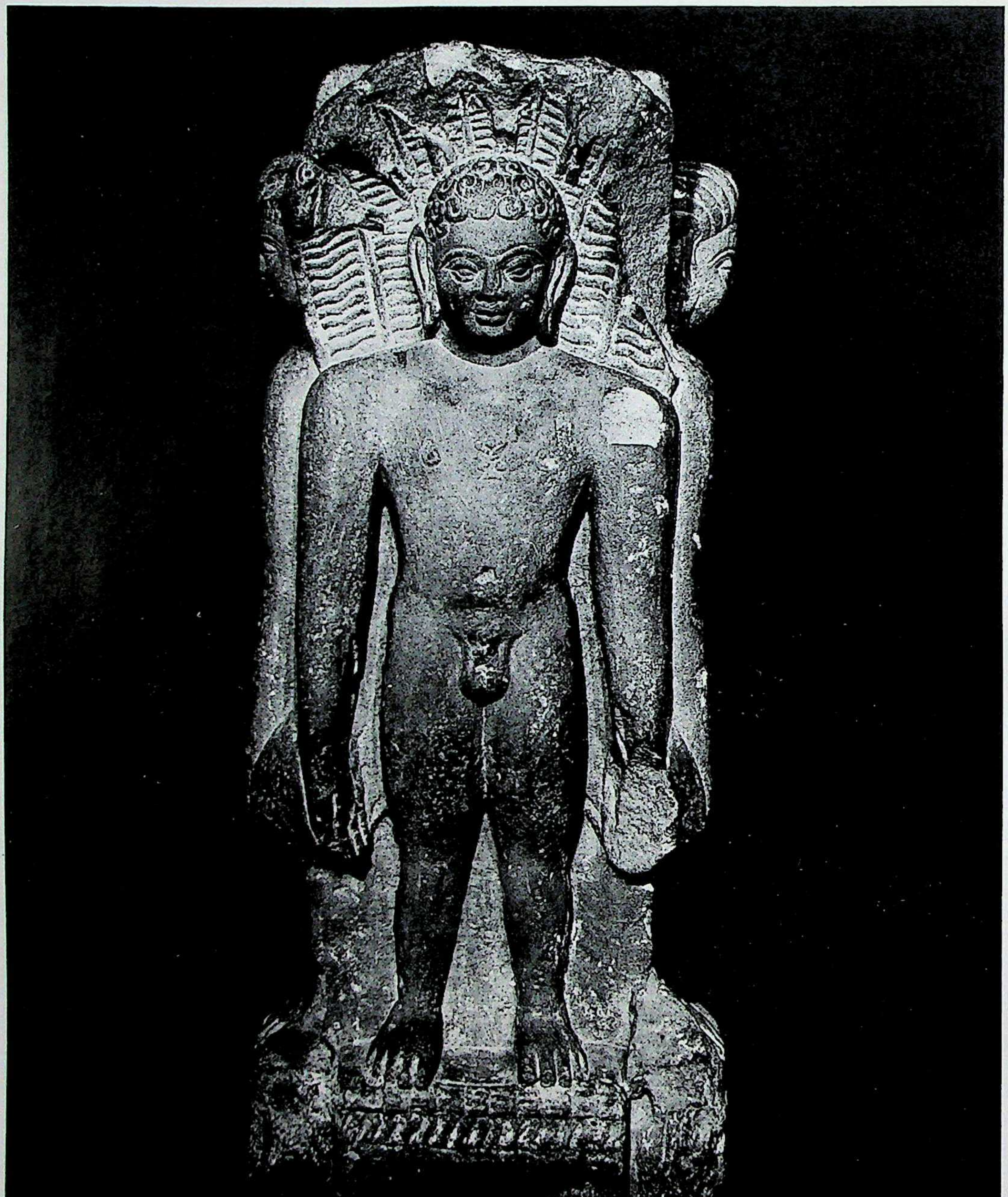
Pl. 57. A terracotta figure of seated bear. (Kala, S.C.)



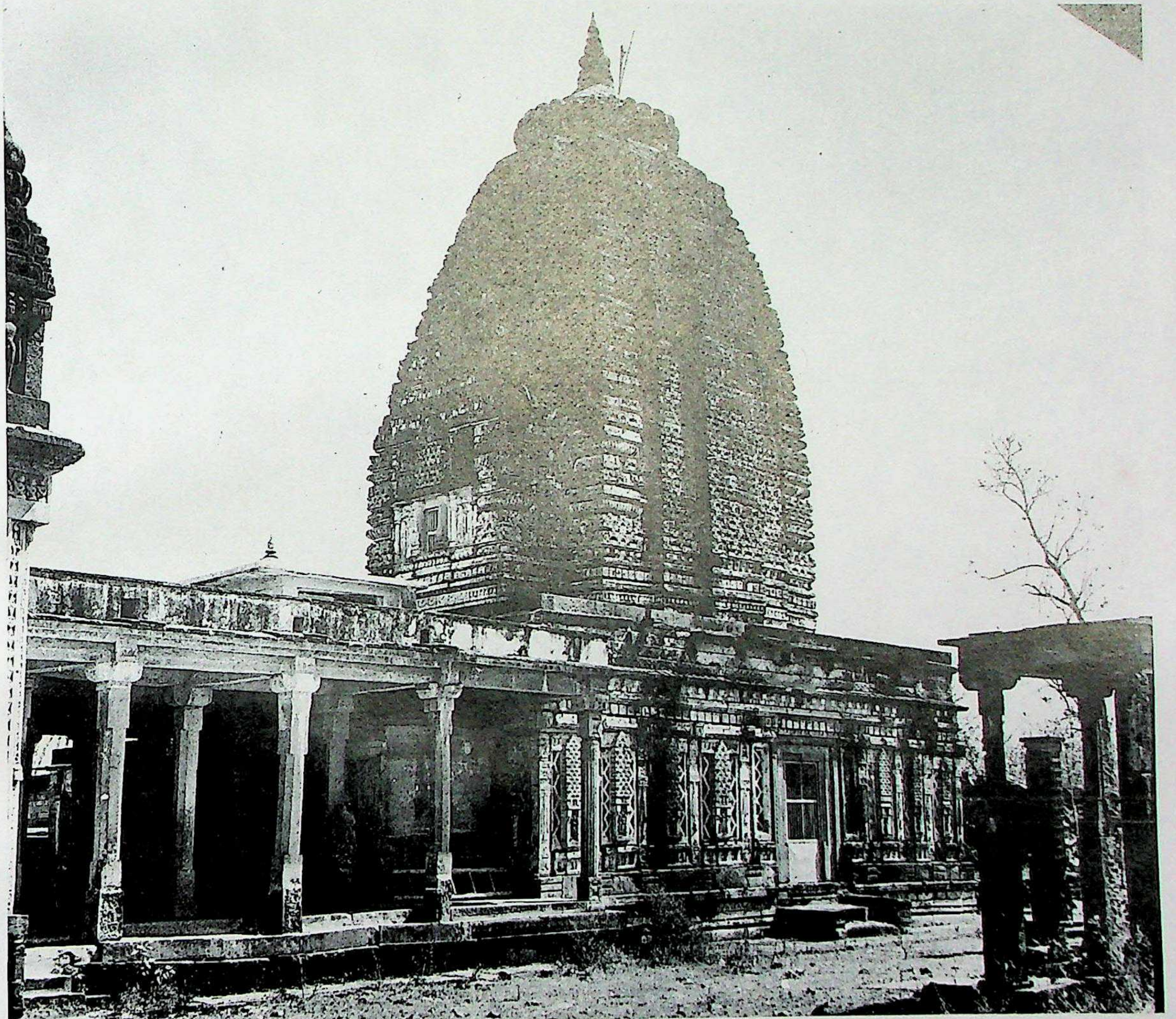
Pl. 58. A small round plaque contains an incised figure of a stag. (Kala, S.C.)



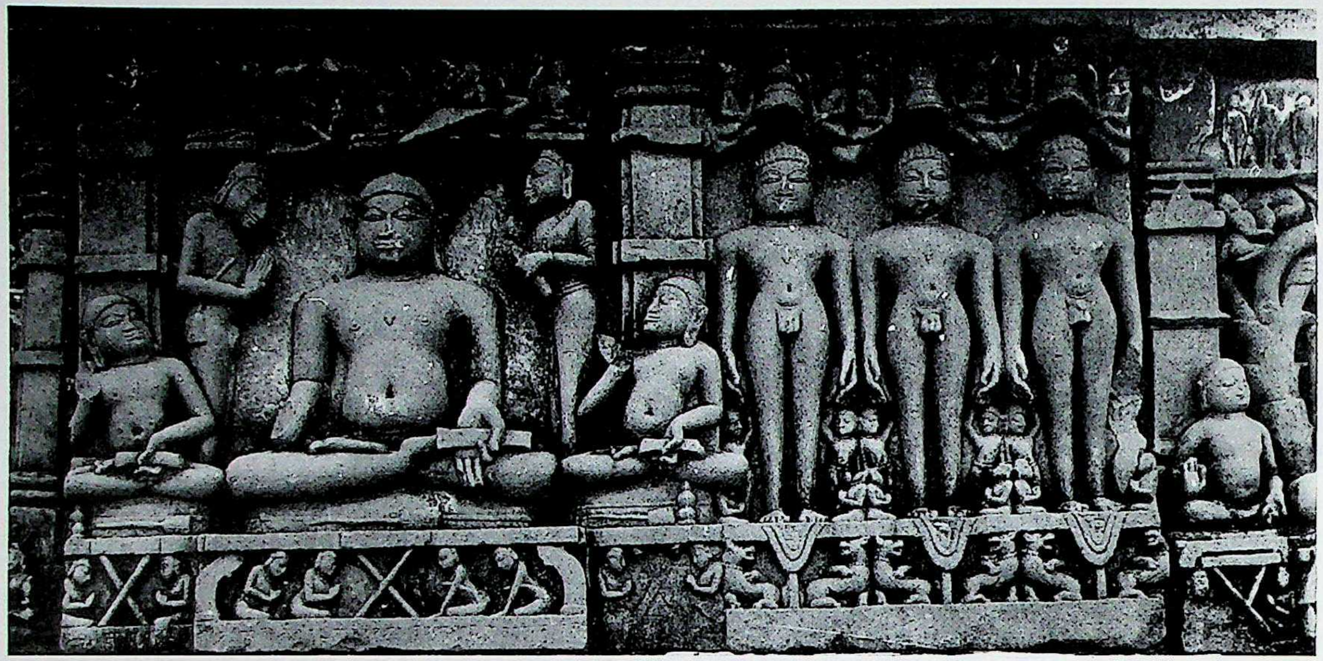
Pl. 59. Jaina Ayagapaṭa, Mathura, Ist C.B.C. Now in State Museum, Lucknow, Acc. No. J248. (Tewari, M.N.P.)



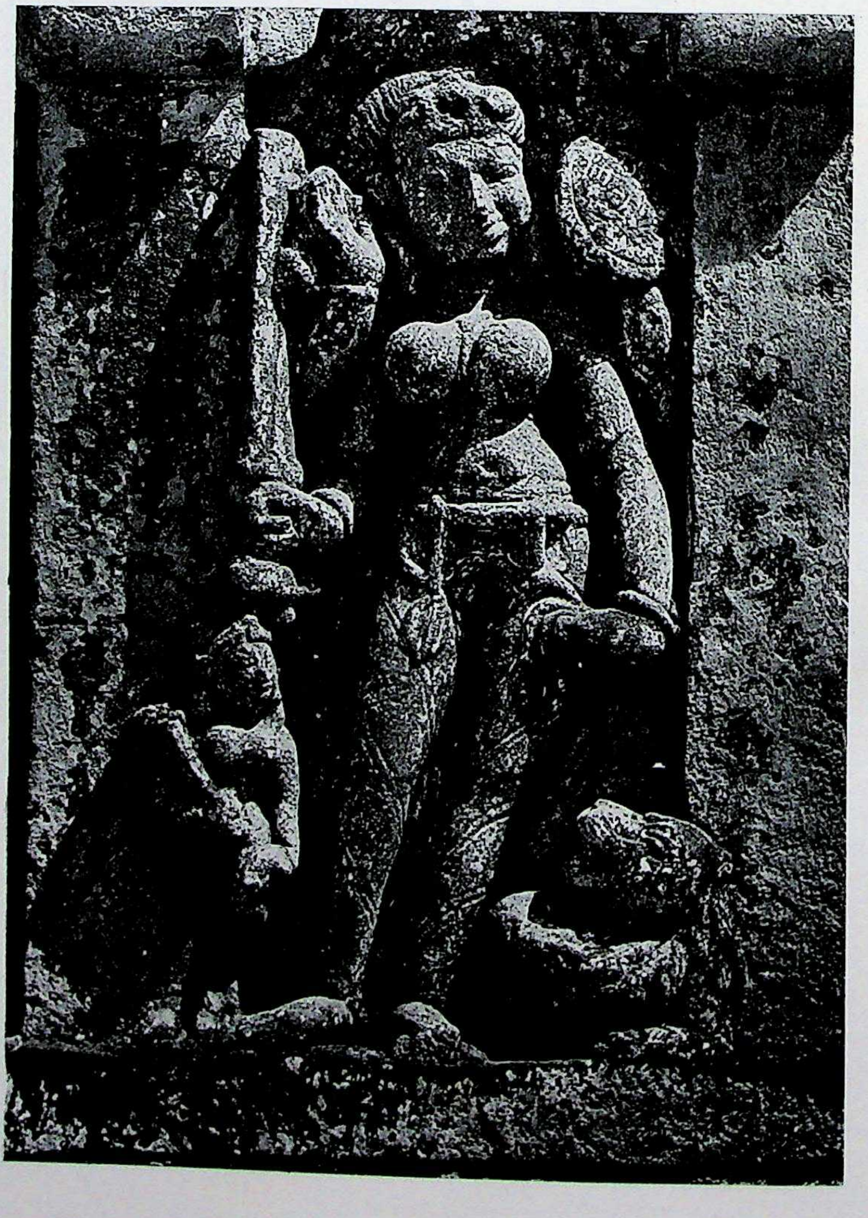
Pl.60. Jina Caumukhī, Mathura, Kushan period. Now in State Museum, Lucknow, Acc. No. J230. (Tewari, M.N.P.)



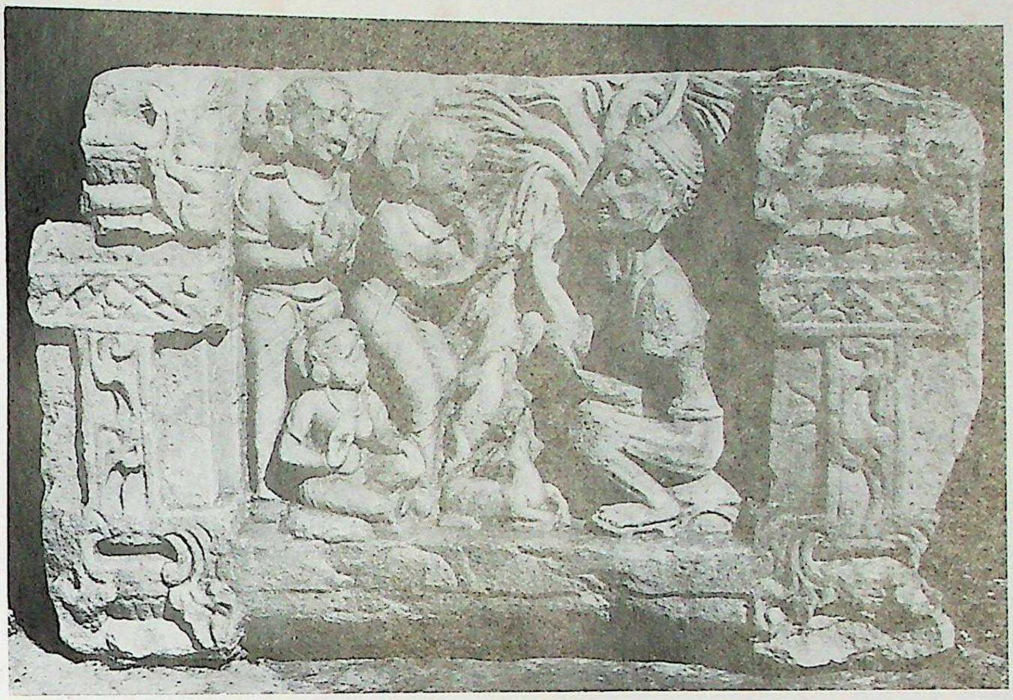
Pl. 61. General view, Jaina Temple No. 12, Śantinātha temple, Deogarh, A.D. 862. (Tewari, M.N.P.)



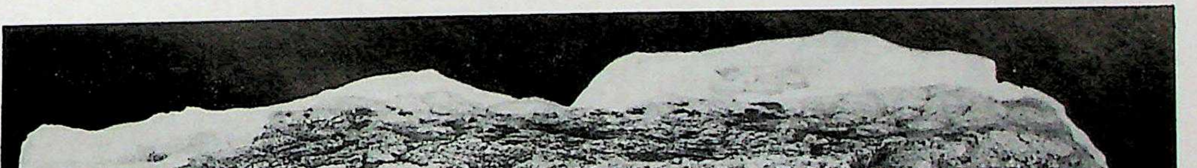
Pl. 62. Jaina Acārya and Jina Tritirhi, Temple No1, Deogarh, 11th cent. A.D. (Tewari, M.N.P.)



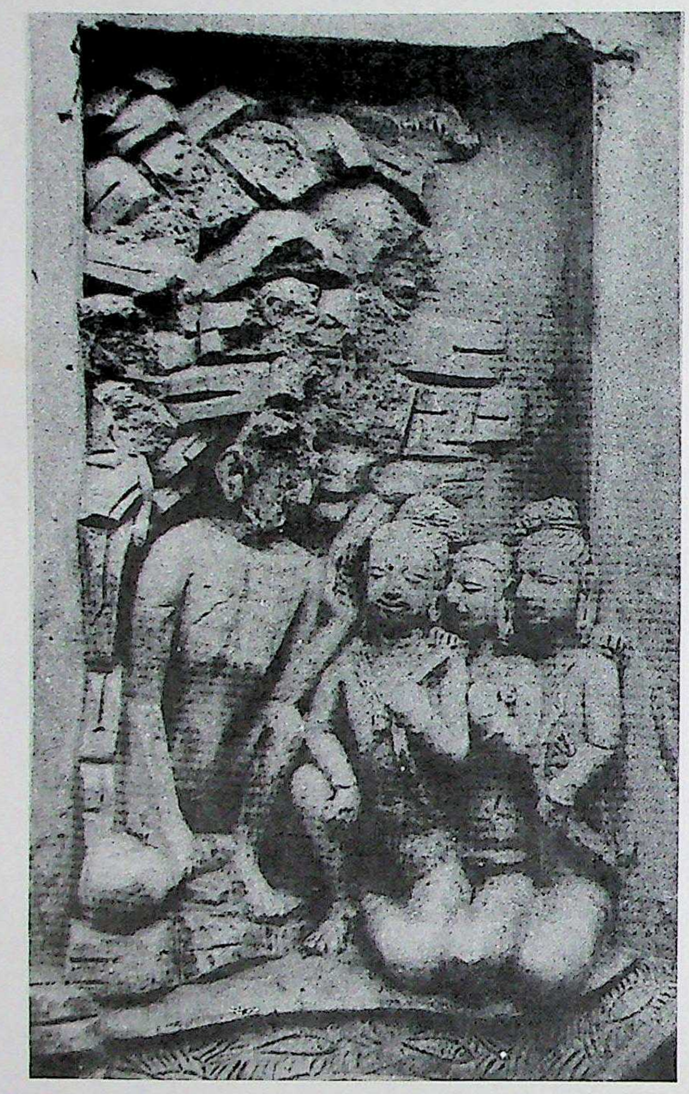
Pl. 63 Sumalini yaksi of Chandraprabha, Temple No. 12, Deogarh, C. 11th cent. A.D. (Tewari, M.N.P.)



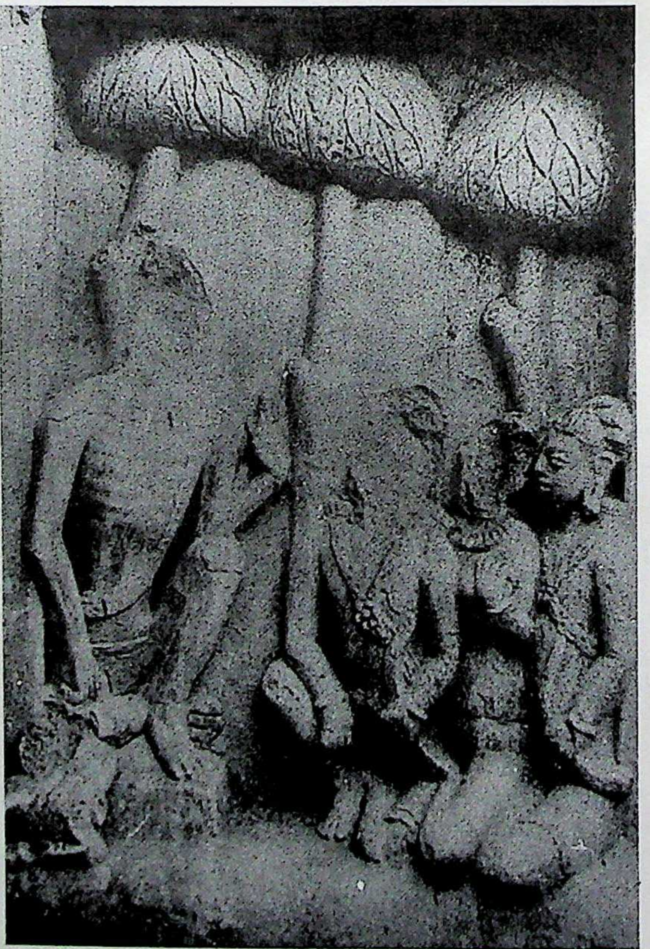
फलक 64. राम–कथा फलक, शिवद्वार क्षेत्र, सोनभद्र (तिवारी, शी० प्र०), छायाचित्र उ० प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन के सौजन्य से ।



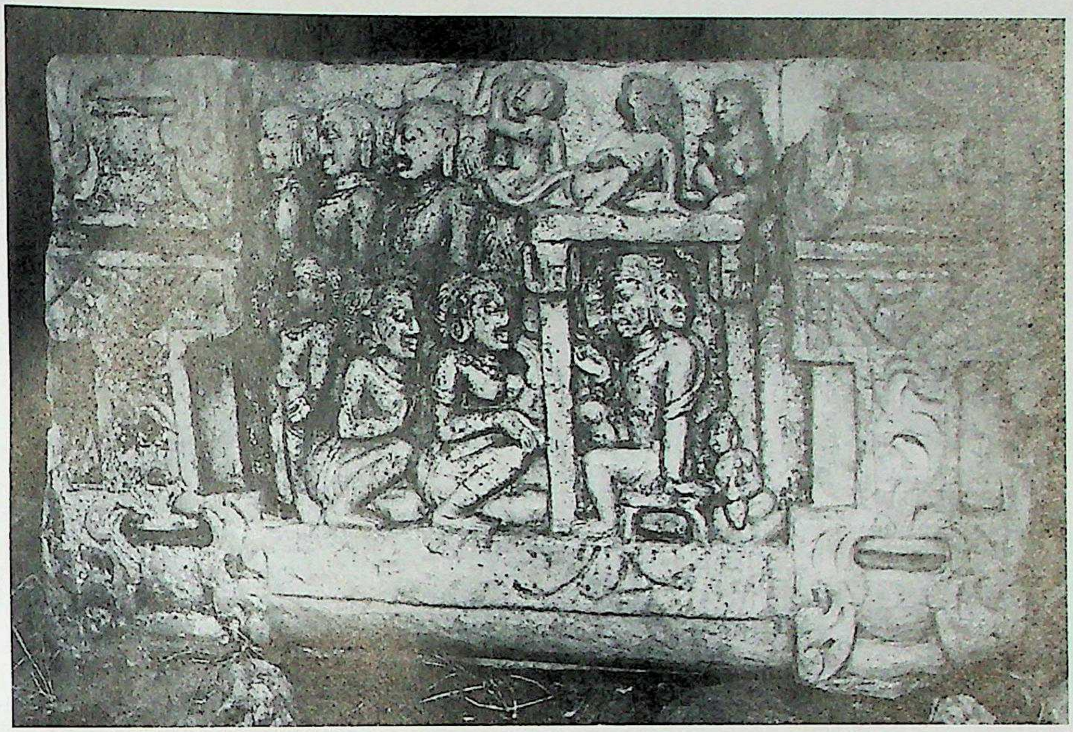
फलक 65. राम–कथा फलक, शिवद्वार क्षेत्र, सोनभद्र (तिवारी, शी० प्र०), छायाचित्र उ० प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन के सौजन्य से ।



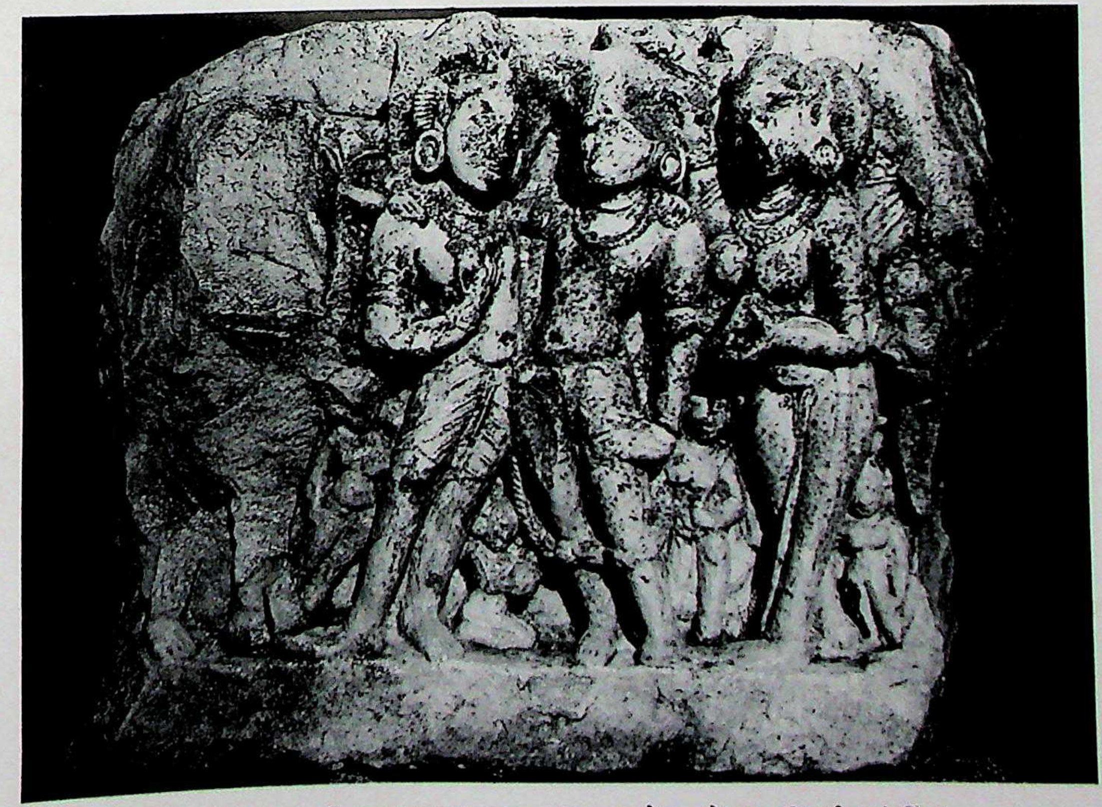
फलक 66. राम–कथा फलक, अफसद, गया, बिहार (तिवारी, शी० प्र०)



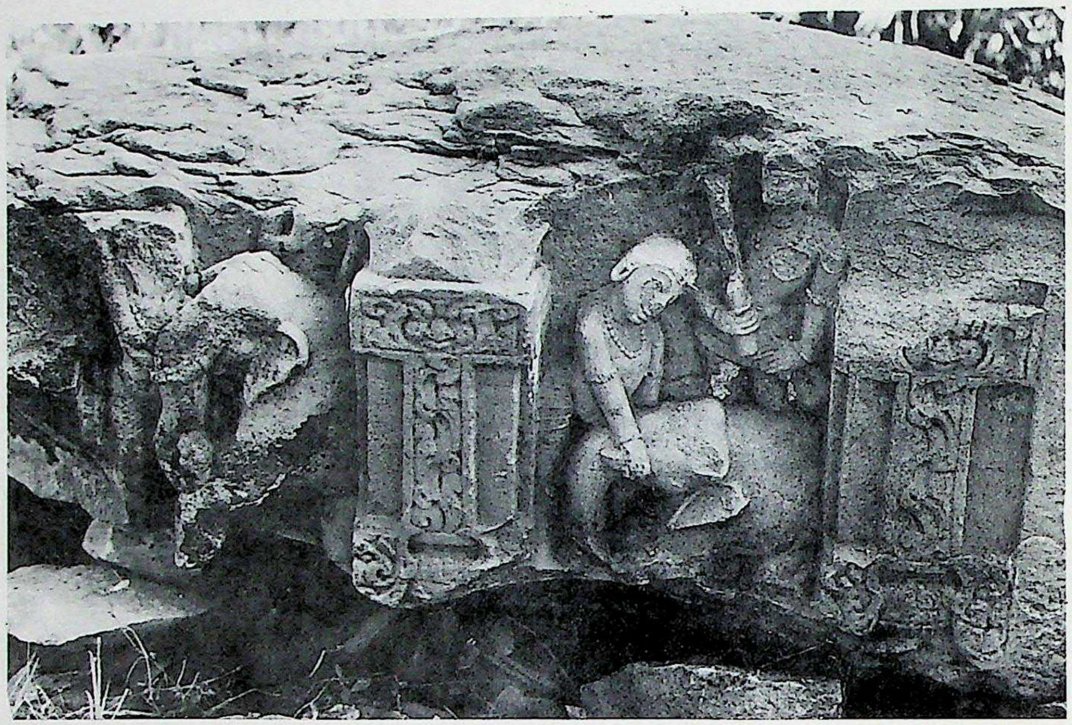
फलक 67. राम–कथा फलक, अफसद, गया, बिहार (तिवारी, शी० प्र०)



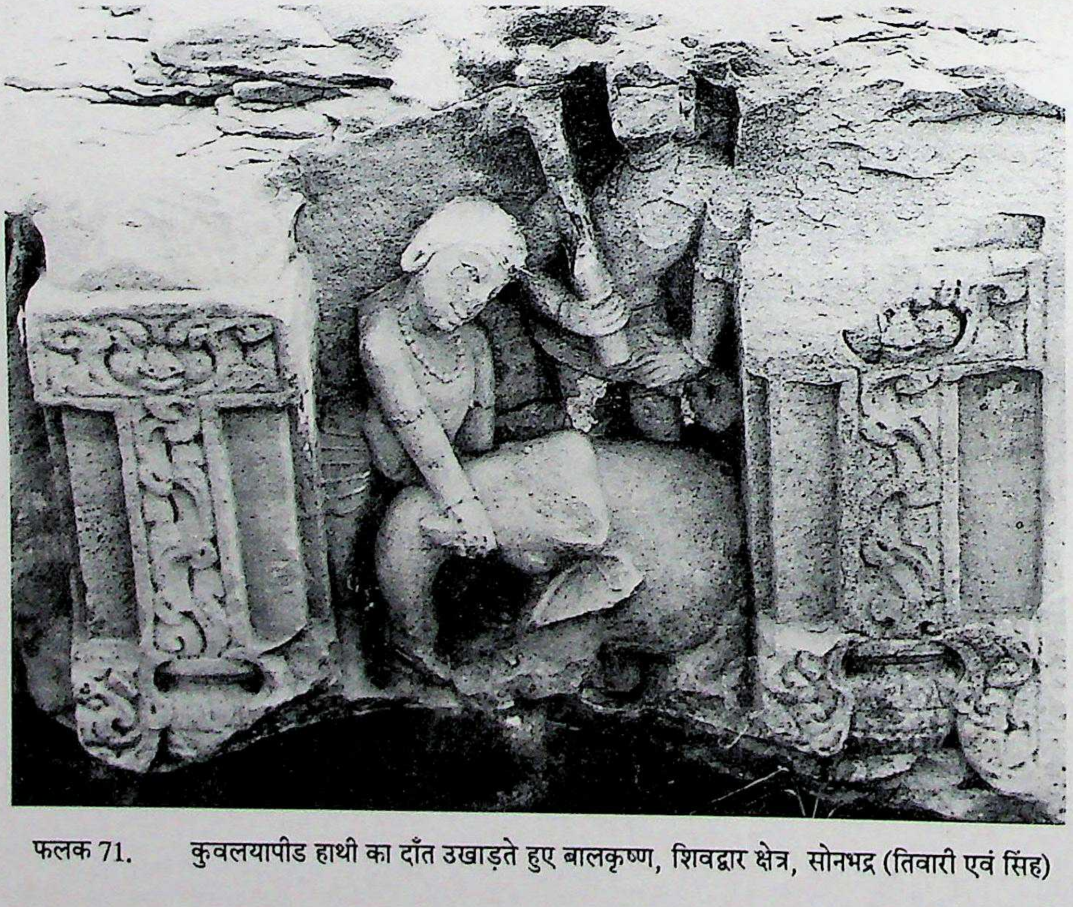
फलक 68. राम–कथा फलक, शिवद्वार क्षेत्र, सोनभद्र (तिवारी एवं सिंह)



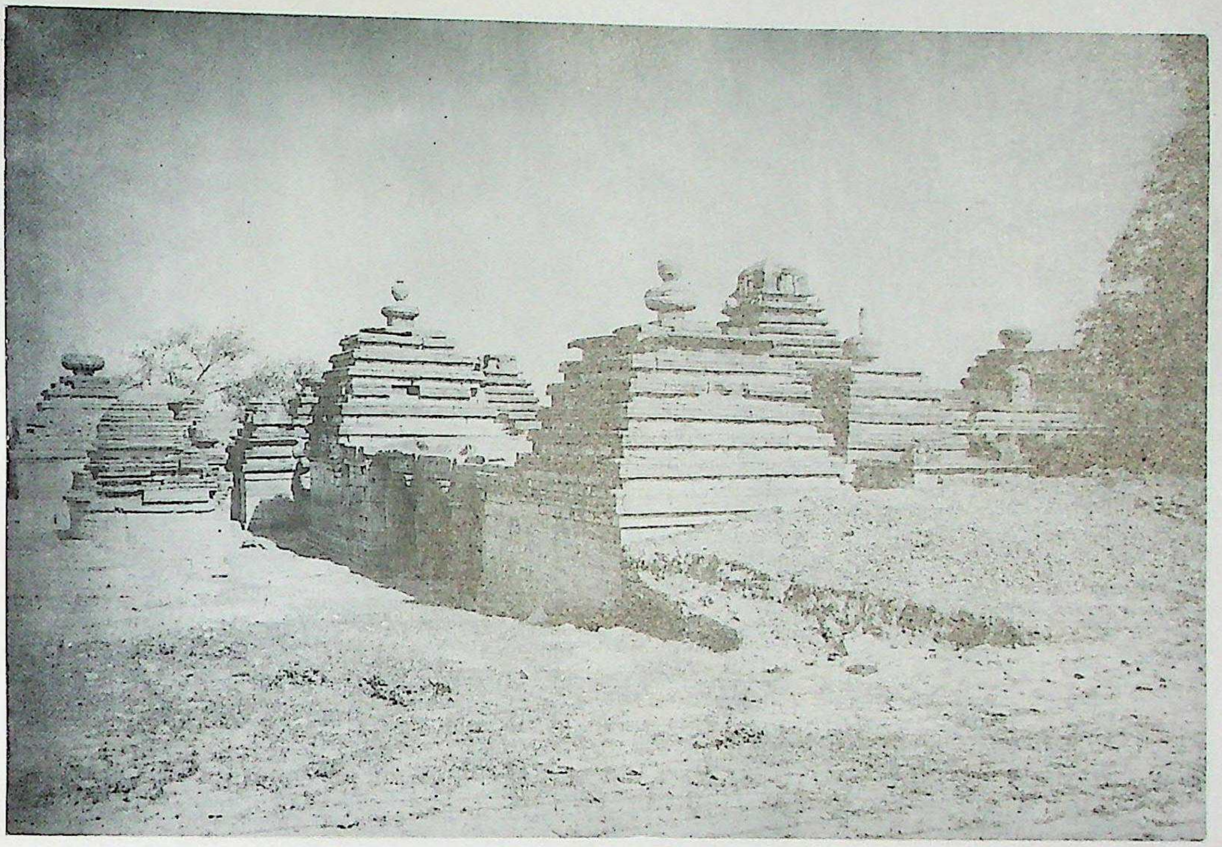
फलक 69. क्रीड़ारत बलराम–कृष्ण, शिवद्वार क्षेत्र, सोनभद्र (तिवारी एवं सिंह)



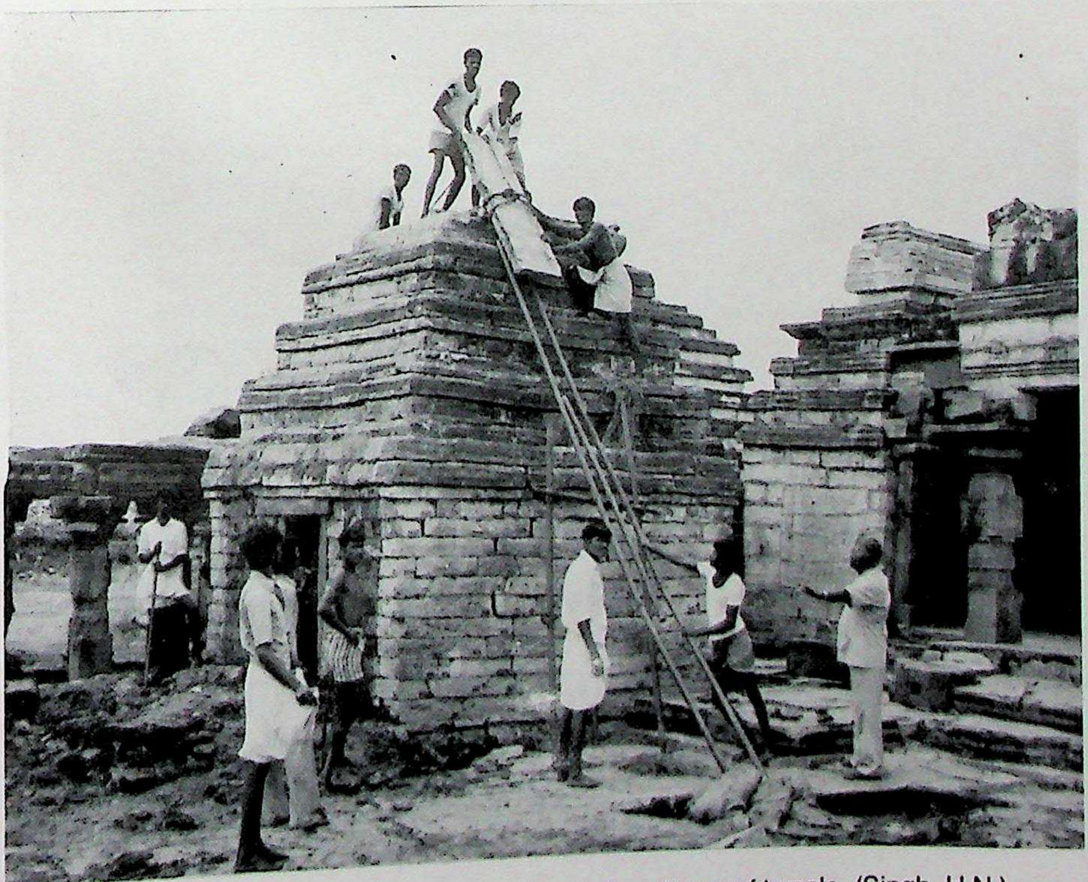
फलक 70. कृष्ण–लीला फलक, शिवद्वार क्षेत्र, सोनभद्र (तिवारी एवं सिंह)



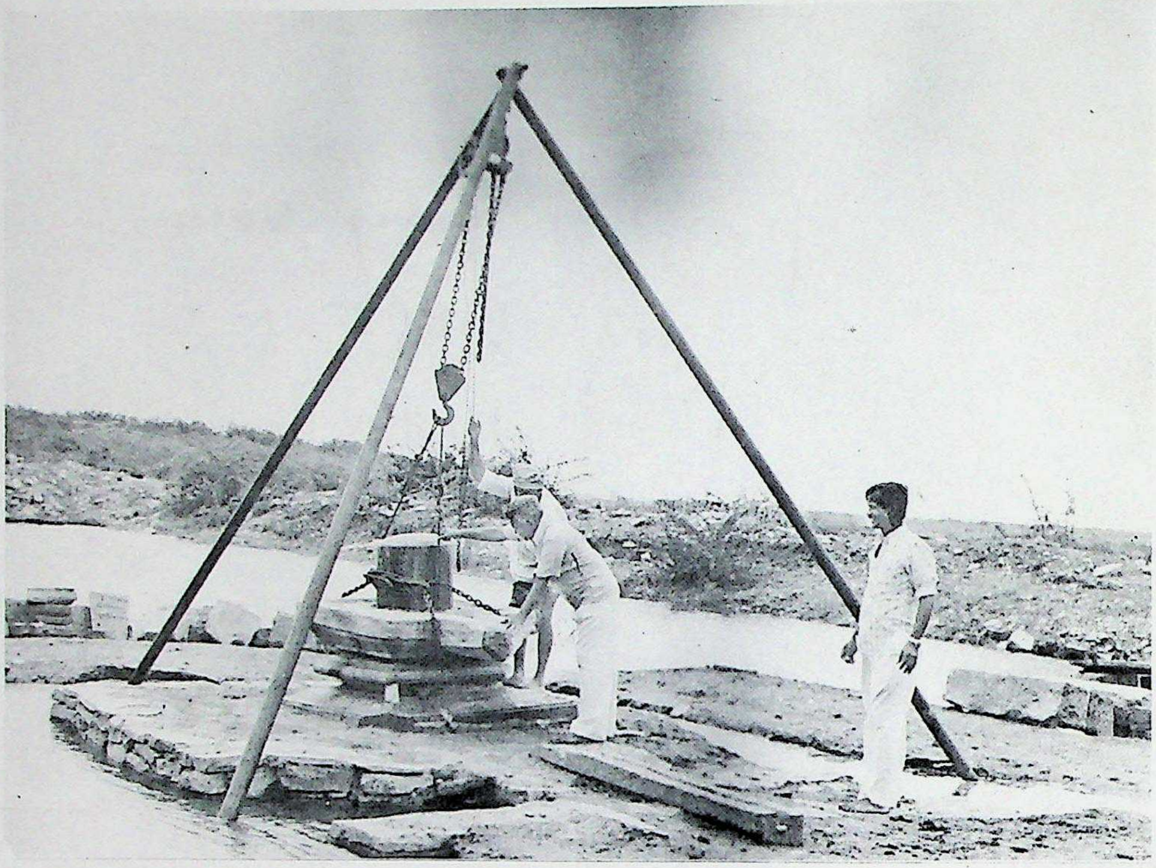
फलक 71. कुवलयापीड हाथी का दाँत उखाड़ते हुए बालकृष्ण, शिवद्वार क्षेत्र, सोनभद्र (तिवारी एवं सिंह)



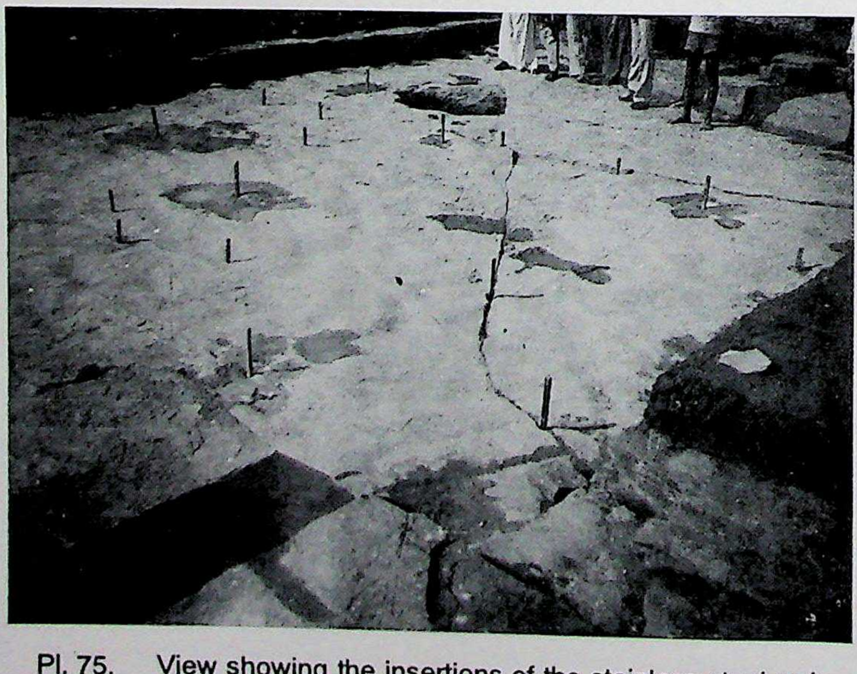
Pl. 72. Pre-dismantling view of the Papanasi group of temples. (Singh, H.N.)



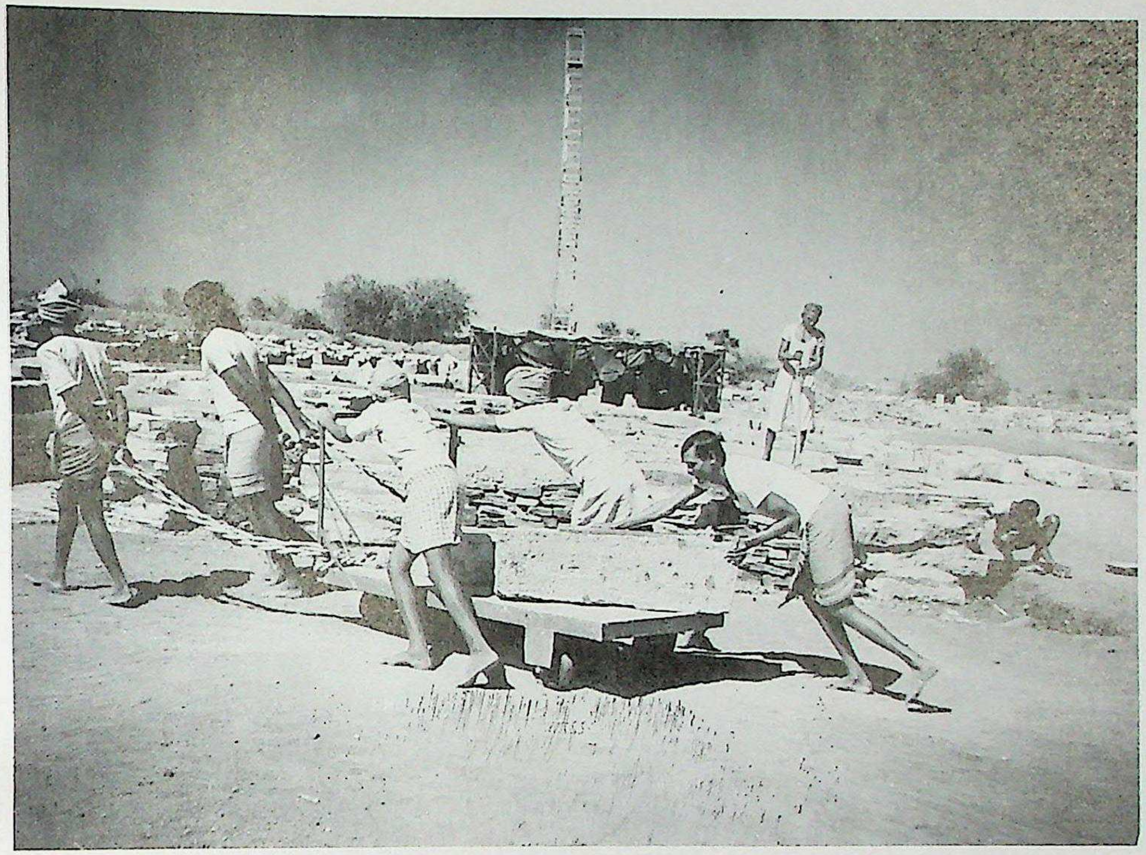
Pl. 73. View showing the dismantling of the sikhara of temple. (Singh, H.N.)



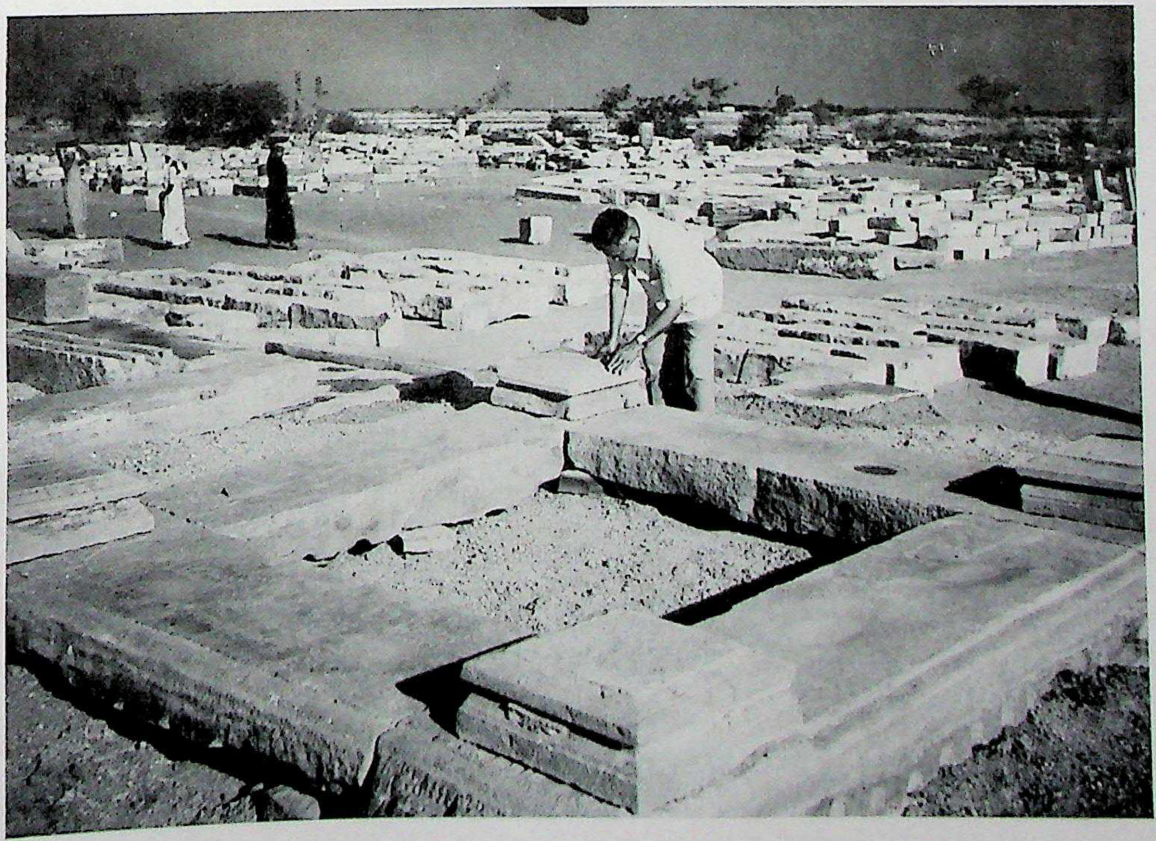
Pl. 74. View showing the removal of the Siva-linga of temple : F Surrounded by the flood - water of the Srisailam Dam. (Singh, H.N.)



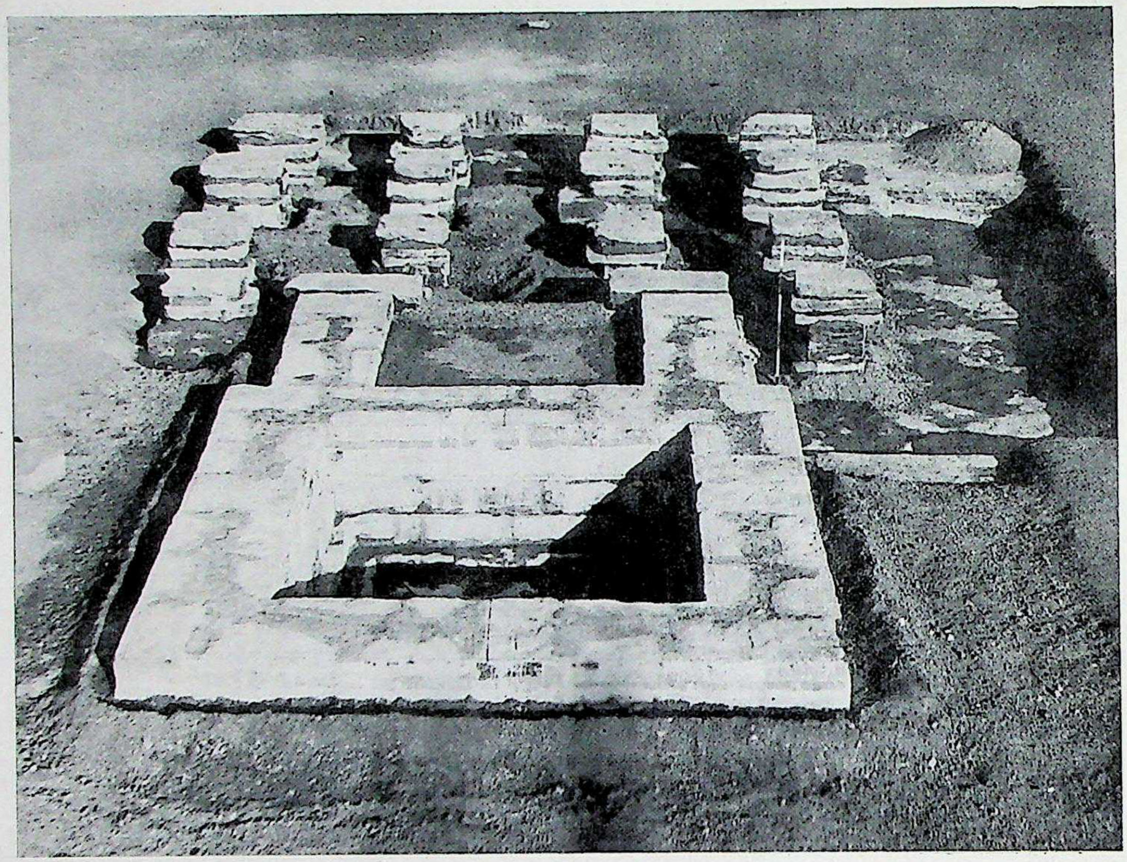
Pl. 75. View showing the insertions of the stainless steel rods in the bedrock. (Singh, H.N.)



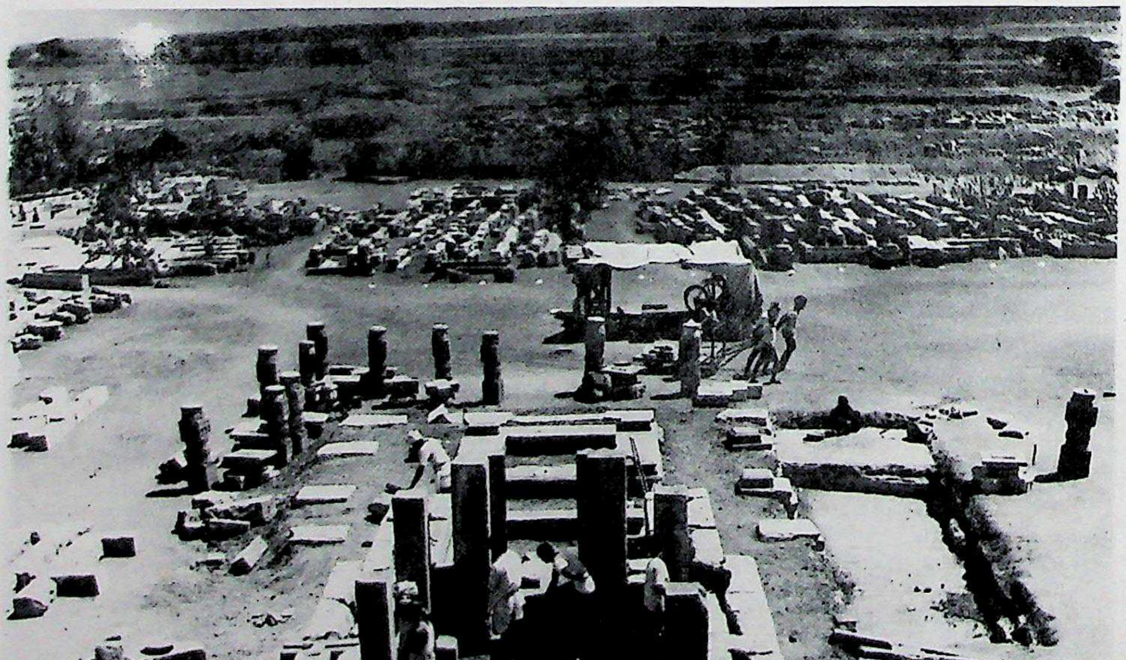
Pl. 76. View showing the hauling of the architectural stones from the stackyard to the work-site by a trolly. (Singh, H.N.)



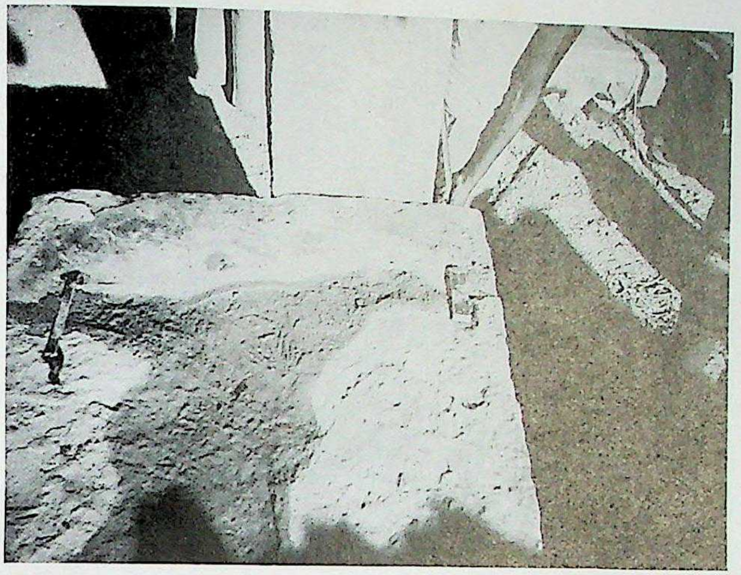
Pl. 77. View showing the checking of the levels of the plinth and pedestal stones by Sri S.Konda Reddy, Senior Conservation Assistant. (Singh, H.N.)



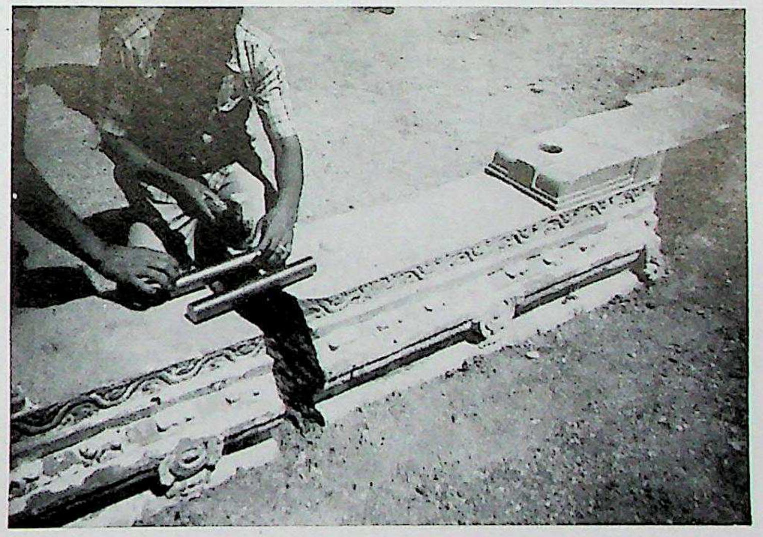
Pl. 78. View showing the reconstructed plan of a temple. (Singh, H.N.)



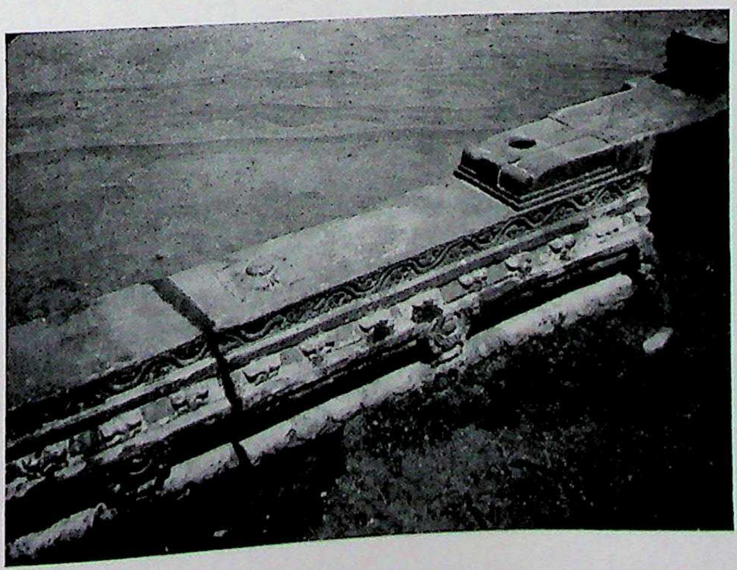
Pl. 79. View showing the re-raised walls and pillars of a temple with the stackyard in the background. (Singh, H.N.)



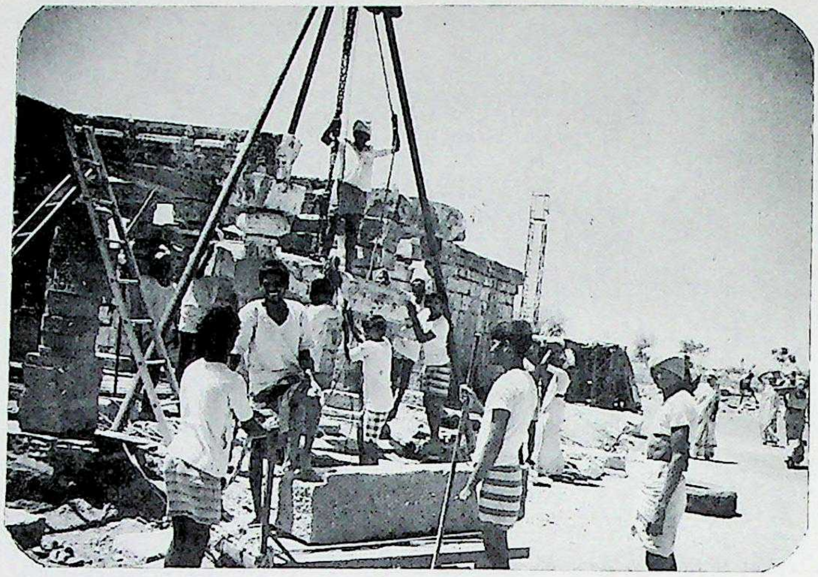
Pl. 80. View showing the fastening of the juxtaposed stones with the copper clamps consolidated with liquid lead. (Singh, H.N.)



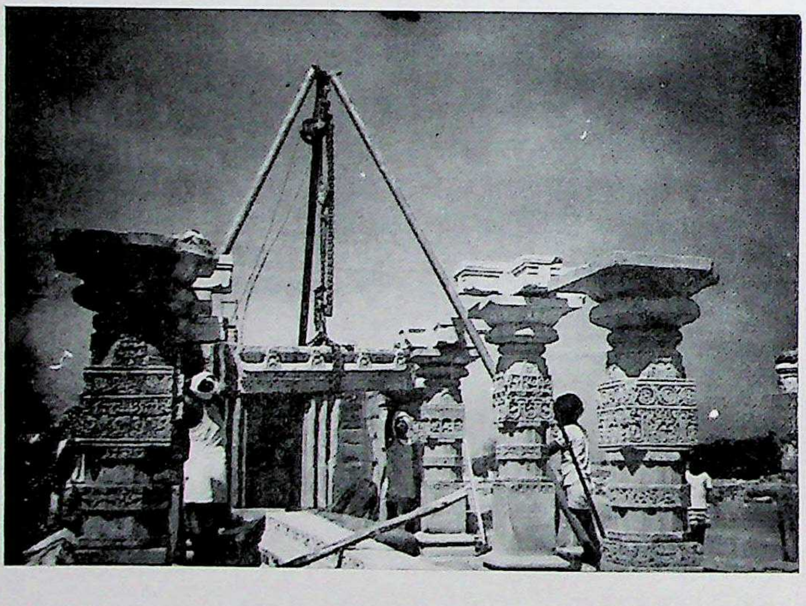
Pl. 81. View showing the conservation of a broken original lintel stone by the horizontal insertions of the stainless steel rod. (Singh, H.N.)



Pl. 82. View showing the after conservation of a broken original lintel stone by the horizontal insertions of the stainless steel rod. (Singh, H.N.)

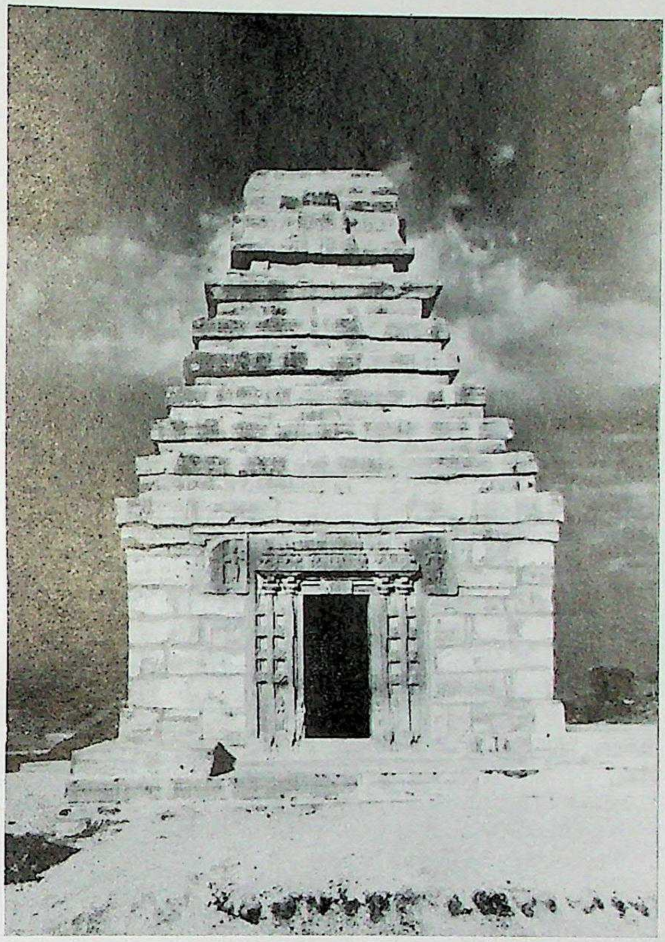


Pl. 83. Another view of the same as above. (Singh, H.N.)

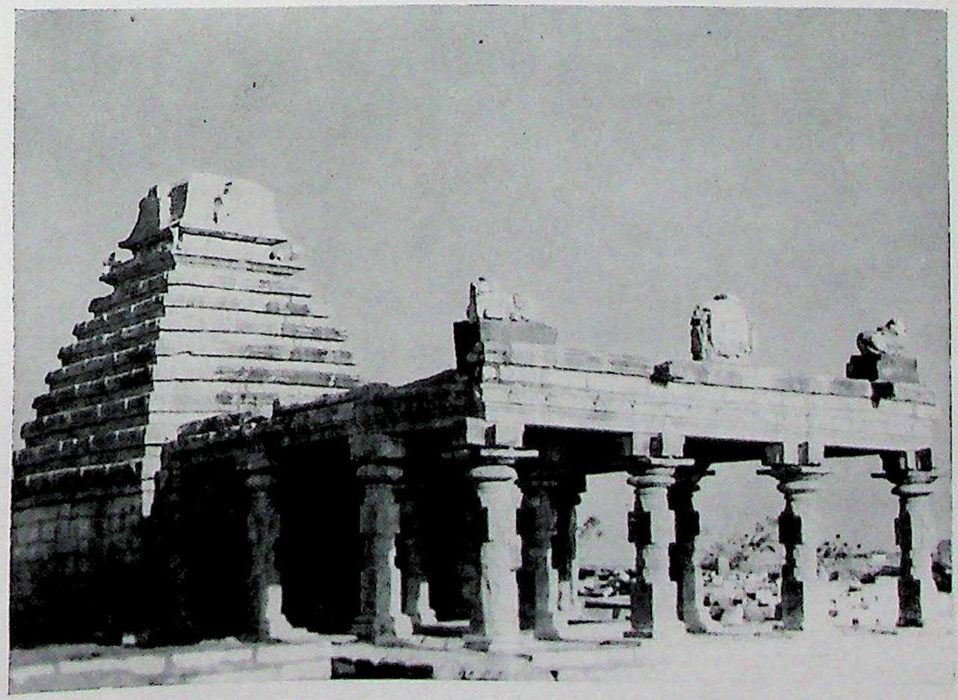


Pl 84. View showing the hoisting of the decorated original lintel stone with equisitely carved re-raised pillars in the foreground. (Singh, H.N.)

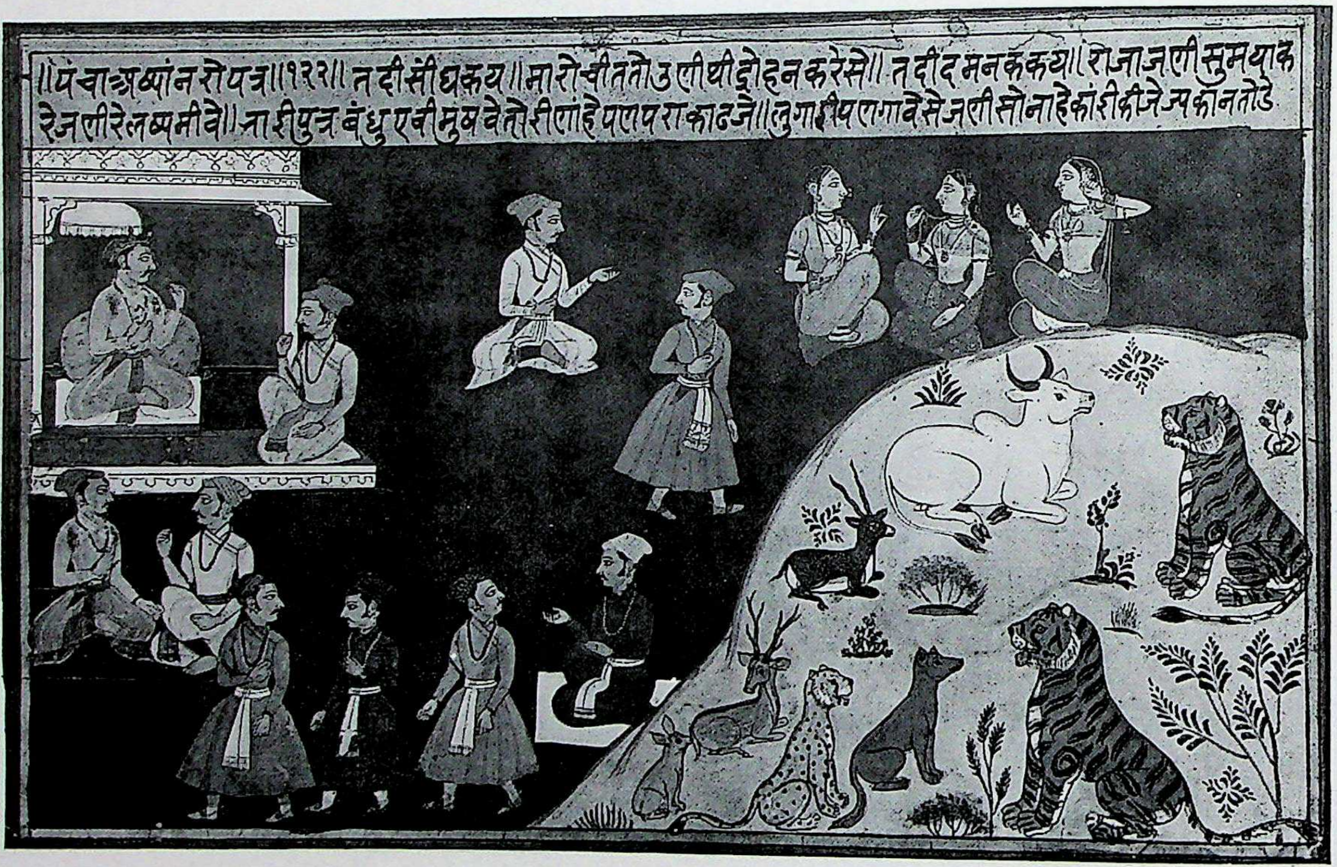
Pl. 85. View showing the fixing of the original roof-slabs. (Singh, H.N.)



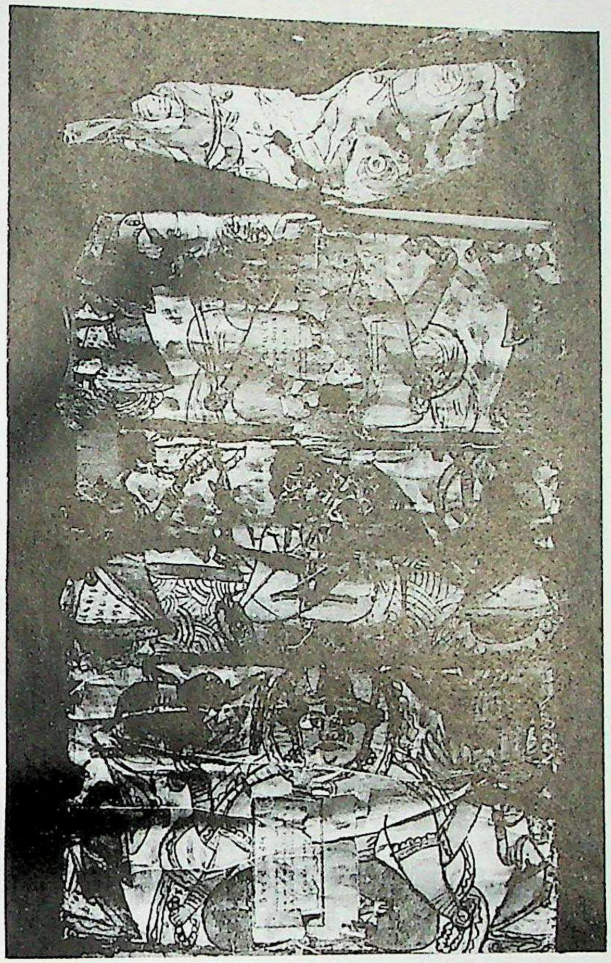
Pl. 86. View of a reconstructed temple. (Singh, H.N.)



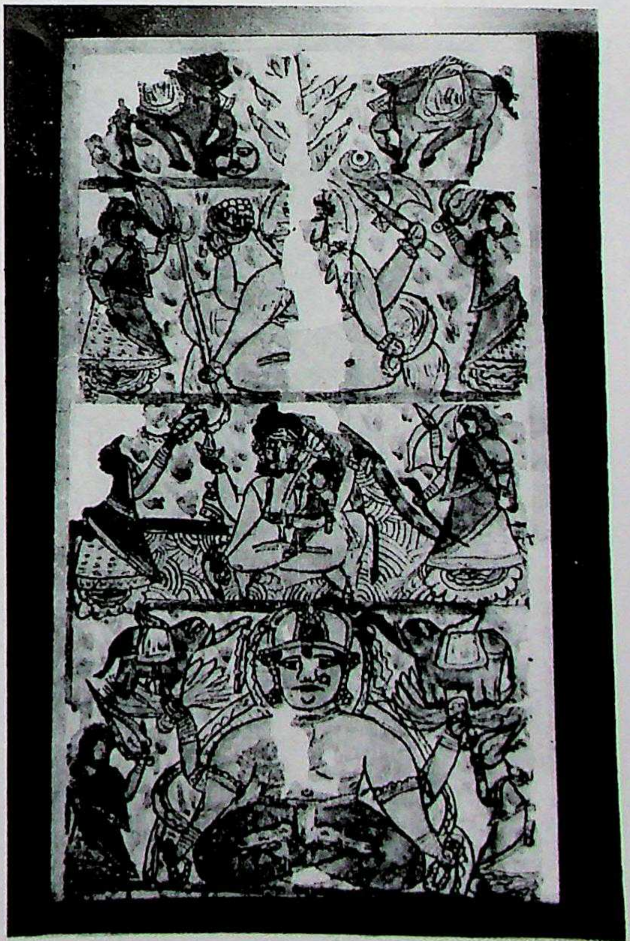
Pl. 87. View of the reconstructed temple : F. (Singh, H.N.)


॥पंचाख्यांनरोपत्र॥१२२॥ तदीसीघकय॥मारोचीततोउलीथीद्रोहनकरेसे॥ तदीदमनककय॥राजाजणीसुमयाक
रेजणीरेलछमीवे॥नारीपुत्र बंधु एवीमुष वे तोरीणांहे पणपराकाढजे॥लुगाईपणगावेसेजणीसोनाहेकांईकीजेन्यकानतोडे

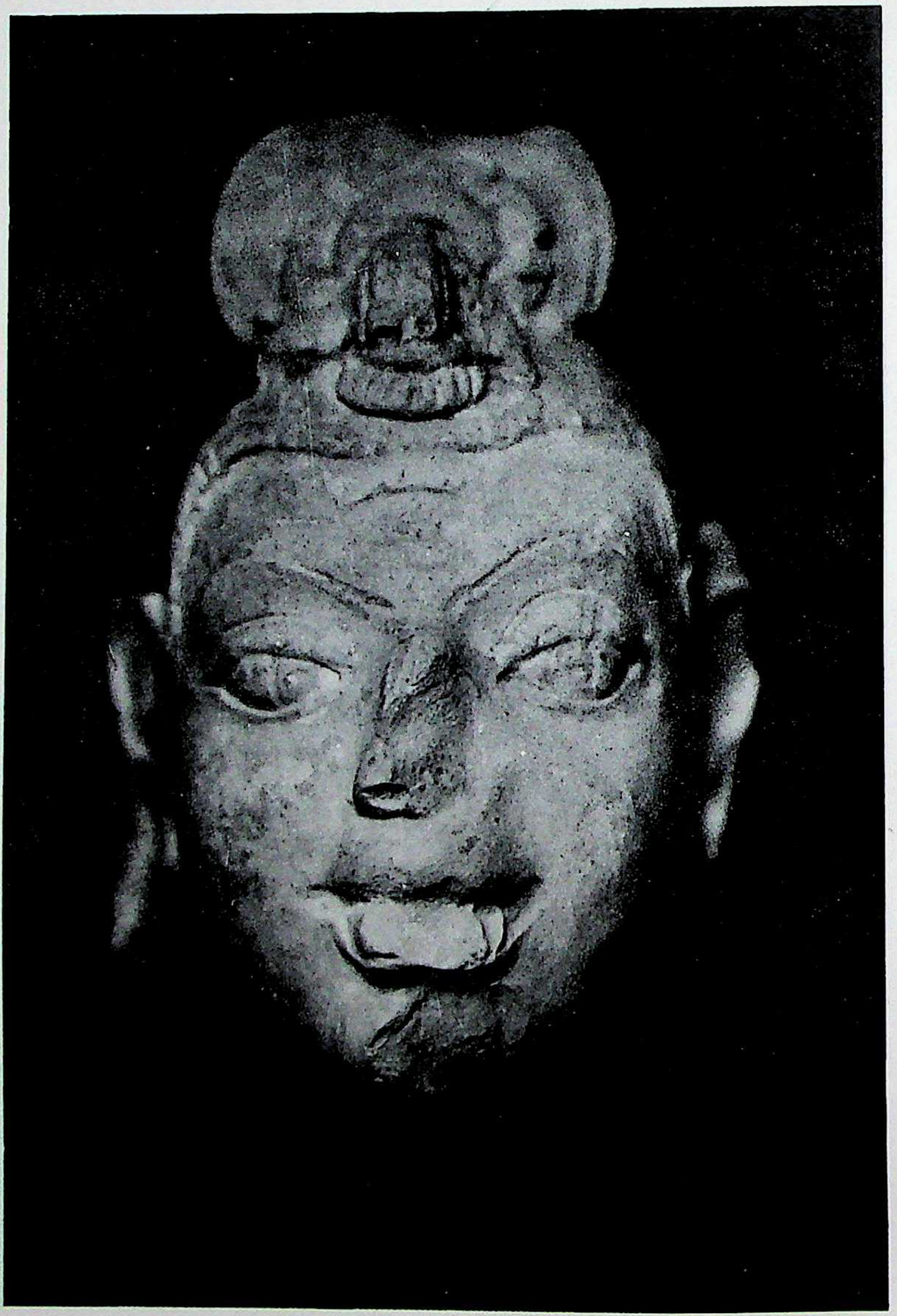
फलक 88. पंचाख्यानरोपत्र, राजस्थान (भारत), लगभग 17वीं शती० ई०, ब्रुकलिन संग्रहालय, न्यूयार्क, क्रमांक 81–192–8 (तिवारी, शी० प्र०), छायाचित्र ब्रुकलिन संग्रहालय के सौजन्य से ।



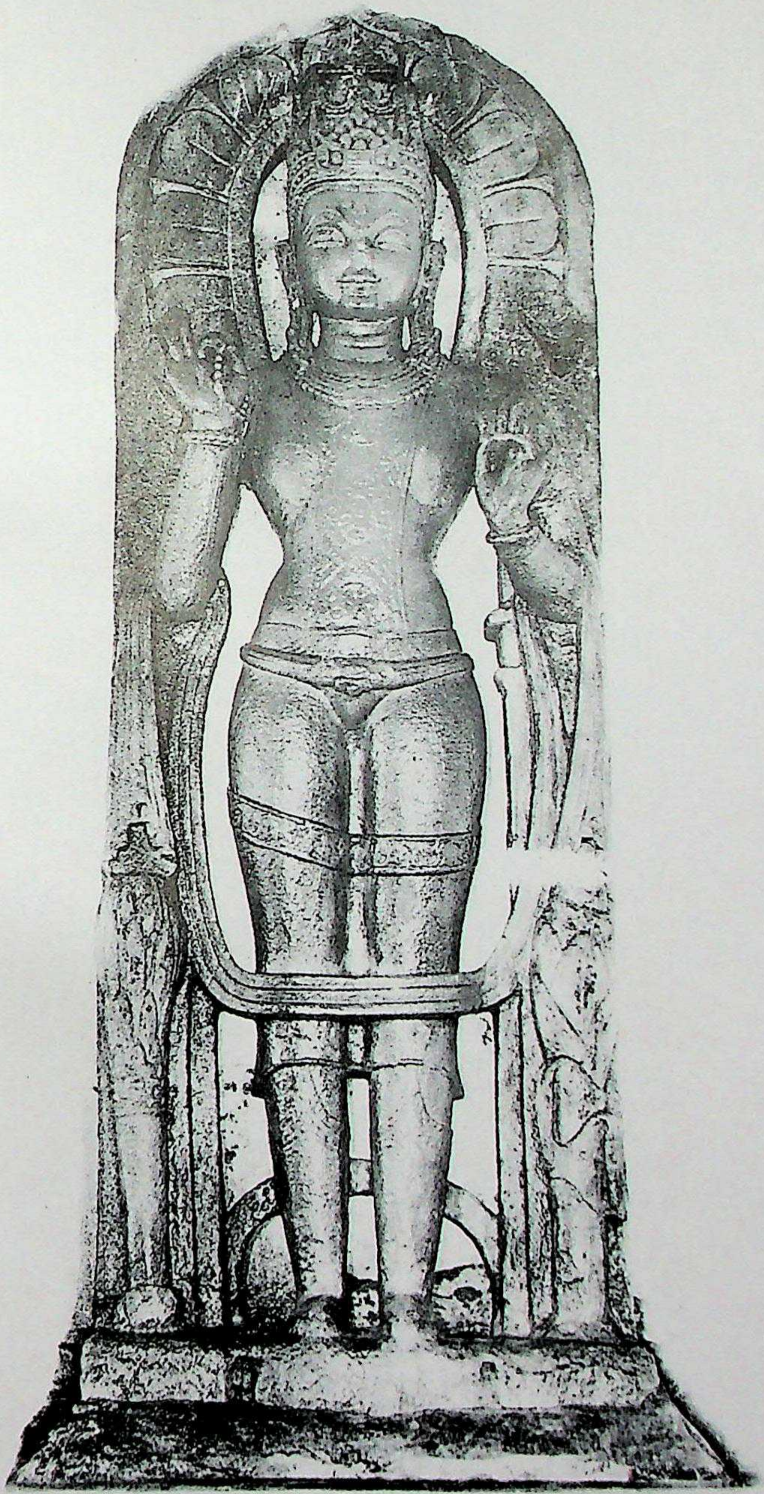
Pl. 89. A view of painting before conservation work. Acc. No. 42, Ram Katha Sangrahalaya, Ayodhya. (Agrawal, O.P.)



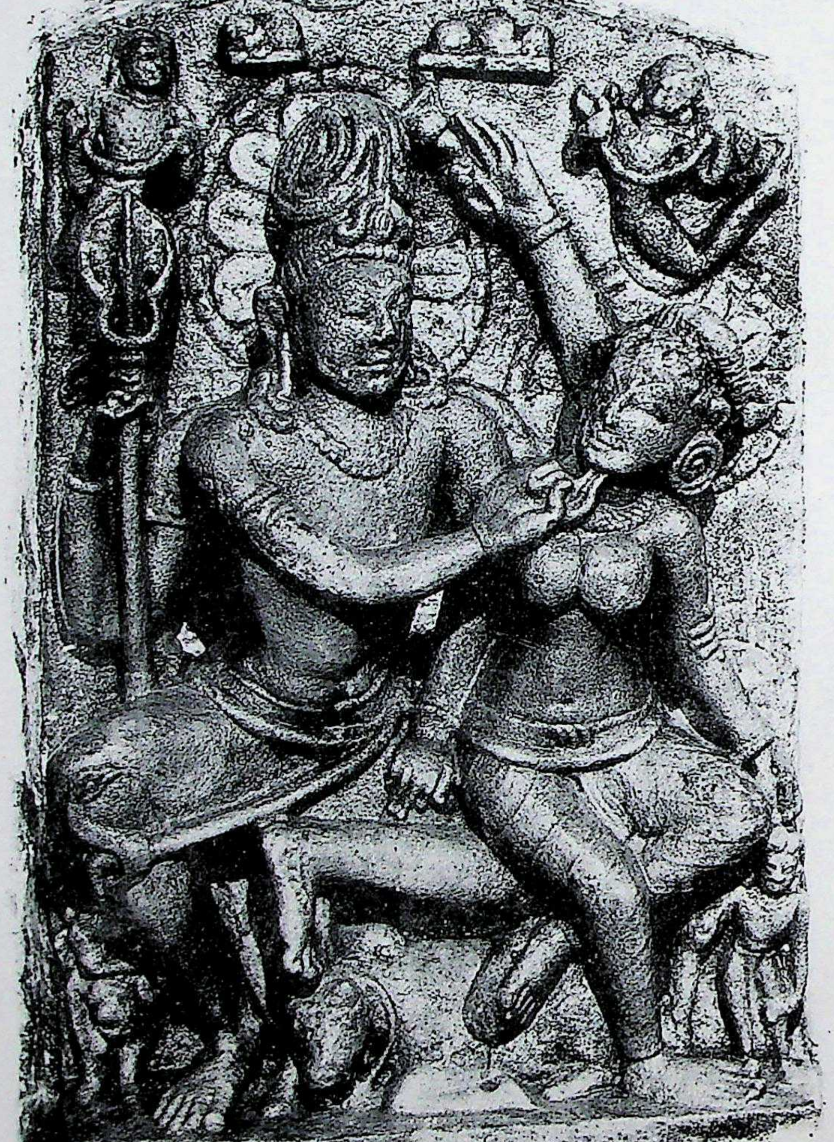
Pl. 90. A view of painting after conservation work. Acc. No. 42., Ram Katha Sangrahalaya Ayodhya. (Agrawal, O.P.)



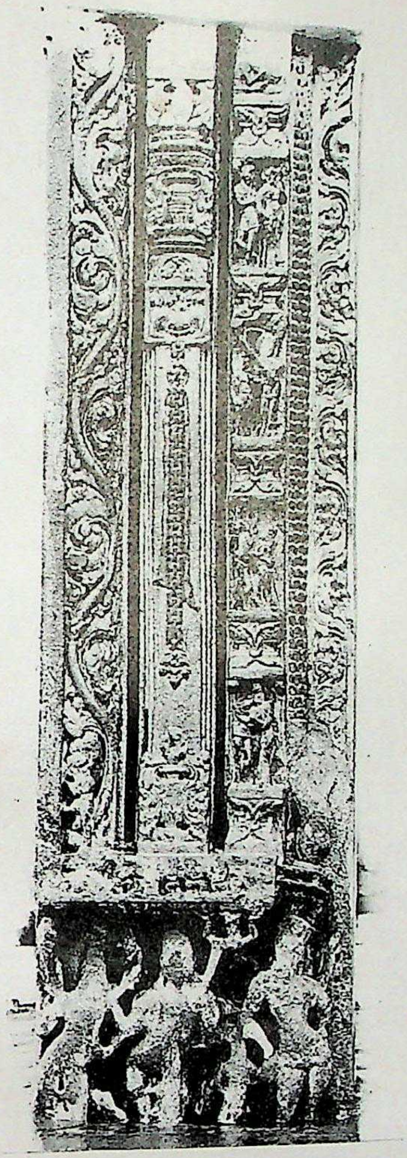
Pl. 91. A terracotta head of Pārvatī, Sanchānkoṭa, Unnao. (Shukla, K.S.)



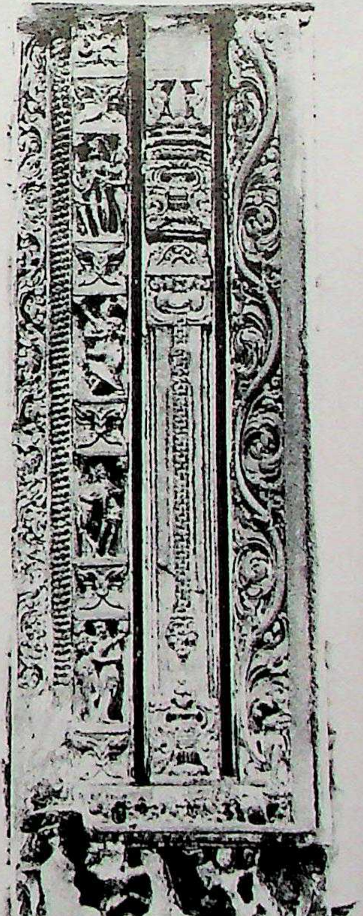
फलक 92. सूर्य की समन्वयात्मक मूर्ति, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



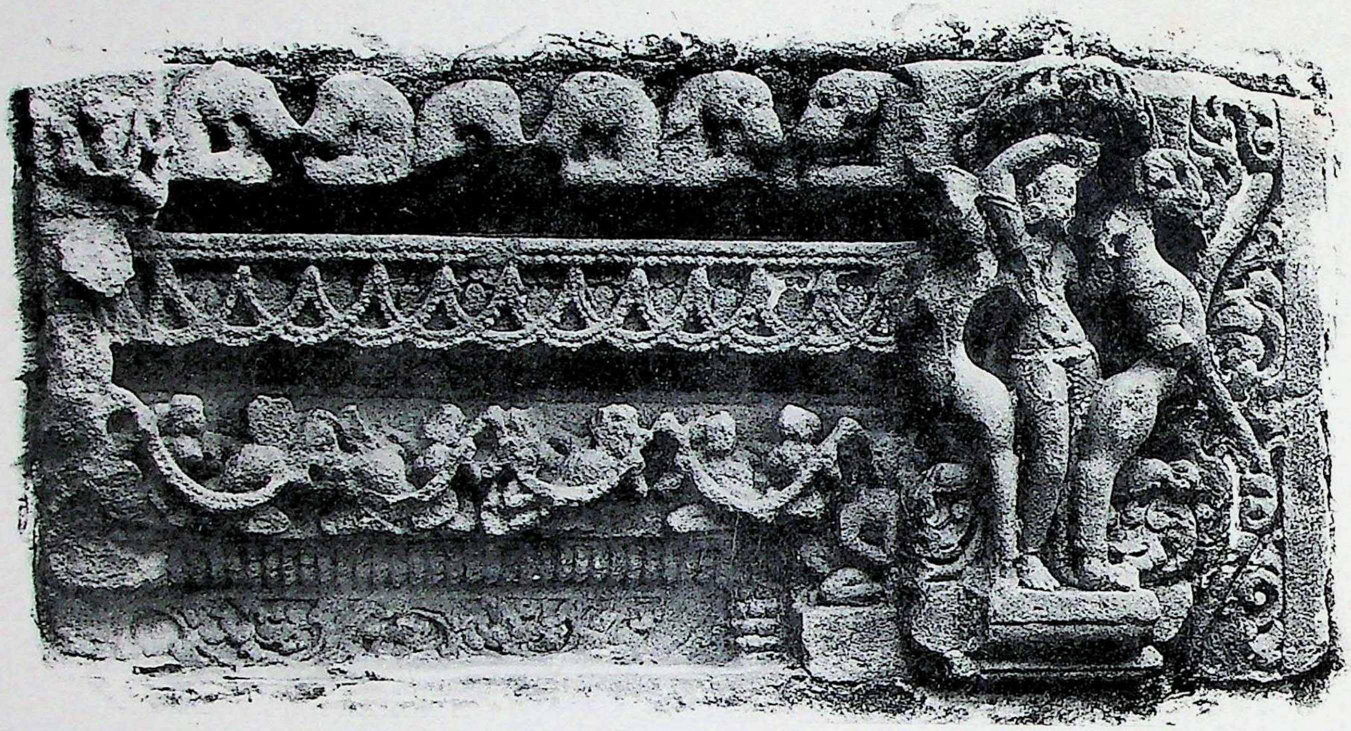
फलक 93. उमा–महेश्वर, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



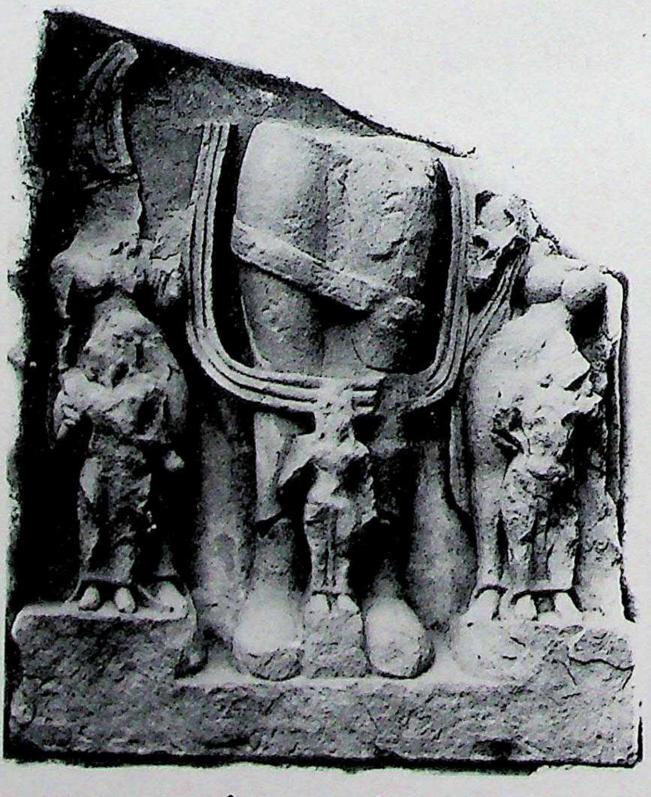
फलक 94. पंचशाखीय द्वार–स्तम्भ, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



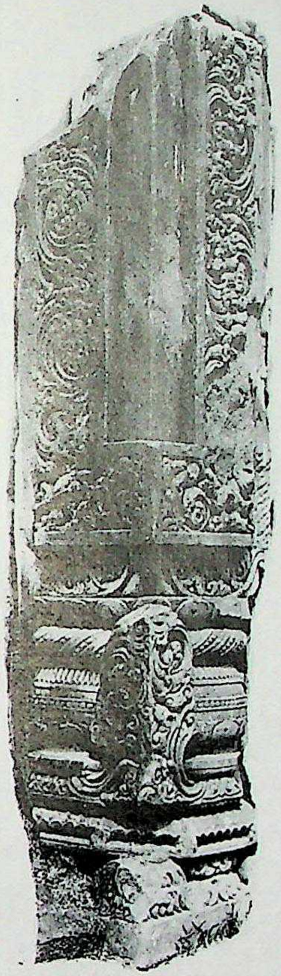
फलक 95. पंचशाखीय द्वार – स्तम्भ, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



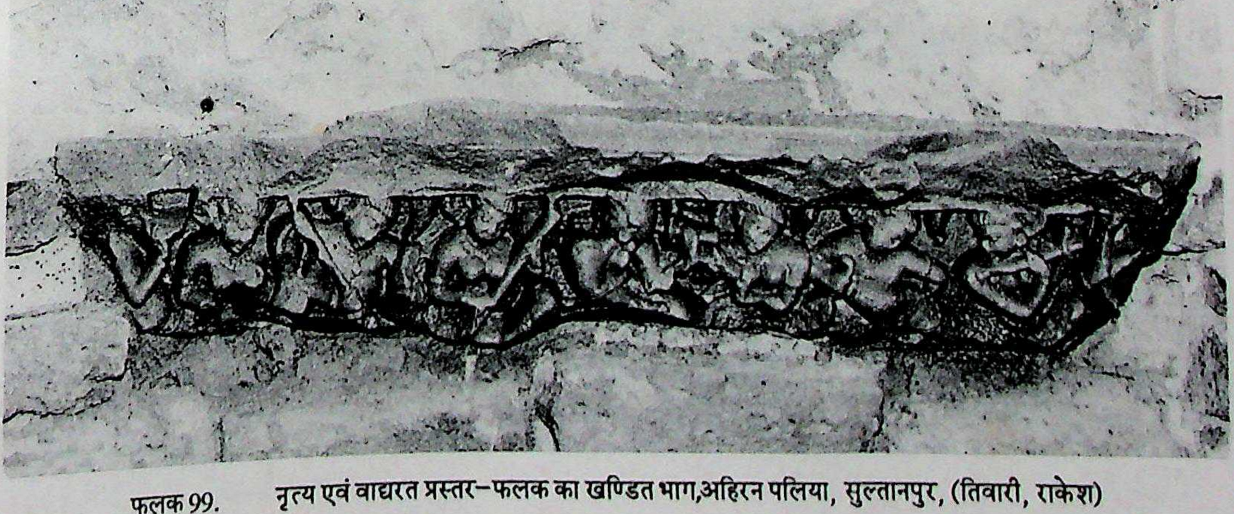
फलक 96. खण्डित उत्तरंग, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



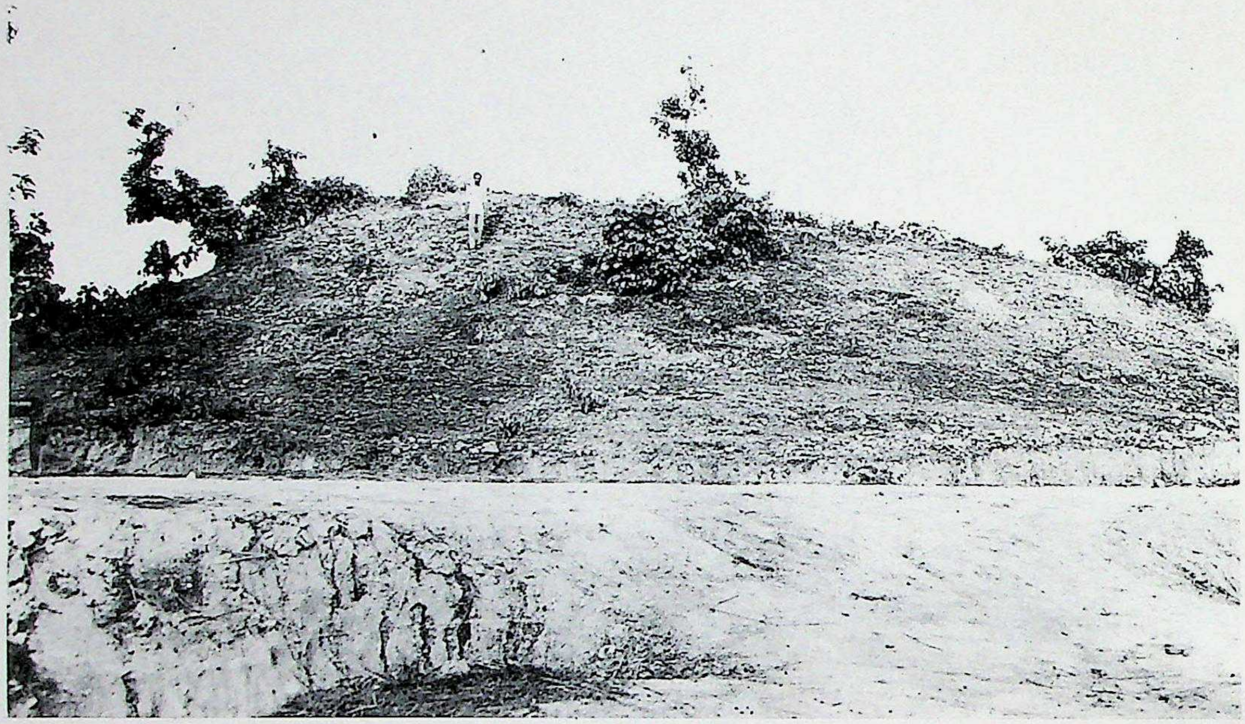
फलक 97. सूर्य प्रतिमा का अधोभाग, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



फलक 98. अलंकृत प्रस्तर-स्तम्भ, अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)

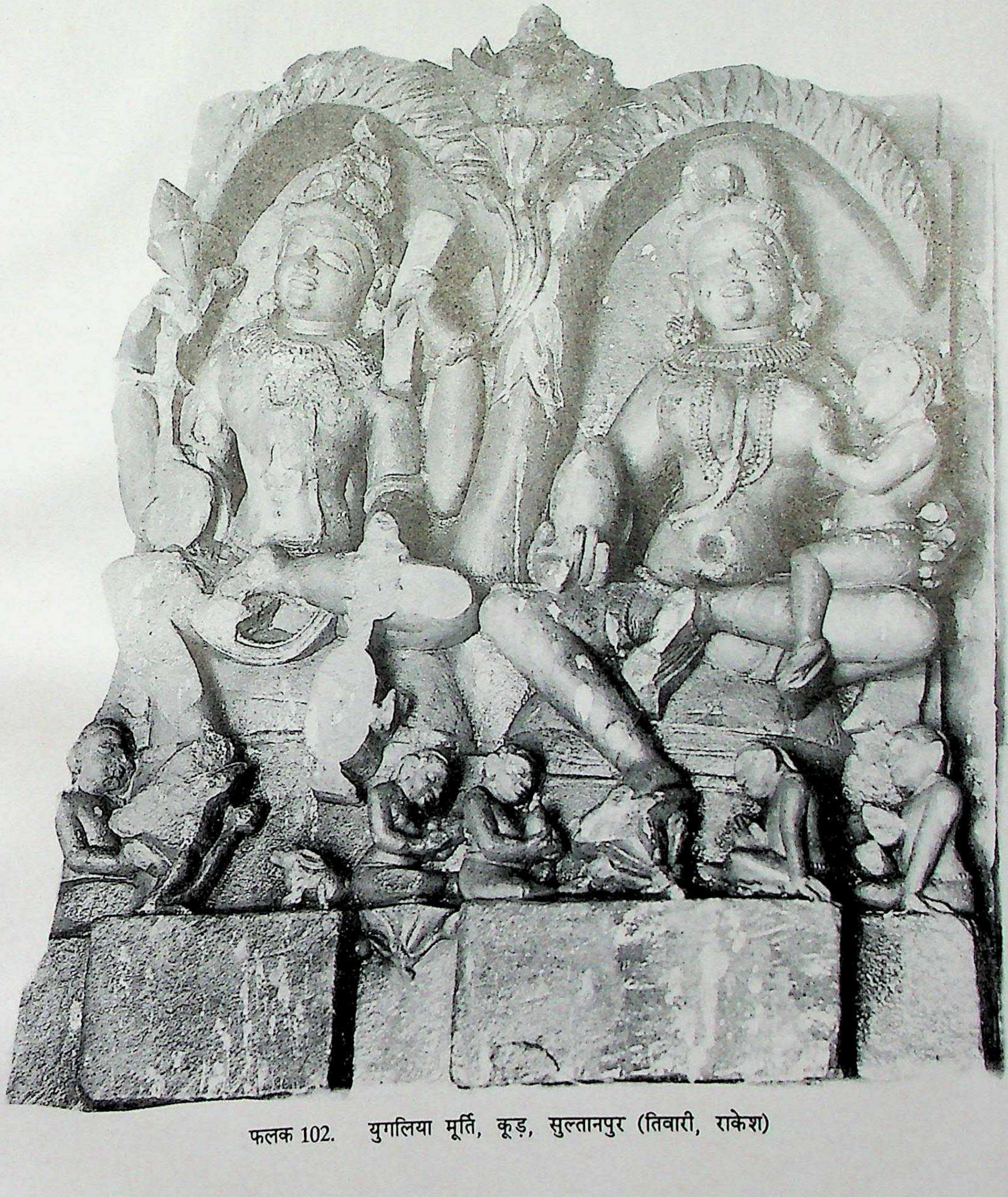


फलक 99. नृत्य एवं वाद्यरत प्रस्तर-फलक का खण्डित भाग,अहिरन पलिया, सुल्तानपुर, (तिवारी, राकेश)

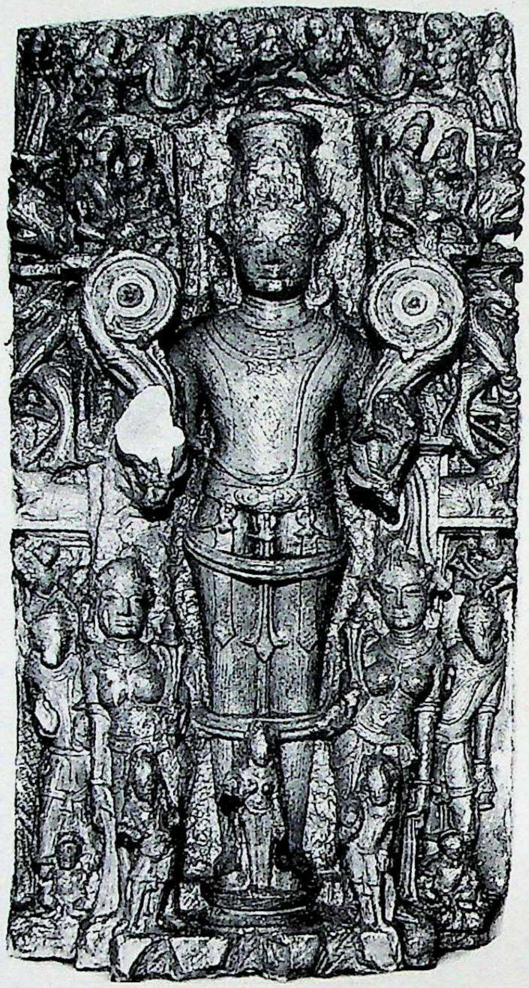


फलक 100. प्राचीन टीले का सामान्य दृश्य, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)

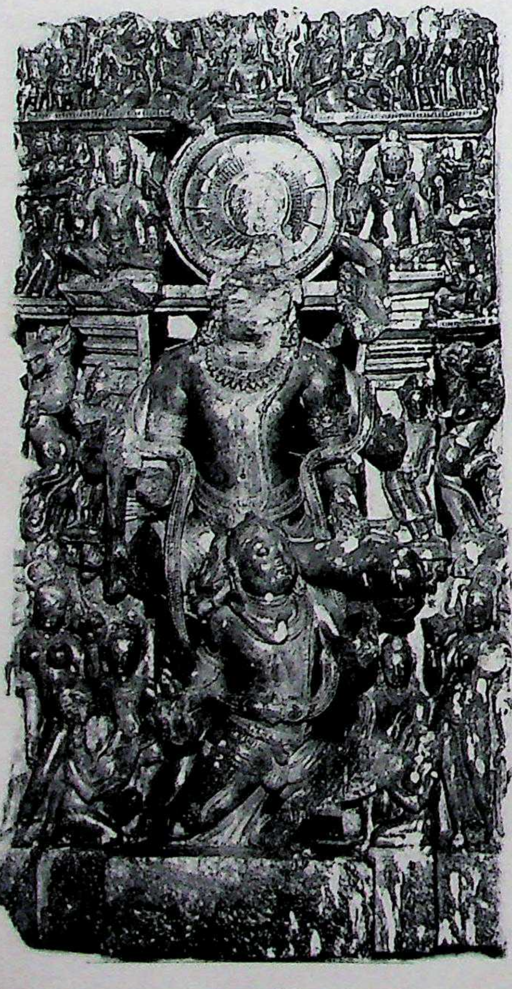
फलक 101. इष्टिका मन्दिर के भग्नावशेष, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



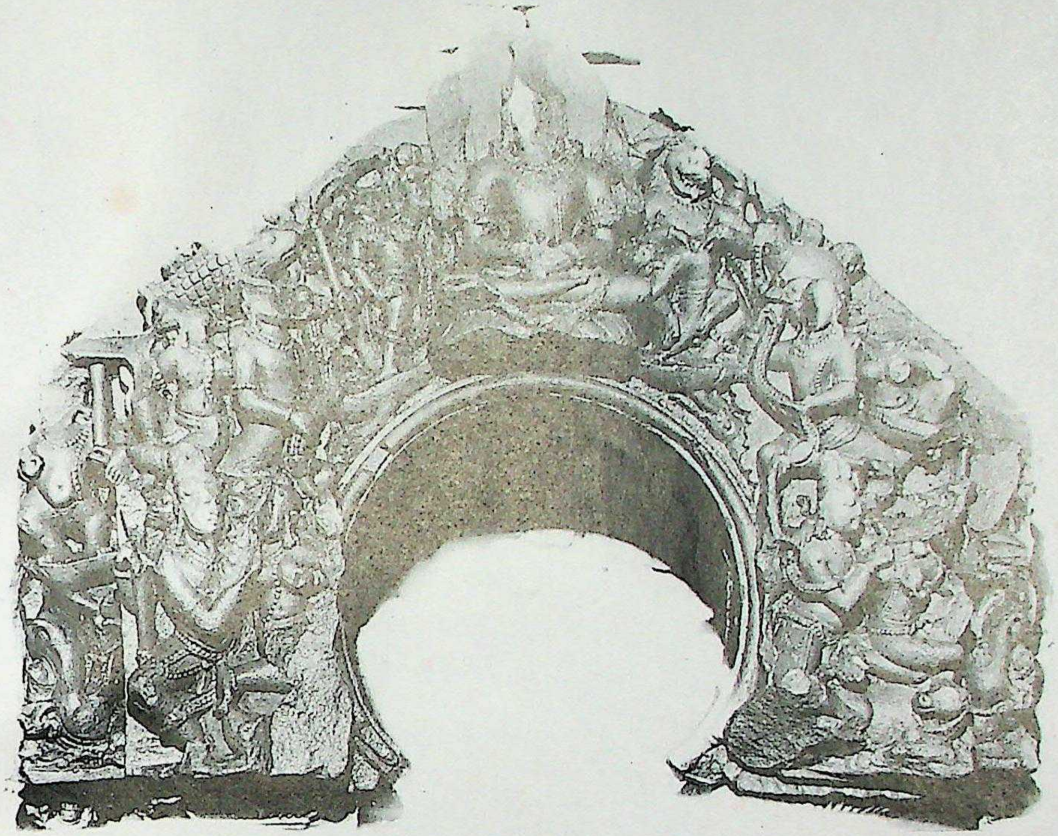
फलक 102. युगलिया मूर्ति, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



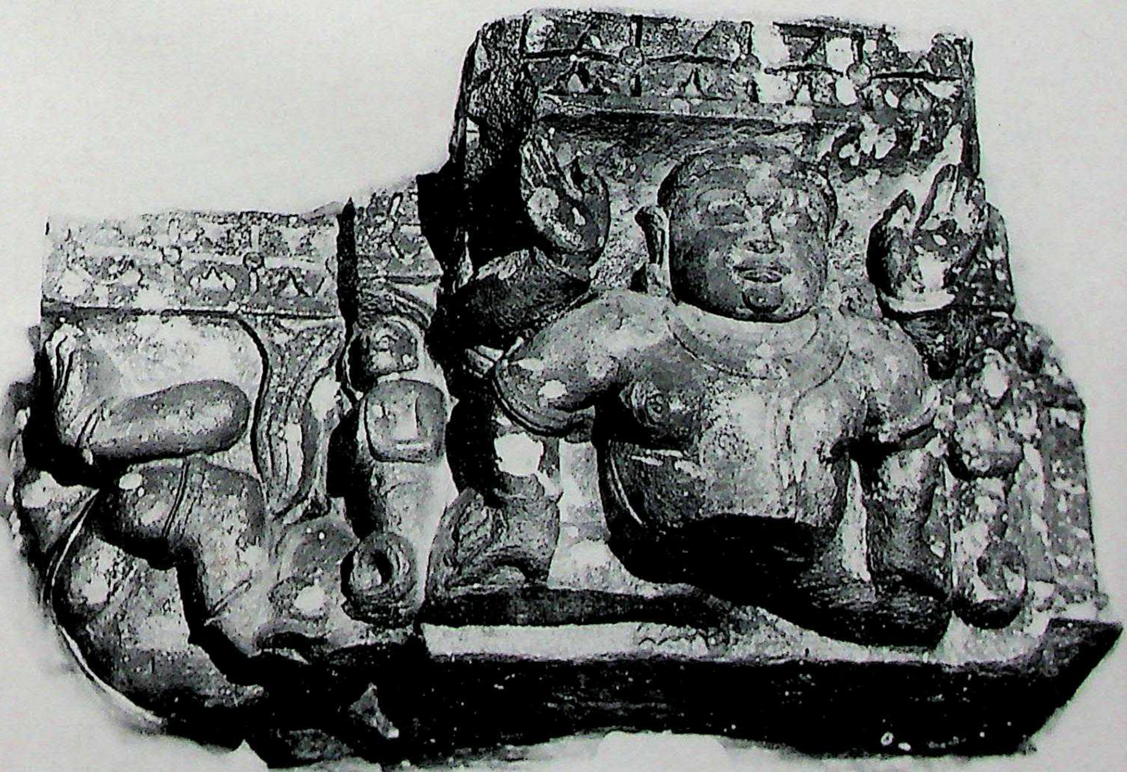
फलक 103. सूर्य प्रतिमा, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी राकेश)



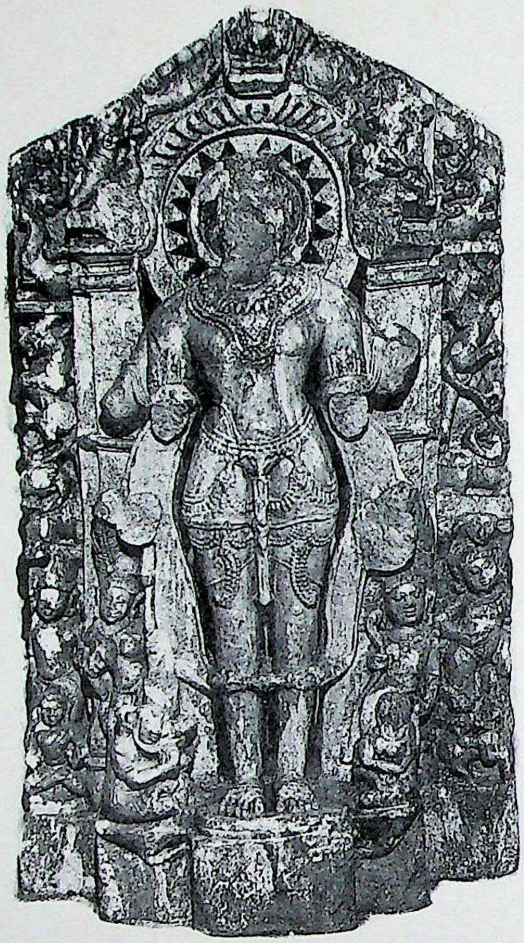
फलक 104. गरुड़ासीन विष्णु, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



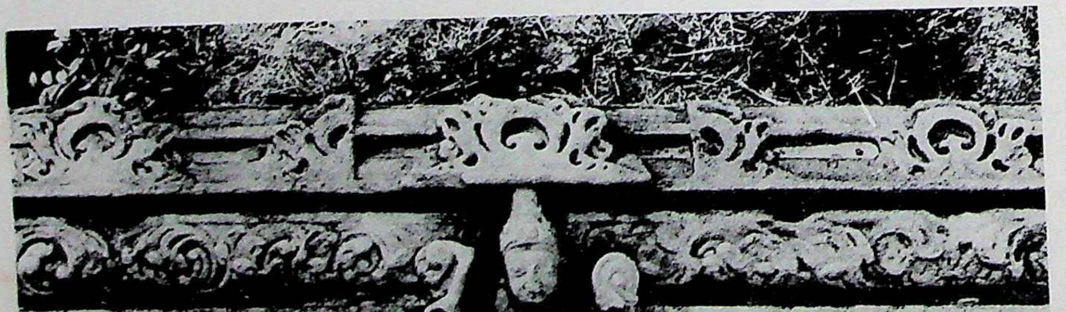
फलक 105. खण्डित परिकर, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



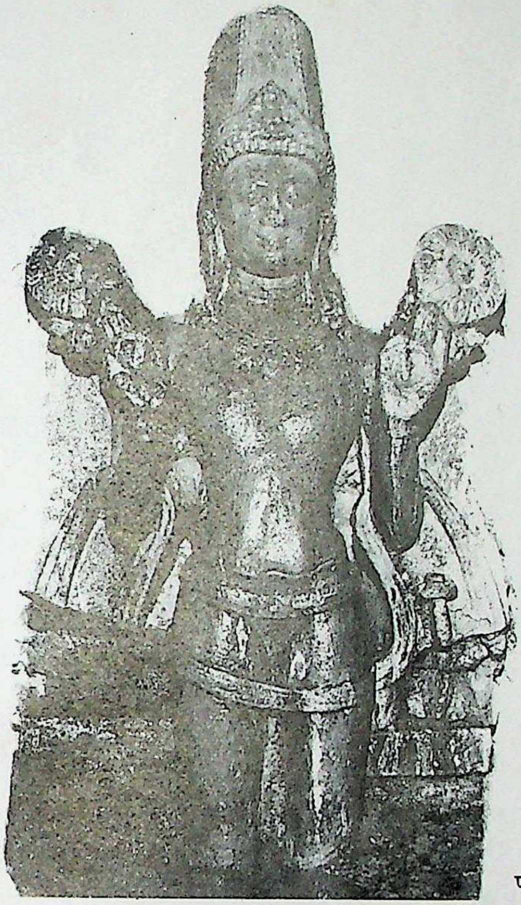
फलक 106. भारपुत्रकयुक्त भरणी, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



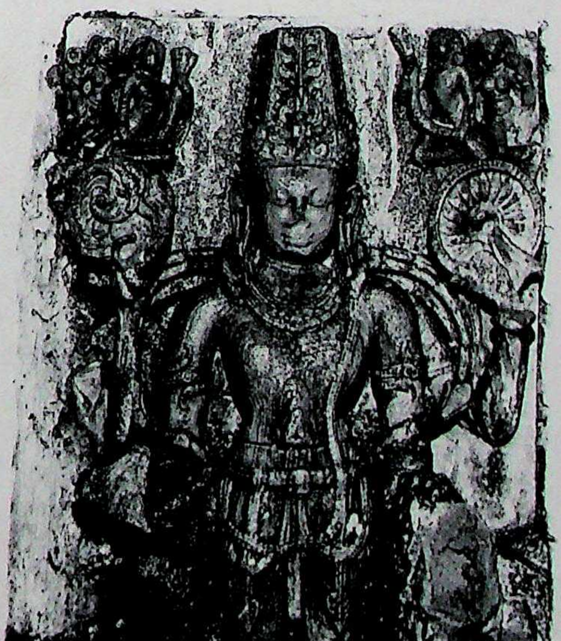
फलक 107. विष्णु प्रतिमा, कूड़, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



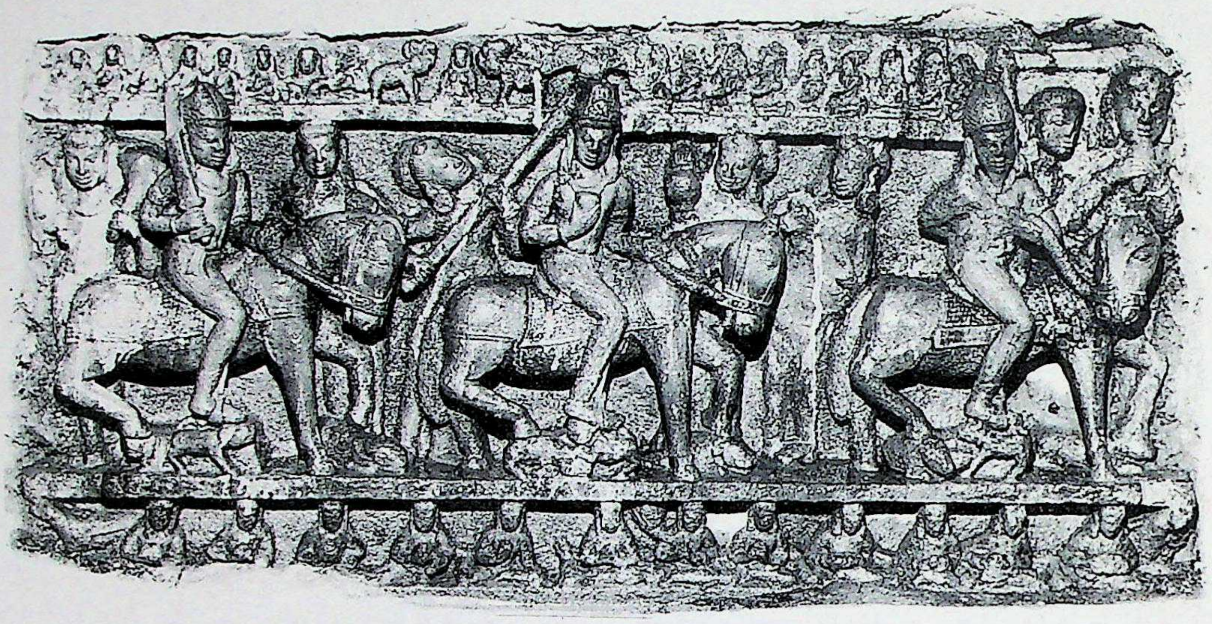
फलक 108. उत्तरंग, भाटी, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



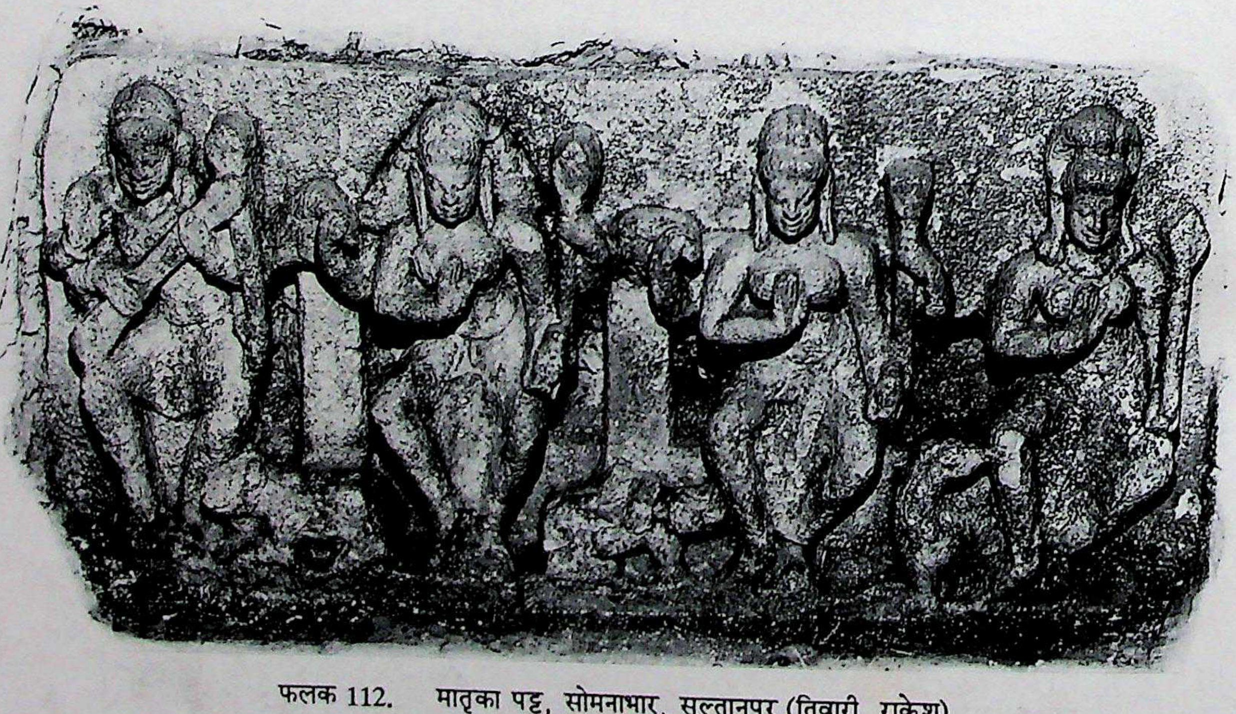
फलक 109. सूर्य, सोमनाभार, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



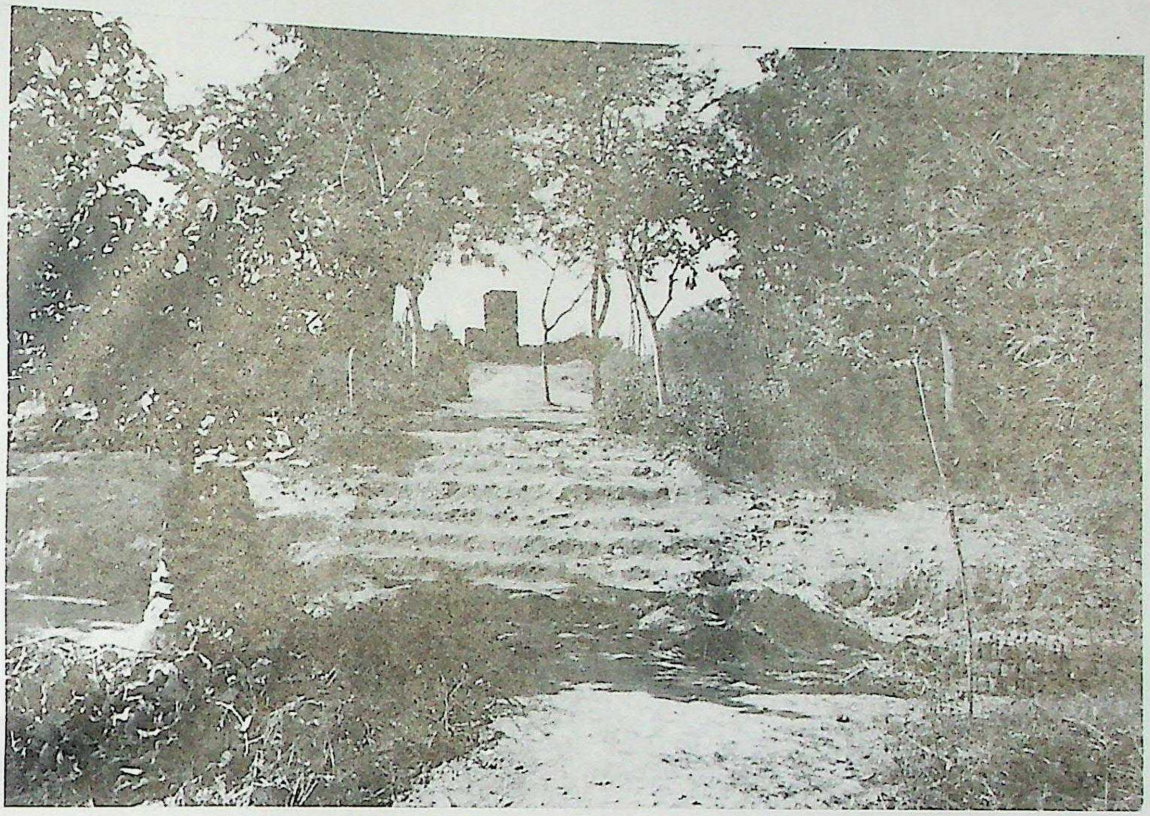
फलक 110. चतुर्भुज विष्णु, सोमनाभार, सुल्तानपुर
(तिवारी, राकेश)



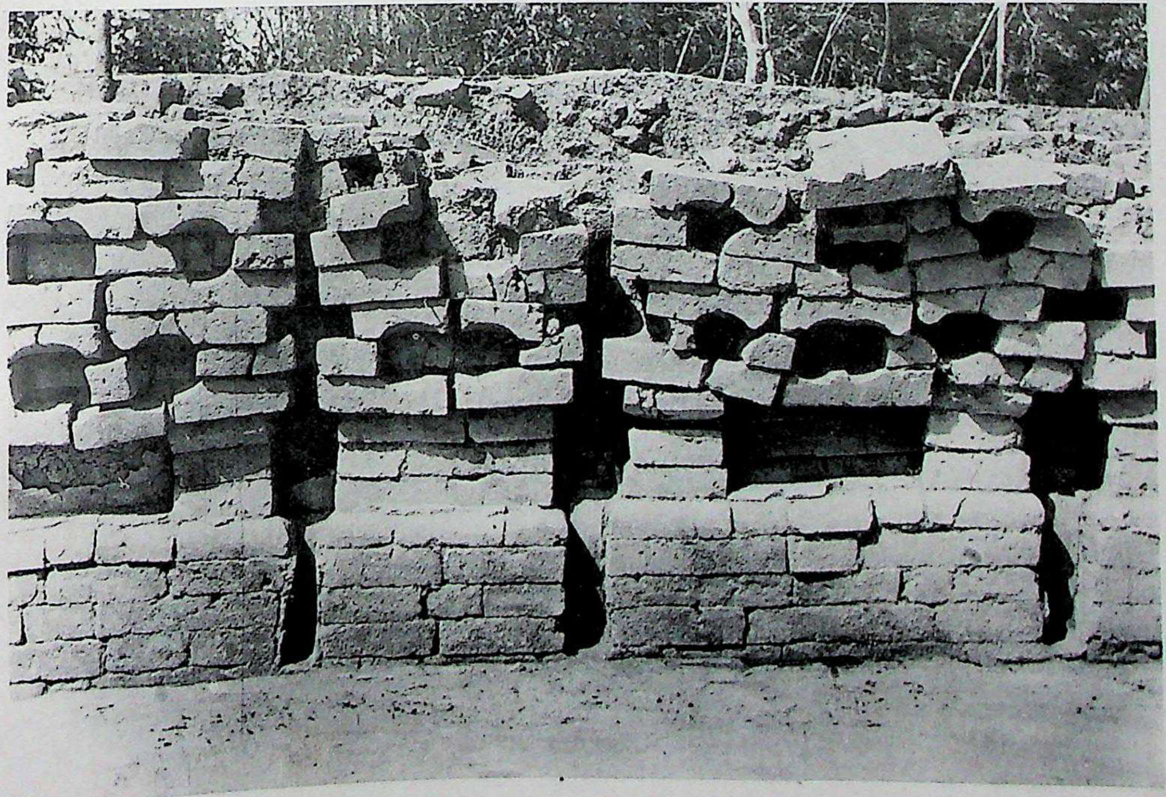
फलक 111. रेवन्त, सोमनाभार, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



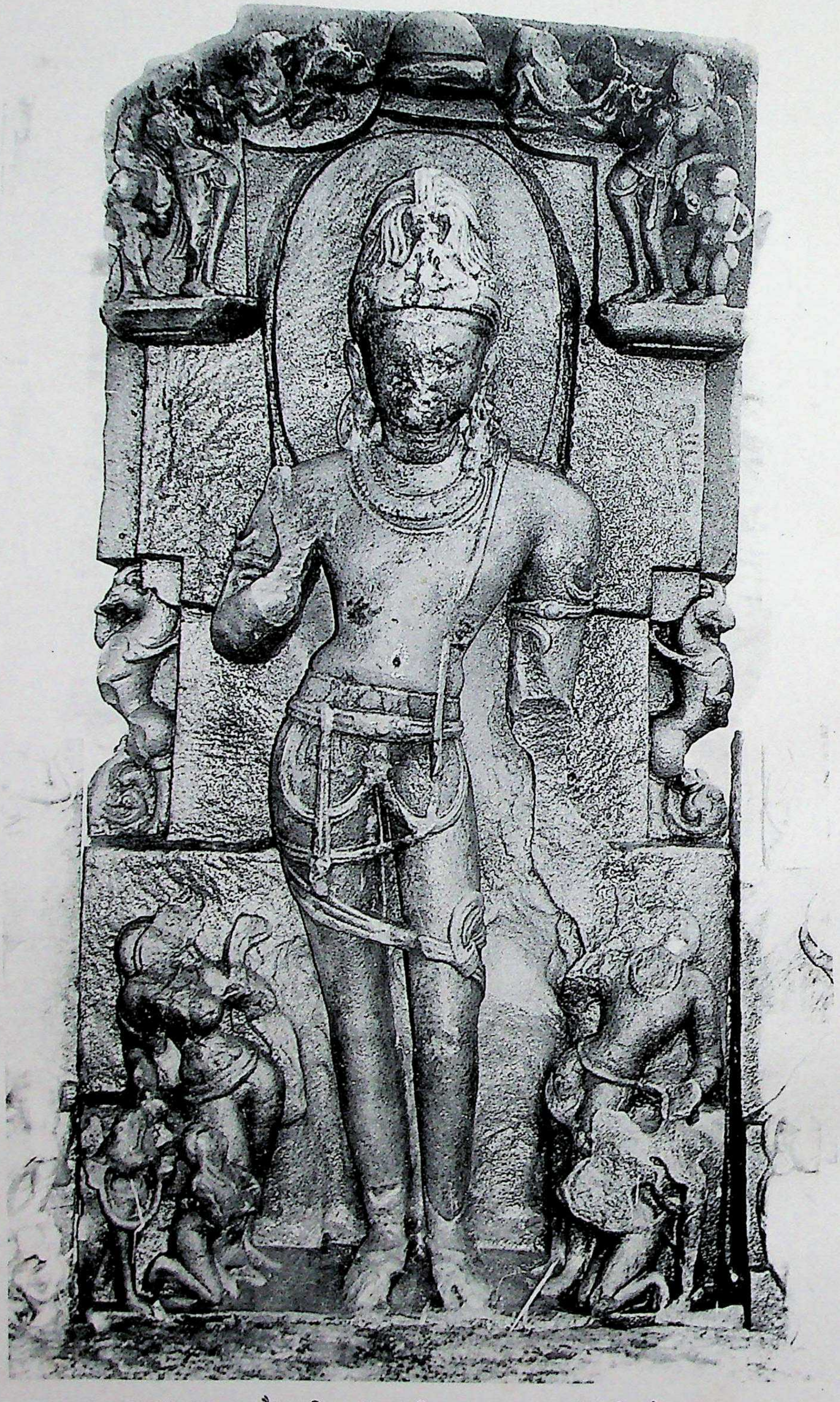
फलक 112. मातृका पट्ट, सोमनाभार, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



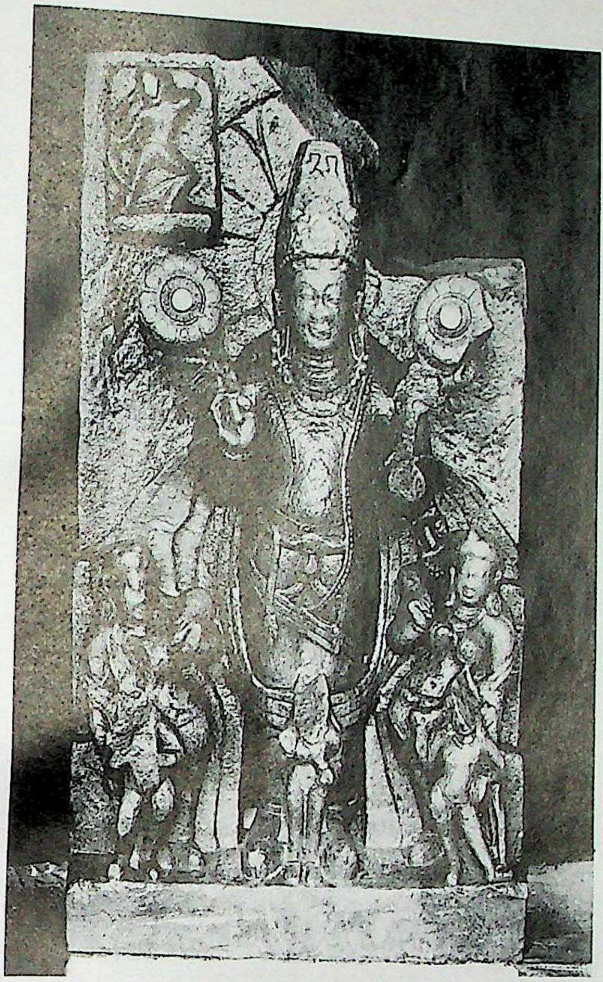
फलक 113. प्राचीन टीले का सामान्य दृश्य, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



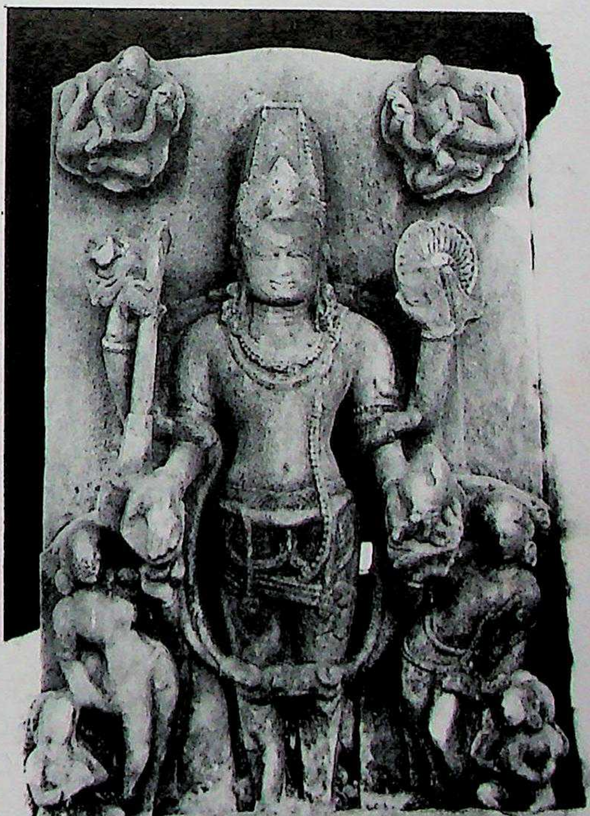
फलक 114. इष्टिका निर्मित अलंकृत जगती पीठ, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



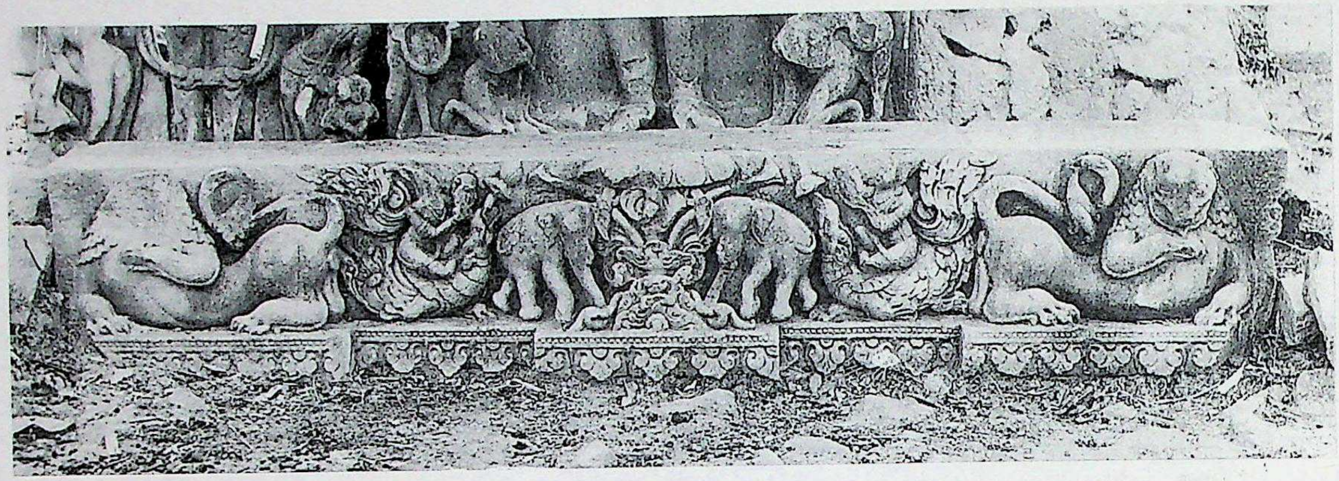
फलक 115. शैव-प्रतिमा (?), शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



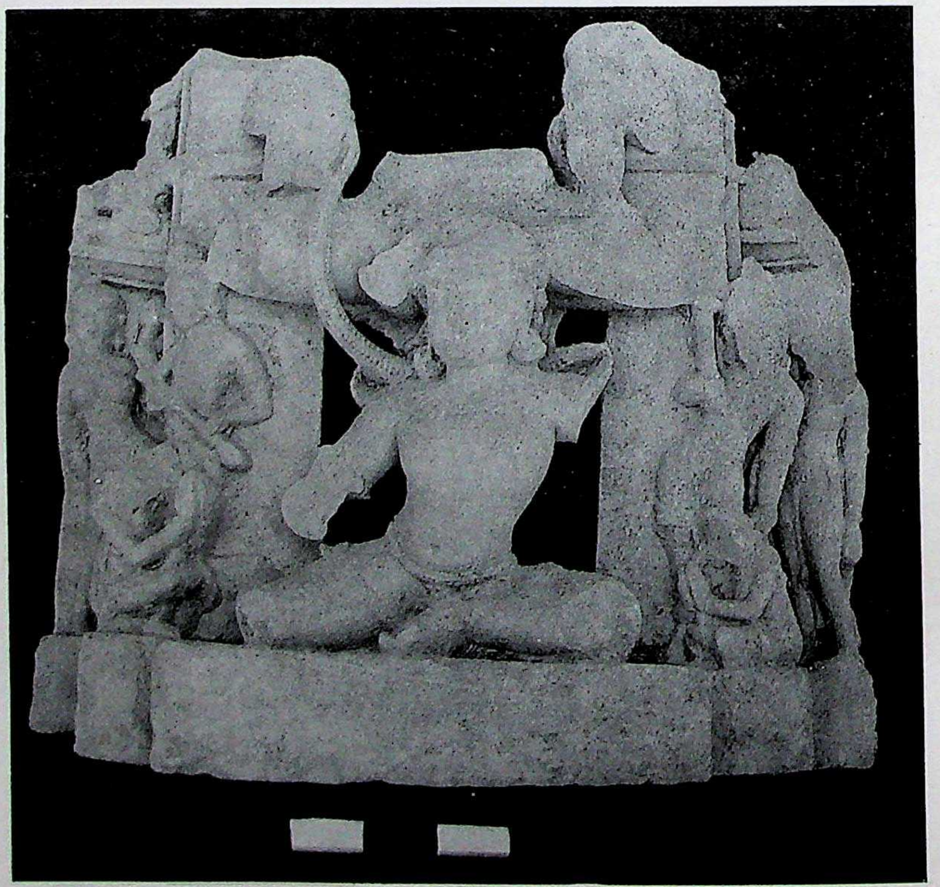
फलक 116. सूर्य प्रतिमा, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर
(तिवारी, राकेश)



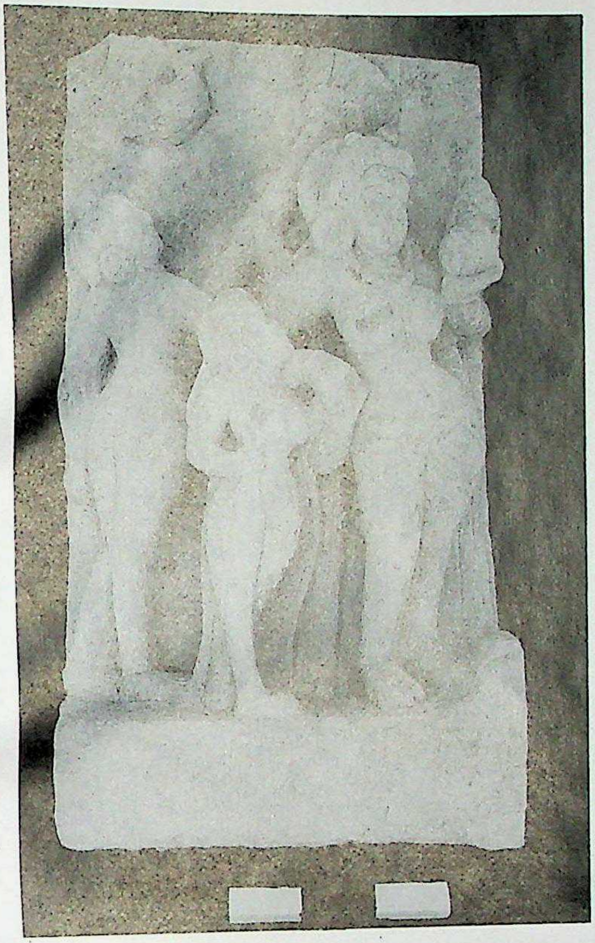
फलक 117. चतुर्भुज विष्णु, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर
(तिवारी, राकेश)



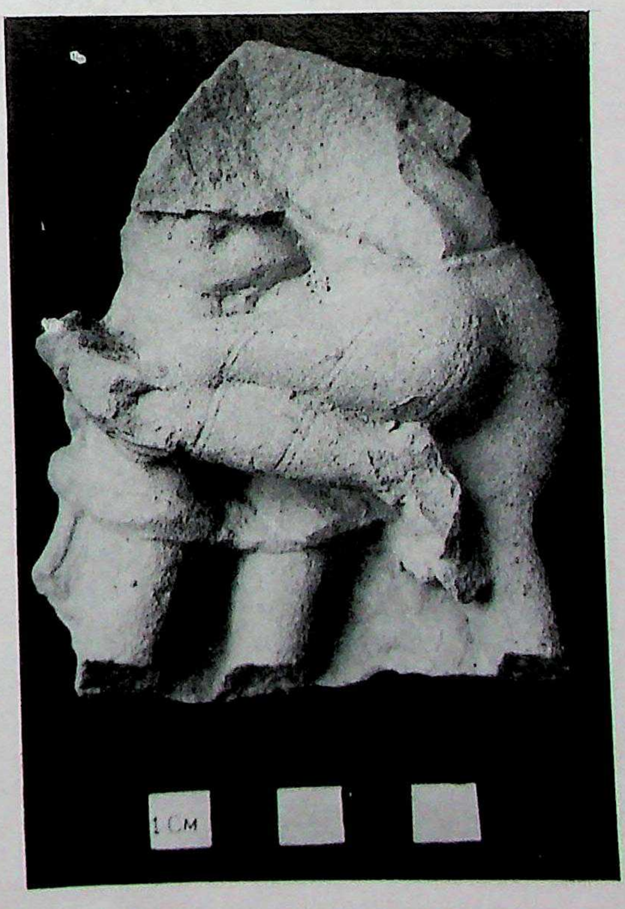
फलक 118. अलंकृत मन्दारंक, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



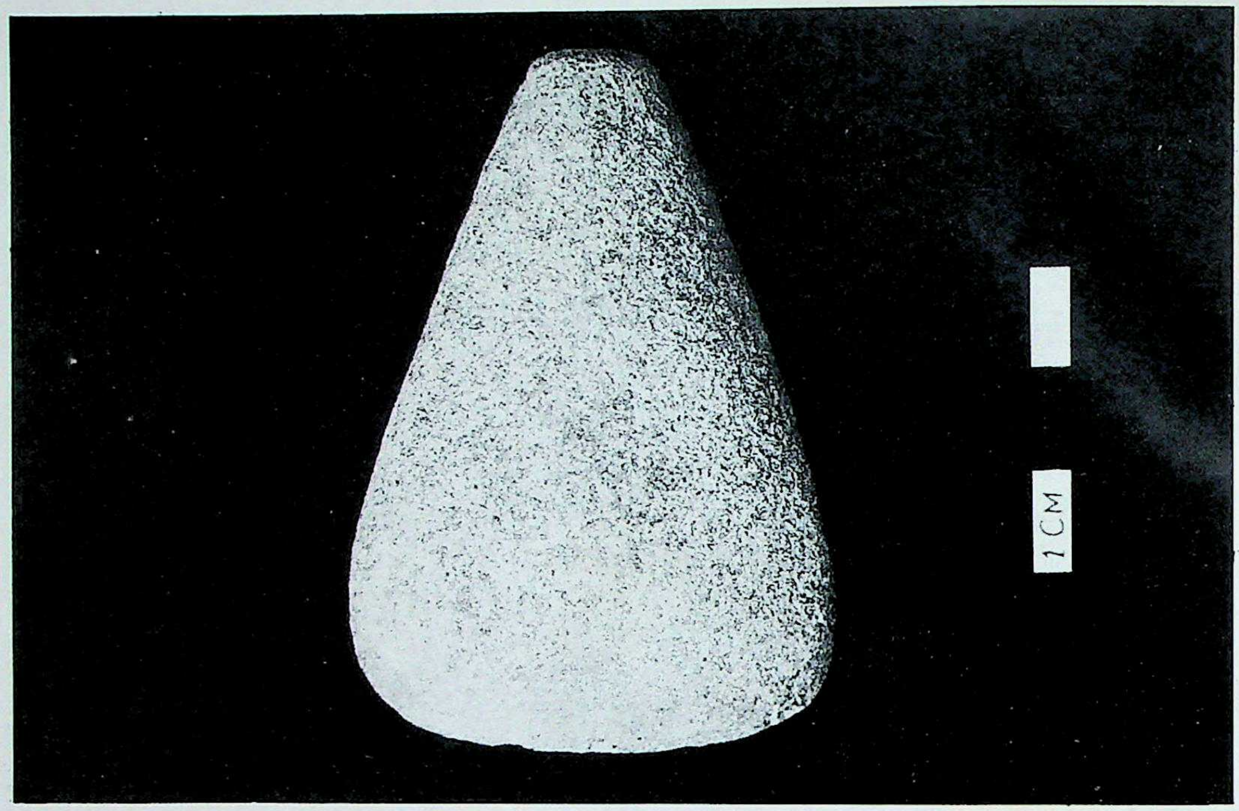
फलक 119. गरुड़ासीन विष्णु, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



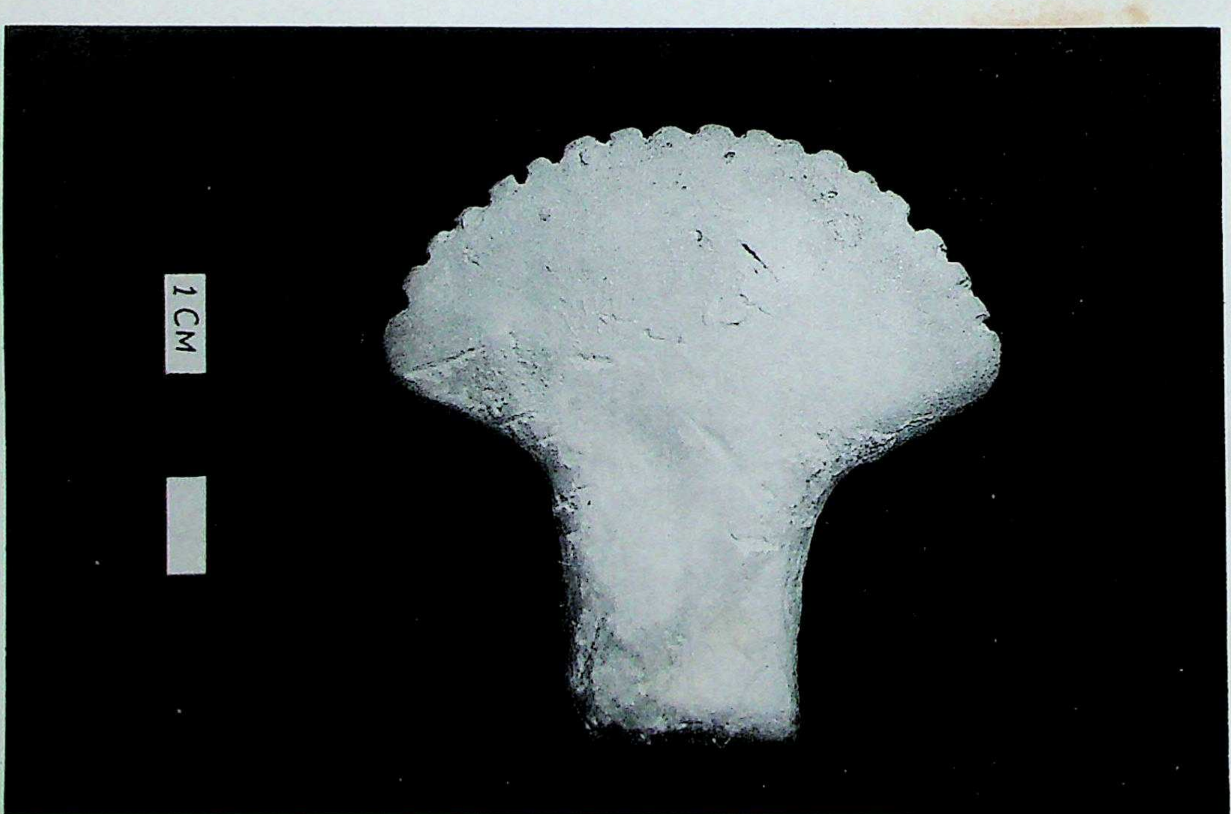
फलक 120. यमुना, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



फलक 121. मिथुन मूर्ति, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



फलक 122. नवपाषाणकालीन (?) प्रस्तर कुल्हाड़ी, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)



फलक 123. मृण्मय पुरावशेष, शनिचरा, सुल्तानपुर (तिवारी, राकेश)

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. The research paper related to the various fields of Archaeology, History and Culture viz. exploration, excavation, conservation, palaeography, numismatics, art and architecture etc., notes about the new important discoveries and reviews of the research work will be acceptable for this journal.
2. The article may be written in Hindi or English.
3. All manuscripts should be typed in double space, with a wide margin on left side of each page.
4. As far as possible, abbreviations should not be used, in case they have been corporated, a complete list of abbreviations used should invariably be given at the end of the References.
5. The captions of the photographs and line drawings should be mentioned by a soft pencil on the back side of the same. List of such captions should be enclosed alongwith the article separately with an indication in the text as to where they, and any tables and schedules are to be placed. The upper portion of the photographs should be marked with a vertical line on the back side of the photographs.
6. Photographs should be in black and white on glossy paper in high contrast mesauring 16.5 x 21.5 cms.
7. Acknowledgement should be given on a separate sheet and enclosed with the article before References.
8. References should be given in the end of the articlee on a separate sheet.

   The standard pattern to be followed is as follows :-

   (a) References to books should include author's name (surname in capitals followed by the initials), year of publication, title of the book (underlined), volume, part, edition, name and address of the publisher, and page numbers cited.

   An example of book citation :

   Gupta, R.S. 1972 *Iconography of the Hindus Buddhists and Jains* : D.B. Taraporewala Sons and Company Pvt. Ltd., 210, Doctor Dada Bhai Nairoji Road, Bombay -1, page no. 25.

   (b) References to articles in periodicals should include author's name, year of publication, title of article (within double inverted comma), title of periodical (underlined), volume, issue number (if requiredd), and page no.

   An example of article reference :

   Chakrabarti, D.K. 1978, "Lapis Lazuli in Early India", Man & Environment, Volume 2, Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary studies, Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad, page nos. 51.58.

   When more than one publication of the single year by the same author are cited, all except the first should be indicated by a small alphabet added to the year, e.g. Chakrabarti, D.K. 1978(a).

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9. In the selection of research paper, photograph and line drawings, the decision of the Editor will be final.
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11. After the publication of the article, a free copy of the Journal alongwith 25 reprints of the article will be sent to the author.
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Telephone : (Office) 243045, (Residence) 238830

लेखकों के लिए आवश्यक टिप्पणियाँ

1. इस वार्षिक पत्रिका में पुरातत्व, इतिहास एवं संस्कृति से सम्बन्धित सभी विषयों पर यथा–सर्वेक्षण, उत्खनन, अनुरक्षण, पुरालिपि, मुद्राशास्त्र, कला एवं स्थापत्य पर लिखे गये शोध–पत्रों, महत्वपूर्ण नवीन उपलब्धियों से सम्बन्धित टिप्पणियों और शोध–ग्रन्थों की समीक्षाओं को स्वीकार किया जायेगा ।

2. शोध–पत्र हिन्दी अथवा अंग्रेजी में लिखे जा सकते हैं ।

3. शोध–पत्र बायें पार्श्व में पर्याप्त स्थान छोड़कर दोहरे स्पेस में सुस्पष्ट टंकित होने चाहिए ।

4. यथासम्भव संक्षेप चिह्नों का प्रयोग न किया जाये । यदि ऐसा करना अत्यावश्यक हो तो लेख के अन्त में सन्दर्भ के बाद उनकी सम्पूर्ण सूची दी जाय ।

5. चित्र/रेखाचित्र के शीर्षक हल्की पेंसिल से उनके पीछे अंकित हों । इनके शीर्षक की एक सूची लेख के साथ अलग से संलग्न की जाय ।

6. श्वेत–श्याम छायाचित्र अच्छे, कन्ट्रास्ट और पूर्ण आकार (16.5 x 21.5 से.मी.) के होने चाहिए ।

7. आभार प्रदर्शन सम्बन्धी विवरण एक अलग पृष्ठ पर संलग्न किये जायें ।

8. सन्दर्भों के विवरण लेख के अन्त में अलग पृष्ठ पर संलग्न किये जायें । इसके लिए मानक प्रारूप निम्नवत् है :–

   (क) पुस्तक के सन्दर्भ में लेखक का नाम, प्रकाशन का वर्ष, पुस्तक का नाम (रेखांकित,) वाल्यूम, संस्करण, प्रकाशन का नाम–पता और सन्दर्भित पृष्ठ संख्या दिये जायें । उदाहरणार्थ :–

   गुप्ते, आ० एस० 1992 **आइकनोग्राफी ऑफ दि हिन्दूज बुद्धिस्ट्स एण्ड जैन्स,** प्रथम संस्करण, डी०बी० तारापोरवाला सन्स एण्ड कम्पनी प्रा० लि०, 210, डाक्टर दादा भाई नौरोजी रोड, बम्बई –1, पृष्ठ सं० 25.

   (ख) शोध–पत्रों के सन्दर्भ में लेखक का नाम, प्रकाशन का वर्ष, लेख का शीर्षक (डबल इन्वर्टेड कामा में), शोध–पत्रिका का नाम (रेखांकित), वाल्यूम, अंक, पृष्ठ संख्या दिये जायें । उदाहरणार्थ :–

   चक्रवर्ती, डी०के० 1978 "लैपिस लेजूली इन अर्ली–इण्डिया", **मैन एण्ड इनवायरनमेन्ट, वाल्यूम 2,** इण्डियन सोसायटी फार प्रिहिस्टॉरिक एण्ड क्वार्टनरी स्टडीज, फिजिकल रिसर्च लेबोरेटरी, अहमदाबाद, पृष्ठ सं० 51–58.

   यदि एक ही वर्ष में एक ही लेखक के एक से अधिक सन्दर्भ दिये जाने हों तो, पहली बार के अतिरिक्त निम्नवत् सन्दर्भ दिया जाये।

   चक्रवर्ती डी०के०, 1978.

   (ग) प्रथम उद्धरण में पूर्ण विवरण दिया जाये । बार–बार एक ही उद्धरण के लिये "पूर्वोक्त" का प्रयोग, लेखक का नाम और शोध-पत्र व पुस्तक के प्रकाशन के वर्ष के साथ अंकित किया जाये ।

9. लेख, चित्र एवं रेखाचित्र आदि के चयन के विषय में सम्पादक का निर्णय अन्तिम होगा ।

10. शोध–पत्र में उल्लिखित मतों के लिए सम्पादक उत्तरदायी न होंगे ।

11. लेख प्रकाशित होने पर लेखक को पत्रिका की एक प्रति तथा उनके लेख की पुनर्मुद्रित निःशुल्क 25 प्रतियाँ भेंट की जायेंगी ।

12. पत्रिका से सम्बन्धित समस्त पत्र–व्यवहार निम्न पते पर किये जायें :–

सम्पादक,
प्राग्धारा – उ०प्र० राज्य पुरातत्व संगठन शोध – पत्रिका
(जर्नल ऑफ दि यू०पी० स्टेट आर्कियोलॉजिकल आर्गनाइजेशन)
रोशन–उद्–दौला कोठी, कैसरबाग, लखनऊ – 226 018. उत्तर प्रदेश, (भारत)।
फोन नं० – (कार्यालय) 243045, (निवास) 238830